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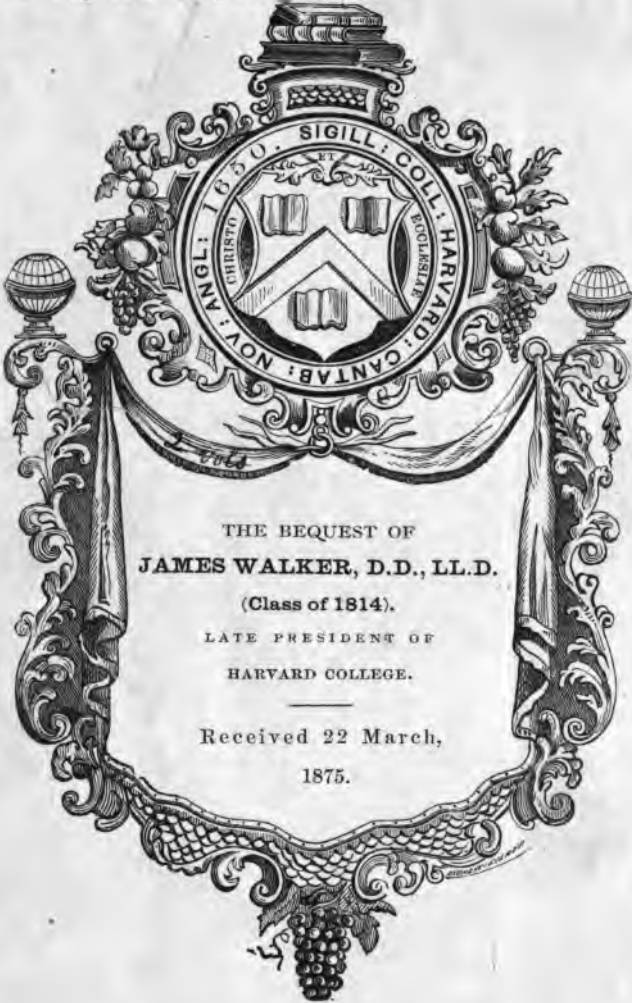
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## HISTORY

## PHILOSOPHY,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES  
TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY:

DRAWN UP FROM

*Brucker's Historia Critica Philosophiæ.*

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BY WILLIAM ENFIELD, LL.D.

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*Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.* CICERO.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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President of Harv. Univ.  
(Vol. I, II.)

## PREFACE.

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IN a country which has so long held a distinguished place in the Republic of Letters as Great Britain, it is surprising that so small a share of attention should hitherto have been paid to the subject of this work. While the events of civil history have been related in every possible variety of method and language, and have been made the frequent subject of philosophical discussion, a series of facts, less adapted, indeed, to impress the imagination, but by no means less instructive, has been almost entirely overlooked. A British student, who, in his search after truth, should be desirous of taking a general survey of the rise and progress of opinions on the more important subjects of speculation, and by a fair comparison of different systems to draw legitimate conclusions for himself, would seek in vain for the necessary information in any English work. The only treatise, which might seem to promise him much assistance on this subject, is *Stanley's History of Philosophy*: but, to say nothing of the uncouth and obscure style in which this work is written, he would find, upon examination, that the author's plan extended little further than to the history of the Grecian sects of philosophy; and that, in executing it, he has rather performed the office of an industrious compiler, than that of a judicious critic.

When, a few years ago, I first consulted Brucker's *History of Philosophy*,\* it was merely in hopes of obtaining from so extensive and elaborate a work, further satisfaction than I had hitherto been able to gain, respecting the opinions of the ancients; and the only use I then proposed to make of the book was, to borrow from it some assistance in drawing up a Course of Lectures to young men on the

\* Edit. sec. Lipsæ, 1767.

pursuit of knowledge. But upon a careful perusal of this history, I found it a vast magazine of important facts, collected with indefatigable industry, digested with admirable perspicuity of method, and written with every appearance of candour and impartiality. I regretted that so valuable a fund of information should be accessible only to those, who had learning, leisure, and perseverance sufficient, to read in Latin six closely printed quarto volumes, containing on the average about a thousand pages each. I thought I could not render my countrymen better service, than by taking upon myself to become, in this instance, their reader; and determined to undertake the task of communicating to them, in their vernacular tongue, the *substance* of this great, and, as it appeared to me, valuable work.

The task was not without difficulties. Having neither leisure, nor in many cases opportunity, to compare the history with the numerous authorities to which it refers, I was obliged, for the most part, to give my author implicit credit for fidelity and accuracy. This, however, I thought myself justified in doing, partly because, wherever I have consulted the originals, I have found the quotations and references sufficiently correct; but chiefly, on account of the high reputation which the author has obtained upon the continent. I have, nevertheless, thought it right to give his references, as far as my plan would permit, that they may be consulted by such readers as may wish to compare them with the work. In the selection of materials, I had no resource, but to rely upon my own judgment. The only rule I have followed has been, to choose such particulars as were most likely to be generally interesting. Those who are inclined to enter into more minute inquiries, will of course consult the original authors; and for their convenience, a general list of references is given at the close of each chapter, or section. In regard to language, I have found it wholly impracticable to follow my author. His style is so exceedingly verbose, that it would have been impossible to have made these volumes a translation of select parts, without omitting others equally important, and without at the same time rendering the work tedious to an English reader. Instead of *translating* the original, I have, therefore, endeavoured to give a faithful *representation* of its general meaning and spirit. To express these with per-



spicuity and precision, has been, as far as respects style, my utmost aim.

Of the author's Abridgment of his great work, published, in a large octavo volume,\* under the title of *Institutiones Historiæ Philosophicæ Usui Academicæ Juventutes adornatæ*, I have made as much use, as was consistent with the different views with which that abstract and this history were drawn up. The former appears to have been written almost entirely for the sake of academic students, and rather to assist their recollection in studying the subject, than to supersede the use of the larger history. The latter is designed to give those, who may not have leisure or opportunity to peruse the original, an idea of its contents, sufficiently complete to answer every purpose of interesting or useful information. If it be asked, whether the trouble of drawing up this history from the larger work, might not have been spared, by translating the author's own abridgment? my answer is, that such a translation would only have furnished the English reader with a dry sketch of leading incidents and opinions; whereas, in this work it is intended, not only to communicate information by a detail of facts, but to enliven the detail by anecdotes and reflections of various kinds. Few persons, I apprehend, would prefer the bare *outline* of a portrait, though sketched in full size by the hand of a master, to a *miniature picture*, which, at the same time that it sufficiently preserves the likeness, copies in some measure the expression and colouring of the original.

For any occasional mistakes which the learned reader may detect in the course of this history, I have no other apology to make, than that I have endeavoured to render it as correct as I was able. With regard to the errors which may be charged upon my author, I am inclined to speak with less diffidence. His work bears throughout such evident marks of diligent attention, cool judgment, and freedom from prejudice, as justly to entitle even his opinions to no small degree of respect; but as far as concerns facts, perhaps no historian ever had a better claim to confidence. No candid reader will, without the most careful inquiry, pronounce that statement of facts erroneous, which was the

result of a course of investigation, in which the life of an industrious student was principally occupied for the long term of *fifty years*.\*

The uses which may be made of the history of philosophy, are so fully enumerated in the author's *preliminary observations*, as to leave me little to add upon the subject. I must not, however, omit to mention certain applications of this branch of knowledge, which, from causes into which it is of little consequence to inquire, BRUCKER has either barely hinted at, or wholly overlooked.

Experience is universally acknowledged to be the best preceptor. The history of philosophy is a register of experiments to ascertain the strength of the human understanding. As far as they have been successful, they at once serve to guide and to encourage our future researches. And even those which have been unsuccessful, may perhaps prove of equal use in preventing the repetition of unprofitable labours. To infer from the diversity of opinions on metaphysical subjects, which, after ages of disputation, has subsisted, and still continues among philosophers, that the whole field of metaphysics ought to be abandoned as barren ground, would be a rash and precipitate conclusion. But the dialectic combatants of the Grecian, Alexandrian, Arabian, and Christian schools, have lived to little purpose, if they have not convinced the world, that by far the greater part of their ingenuity and industry was employed, either upon *mere words*, or upon *nugæ difficiles*, which have never yielded, and are never likely to yield, any substantial benefit to mankind.

With respect to those more important inquiries, which have been always interwoven with scholastic logomachies, such as concern, for example, the origin of things, the nature of the Supreme Being, the distinct existence and duration of the human soul, the foundation of morals, and other similar subjects, although the different systems, which are embraced with equal confidence by dogmatists of every sect, ought not to be pleaded as an argument for abandoning the search after truth, as altogether a hopeless pursuit, they ought, unquestionably, to teach every inquirer caution and diffidence, and every disputant candour and modera-

\* *Præf. ad vol. vi.*

tion. Perhaps, too, men's researches into these subjects; have now been carried to such extent, and every argument upon them has been so thoroughly discussed, that it may be possible to determine, with sufficient precision, *how far* it is possible for the human faculties to proceed in the investigation of truth, and *why* it can proceed no further. Possibly the time may not be far distant, when an end will be put to fruitless controversy, by distinctly ascertaining the limits of the human understanding. If this desirable point be ever attained, it is obvious that one of the means of accomplishing it must be, an accurate attention to the manner in which different sects in philosophy and religion have, from time to time, arisen, and to the various causes of diversity of opinion.

But, among the advantages which may be expected from a comparison of the history of philosophy with the present state of opinions, one of the principal is, that it will lead to the full discovery of the origin of many notions and practices, which have no other support than their antiquity, and consequently to much important reformation and improvement. The doctrines, the forms, and even the technical language of our public schools, may be easily traced back to the Scholastic Age, and through this to the ancient Grecian sects, particularly to the Peripatetic school. It is impossible that the present state of knowledge should be fairly compared with ancient wisdom, without discovering the absolute necessity of enlarging the field of education beyond the utmost limits prescribed by our most enlightened ancestors. From the same comparison, similar effects may be confidently expected, with respect to religious tenets and institutions. When it is clearly understood (as from the present free discussion of these subjects it is likely soon to be) that many of the doctrines commonly received as of divine authority, originated in the Pagan schools, and were thence transplanted *at a very early period*, into the Christian church; more particularly when it is generally known (and it is impossible it can be long concealed even from the lowest classes of the people) that the fundamental doctrine of the *unity of the Divine Nature* has undergone corruptions, from which no established church in Christendom has ever yet been purged; it cannot fail to become an object of general attention, to produce such a reform in

religion, as shall free its public institutions from the incumbrance of scholastic subtleties, and to render religion itself more interesting and efficacious, by making its forms more simple and intelligible.

It has not been without the hope of contributing, in some degree, towards the abolition of ancient errors, and the extension of useful knowledge, that I have drawn up this history of philosophy.

W. ENFIELD.

*Norwich, June, 1791.*

AN  
**EPITOME**  
OF THE  
**HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY,**  
IN THREE PERIODS.

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**PERIOD THE FIRST,**

*From the Earliest Times, to the Decline of the Roman Republic; which comprehends,*

**I. BARBARIC PHILOSOPHY;** including that of all ancient Nations, among whom the Greek Language was not spoken.

**1. EASTERN NATIONS.**

(1.) *Hebrews*, comprehending the posterity of Abraham to the time of the Babylonish captivity; after their return from which they were called Jews. Among their wise men, the most celebrated names are MOSES, Solomon, and Daniel. Their wisdom, derived from Divine revelation, is not to be confounded with philosophical and speculative science.

(2.) *Chaldeans*, the author of whose philosophy was Zoroaster. Belus was another celebrated teacher of wisdom among the Assyrians; but both his age and history are uncertain. Later than these lived Berosus, who first taught the Chaldean learning to the Greeks.

(3.) *Persians*, among whom Zardhust, also called Zoroaster, was the founder of wisdom: he wrote a sacred book called Zend. Among the Persian magi were Hystaspes and Hostanes.

(4.) *Indians*, whose wise men were called Gymnosophists and Brachmans. Among these were Buddas, Dandamis, and Calanus.

(5.) *Arabians*, among whom the *Zabii*, a sect of philosophers, and *Lokman*, an elegant writer of fables, are memorable.

(6.) *Phenicians*, to whom is ascribed the invention of letters. *Moschus*, *Cadmus*, and *Sanconiathon*, are among their celebrated men.

## 2. SOUTHERN NATIONS.

(1.) *Egyptians*, the founder of whose wisdom was *Theut*, or *Thoth*, whom the Greeks call *Hermes*, and the Latins *Mercury*. After him arose a second *Hermes*, called also *Trismegistus*, to whom various books and inventions are ascribed.

(2.) *Ethiopians*, whose wisdom seems to have been borrowed from the *Egyptians*. *Atlas* was one of their first astronomers.

## 3. WESTERN NATIONS.

(1.) *Celts*, whose philosophers were called *Druids*. Under the general name of the Celtic nations were comprehended the *Gauls*, *Britons*, *Germans*, and *Cambrians*.

(2.) *Etrurians*, and *Romans*: among the former flourished *Tages*, the inventor of augury: among the latter, *Numa* is improperly styled a philosopher.

## 4. NORTHERN NATIONS.

These include the Northern *Scythians* (distinct from the Celtic *Scythians*), *Thracians*, *Getæ*, &c. Among whom *Abaris*, *Anacharsis*, *Toxaris*, and *Zamolxis*, obtained the praise of wisdom.

## II. GRECIAN PHILOSOPHY; which was,

First, *Fabulous*, as taught by *Prometheus*, *Linus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Eumolpus*, *Melampus*, *Amphion*, *Hesiod*, *Epimenides*, and *Homer*.

Secondly, *Political*, chiefly adapted to the formation and improvement of states, and the civilization of society. Among the authors of this philosophy were the legislators *Zealeucus*, *Triptolemus*, *Draco*, *Solon*, and *Lycurgus*; the seven wise men of Greece, *Thales*, *Chilo*, *Pit-*

tacus, Bias, Cleobulus, and Periander; and the fabulist, Æsop.

Thirdly, *Sectarian*, which owes its birth to Thales and Pythagoras, and was divided into two leading schools, the Ionic and Italic.

Of the IONIC SCHOOL, were,

1. The *Ionic Sect, proper*, whose founder Thales had, as his successors, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Diogenes Apolloniates, and Archelaus.

2. The *Socratic School*, founded by SOCRATES, the principal of whose disciples were Xenophon, Æschines, Simon, Cebes, Aristippus, Phædo, Euclid, Plato, Antisthenes, Critus, and Alcibiades.

3. The *Cyrenaic Sect*, of which *Aristippus* was the author: his followers were, his daughter Arete, Hegesias, Anicerris, Theodorus, and Bion.

4. The *Megaric, or Eristic Sect*, formed by *Euclid* of Megara; to whom succeeded Eubulides, Diodorus, and Stilpo, famous for their logical subtlety.

5. The *Eliac, or Eretriac School*, raised by *Phædo* of Elis, who, though he closely adhered to the doctrine of Socrates, gave name to his school. His successors were Plistanus, and Menedemus: the latter of whom, being a native of Eretria, transferred the school and name to his own country.

6. The *Academic Sect*, of which PLATO was the founder. After his death, many of his disciples deviating from his doctrine, the school was divided into,

(1.) The *Old Academy*, which strictly retained his tenets, and in which the chair of Plato was successively filled by *Speusippus*, *Xenocrates*, *Polemo*, *Crates*, and *Crantor*.

(2.) The *Middle Academy*, founded by *Arcesilaus*, and continued by *Lacydes*, *Evander*, and *Egesinus*.

(3.) The *New Academy*, of which *Carneades* was the author: he was succeeded by *Clitomachus*, *Philo* of Larissa, *Charmidas*, and *Antiochus* of Ascalon, the last preceptor of the Platonic school in Greece.

7. The *Peripatetic Sect*, founded by ARISTOTLE, whose successors in the Lyceum were Theophrastus, Strato, Lycon, Aristo, Critolaus, and Diodorus. Among the Pe-



ripatetics, besides those who occupied the chair, were also Dicæarchus, Eudemus, and Demetrius Phalereus.

8. The *Cynic Sect*, of which the author was *Antisthenes*, whom Diogenes, Onesicritus, Crates, Metrocles, Menippus, and Menedemus succeeded. In the list of Cynic philosophers must also be reckoned Hipparchia, the wife of Crates.

9. The *Stoic Sect*, of which ZENO was the founder. His successors in the porch were Persæus, Aristo of Chios, Herillus, Sphærus, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Zeno of Tarsus, Diogenes the Babylonian, Antipater, Panætius, and Posidonius.

#### Of the ITALIC SCHOOL, were

1. The *Italic Sect*, proper: it was founded by PYTHAGORAS, a disciple of Pherecydes. The followers of Pythagoras were Aristæus, Mnesarchus, Alcmaeon, Ecphantus, Hippo, Empedocles, Epicharmus, Ocellus, Timæus, Archytas, Hippasus, Philolaus, and Eudoxus.

2. The *Eleatic Sect*, of which *Xenophanes* was the author: his successors, Parmenides, Melissus, Zeno, belonged to the *metaphysical* class of this sect; Leucippus, Democritus, Protagoras, Diagoras, and Anaxarchus, to the *physical*.

3. The *Heraclitean Sect*, which was founded by *Heraclitus*, and soon afterwards expired: Zeno and Hippocrates philosophised after the manner of Heraclitus, and other philosophers borrowed freely from his system.

4. The *Epicurean Sect*, a branch of the Eleatic, had EPICURUS for its author; among whose followers were Metrodorus, Polyænus, Hermachus, Polystratus, Basilides, and Protarchus.

5. The *Pyrrhonic*, or *Sceptic Sect*, the parent of which was *Pyrrho*: his doctrine was taught by Timon, the Phliasian; and after some interval was continued by Ptolemy, a Cyrenæan, and at Alexandria by Ænesidemus.

#### *The Grecian Philosophy* at length passed from Greece and Italy,

1. *Into Asia*. Alexander, in his Asiatic expedition, was attended by many philosophers, particularly Callisthenes and Anaxarchus; several of whom he sent to hold confer-

ence with the wise men of the East, particularly the Persian magi and the Indian brachmans. The consequence was, that by means of the mythological cast of the Oriental theology, the Grecian and Oriental dogmas were blended together; and hence arose a new kind of doctrine in the East.

2. *Into Egypt.* After Alexander had conquered Egypt, he permitted the people, whom he collected from different countries in Alexandria, to profess their respective religious and philosophical tenets; whence these gradually became incorporated with those of the Greeks. This coalition was afterwards greatly promoted by the encouragement which was given to learned men and philosophers of all nations and sects to settle at Alexandria. From this time, the names of almost all the Greek sects were heard in Egypt; but that which was chiefly prevalent was the Platonic. The remains of the Italian school of Pythagoras also fled into Egypt, and their institutions suited the taste of that superstitious nation. Thus an alliance gradually took place between the Egyptian, Platonic, and Pythagorean systems; and from this heterogeneous combination both philosophy and theology assumed a new form in Egypt. When, under Ptolemy Physcon, the philosophers were for a time driven from Egypt into Asia, upon their return the Oriental philosophy was added to the mass, and the confusion of opinions was completed in the *Eclectic sect*.

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## PERIOD THE SECOND,

*From the Decline of the Roman Republic to the Revival of Letters; which comprehends;*

First, THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ROMANS; concerning which may be considered its State,

1. *Before the Establishment of the Monarchy;* when it may be remarked, that the Grecian philosophy was not received without great difficulty. For when Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus were sent to Rome on an embassy from the Athenians, and the Roman youths of distinction

flocked together to hear the philosophers, it was thought necessary, after giving them an honourable dismissal, to pass a decree of the senate, that no philosophers should reside at Rome. When the same young men, however, were soon afterwards sent to Athens in a military capacity, they visited the schools of the philosophers, and became acquainted with their doctrines. This was first done by Scipio Africanus, Lelius, and Furius, whose example was soon followed by many others. Lucullus, who was instructed in philosophy by Antiochus the Ascalonite, erected a magnificent library at his house, which he opened for the use of the learned, and hereby enticed philosophers of all sects to settle at Rome. Sylla, after the siege of Athens, first brought to light the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and conveyed them to Rome. From the times of Lucullus and Sylla commences the epocha of the flourishing state of philosophy in Rome, during which there was scarcely any Grecian sect which had not its patrons and followers among the Romans. This was the case, particularly with respect to

1. The *Pythagoric Sect*, to which Ennius, Cato the Censor, and Nigidius Figulus were adherents; after whom the Pythagoric discipline soon disappeared.
2. The *Academic*, *Old*, *Middle*, and *New*: the Old having among its followers Lucullus, Brutus, Varro, and Piso; the Middle being espoused by Cicero, and the New by Philo.
3. The *Stoic Sect*, to which, besides many other illustrious Romans, Balbus and Cato of Utica were addicted.
4. The *Peripatetic Sect*; for, after the writings of Aristotle had been copied by Tyrannio, and commented upon by Andronicus, the Rhodian, a Peripatetic philosopher, this sect also engaged much attention in Rome. Cato, Crassus, and Piso, received instructions from philosophers of this sect; and Cicero committed the charge of his son to Cratippus, a teacher of the Peripatetic philosophy at Athens.
5. The *Epicurean Sect*, which was patronized by Torquatus, Velleius, Trebatius, Pansa, Atticus, Cassius, and others.
6. The *Sceptic Sect*, which was indeed thought to be ex-

tinct in the time of Cicero, but was not without secret friends among the professed Academics, and was publicly revived at Alexandria by *Ænesidemus*.

II. *From the time of the Establishment of the Roman Monarchy*; when, though Roman liberty expired, the study of philosophy was not neglected. For with the poets, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Manilius, and Persius, and the historians, Livy, Tacitus, and Strabo, whose writings are enriched with many sentiments borrowed from the schools of philosophy, we find many professed philosophers:

1. *Pythagoric*: for though the sect of the Pythagoreans soon failed, and, strictly speaking, was never afterwards revived, there were some philosophers who adopted Pythagoric dogmas, and followed the Pythagoric discipline; among whom were Nigidius, Anaxilanus, Sextius, Sotion, Moderatus, Nichomachus, and, above all the rest, Apollonius Tyanæus.
2. *Platonic*: to which class belonged Thrasyllus, Theon, Alcinoüs, Favorinus, Taurus, Apuleius, Atticus, Numenius, Maximus Tyrius, Plutarch, and Galen.
3. *Eclectic, or Later Platonists*; a body of philosophers who raised a new edifice of opinions from materials collected from various philosophical and religious sects, not excepting the Christian. The seeds of this sect were sown in Egypt by *Potamo*, an Alexandrian philosopher. It rose to full growth under *Ammonius Sacca*. Among his disciples were Longinus, Herennius, Origen, and Plotinus. Under *Plotinus* this sect became so flourishing, that he may be considered as a second father of the Alexandrian Eclectic school. The sect was supported in Egypt and Asia by Amelius, Porphyry, Maximus, Jamblichus, Ædesius, Eustathius, Chrysanthius, and Hierocles; and afterwards at Athens by Plutarch, the son of Nestorius, Syrian, Proclus, Marinus, Isidore, and Damascius.
4. *Peripatetic*; who may be divided into two classes: the first, *Pure*, which from Andronicus to the time of Nero, preserved the peculiar characters of the sect, and kept it distinct from all others. To this class belonged, Sosigenes, Nicolaus Damascenus, Xenarchus, Athenæus, and Alexander Ægeus. The second, *Mixed*, which owed its origin to Ammonius, the Peripatetic,

who mixed Platonic and Stoic dogmas with those of his own sect. His example was followed by Eudemus, Alexander Damascenus, Themistius, Olympiodorus, Simplicius, and others. Notwithstanding the attempts which were made by Alexander Aphrodisæus, Anatolius, and some others, to restore the purity of the Aristotelian doctrine, it remained in a corrupt state, till, in the seventh century, it passed over to the Arabian and Christian schools.

5. *Cynic*: of whom the most memorable names are Musonius, Demetrius, Demonax, Crescens, Peregrinus, and Salustius.
6. *Stoic*: who flourished with peculiar distinction under the patronage of several of the emperors. The most celebrated Stoics of this period are Athenodorus, Cornutus, Musonius Rufus, Chæremon, Seneca, Dio of Prusa, Euphrates, Epictetus, and Sextus of Chæronea.
7. *Epicurean*: among whom Pliny, Lucian, and Diogenes Laertius are to be reckoned: some add Celsus, but without sufficient reason.
8. *Sceptic*: of whom the principal are Ænesidemus and Sextus Empiricus.

### Secondly, THE ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

This philosophy, which sprung up a little before the Christian era, from the remains of the Zoroastrian doctrine, had many followers in various parts of Asia: of these not a few passed over into Egypt, and contaminated not only the Pagan, but the Christian and Jewish schools; producing among the Jews the Cabbalistic mysteries, and among the Christians the Gnostic heresies. The Oriental philosophy, which first appeared in Chaldea and Persia, and was afterwards disseminated through other countries, bears so near a resemblance to that of Zoroaster, that it may be reasonably referred to this origin.

Thirdly, THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE JEWS, after their Return from the Babylonish Captivity; concerning which is to be considered,

#### I. *The Jewish Philosophy from the End of the Captivity*

*to the Destruction of Jerusalem; during which period the things chiefly to be noted are,*

1. That the Samaritans embraced a mixed system of religion, partly Jewish and partly Pagan, and received from the Oriental schools certain doctrines concerning emanations from the Divine Nature; whence arose the heresy of Simon Magus.

2. That, by the help of allegory, an Egyptian colony of Jews incorporated Pagan philosophy, chiefly the Platonic mixed with Oriental dogmas, with the mystical interpretation of their sacred law; and that among the first of these corruptors of Jewish wisdom are to be ranked Philo and Aristobulus.

3. That the Cabbala, or mystical interpretation of the law, was brought over from Egypt to Palestine, by Simeon Shetach; and that after this there were learned men in Judea, who studied Pagan philosophy, of which Josephus, the historian, is an example.

4. That the principal sects of the Jews were the Sadducees, the Karæites, the Pharisees, the Essenes, and the Therapeutæ, whose origin, however, is uncertain. Of their learned men, some of the most eminent were, Jesus the son of Sirach, Philo, Hillel, and Shammai.

## II. *The Jewish Philosophy, from the Destruction of Jerusalem to modern Times; during which period the principal objects of attention are,*

1. The learned men, who having escaped the general destruction, erected schools at Jamnia, Tiberias, Bittera, Lydda, &c. The most celebrated doctors of the law at that time were, Eliezer, Johannan, Jehudah Hakkadosh, and Akibha, the compilers of the Talmud. In Babylon were the Jewish schools of Sorana, Naharda, and Pumbeditha; among the more celebrated preceptors, of whom were the rabbis Ashe and Jose, the compilers of the later Talmud, called the Babylonian.

2. The traditionary mystical wisdom, called the *Cabbala*, which after the destruction of the Jewish state was studied and taught with great industry. The most famous Cabbalists were Akibha, the author of the book *Jezirah*, and Simeon Jochaides, who wrote the book *Sohar*. A

disciple of the former was Simeon ben Jochai; after whom, till the tenth century, we meet with few traces of the Cabbalistic philosophy, and Saadiah Gaon is the only distinguished name. The Jews, at this time, were grievously persecuted by the Saracens, fled from the East into Europe, and many of them settled in Spain.

3. The revival of Talmudical, Cabbalistic, and Pagan learning among the Jews in Spain, by whom the writings of Aristotle were translated from Arabic versions into Hebrew. The most eminent Jew of this age was Maimonides.

### III. *The Philosophy of the Saracens, or Arabians.*

Before the publication of the *Islimatic Law* by MAHOMET, philosophy had little or no existence among the Arabians. At the beginning of the Abbasidean dynasty, in the eighth century, the light of science began to dawn; and, under Al-Mamon, in the ninth century, learning of every kind, and especially philosophy, flourished. Mesue Damascenus opened a school at Bagdat, and taught philosophy in the Syriac tongue. His disciple Honain also promoted the study of philosophy, which was greatly facilitated by the Christian libraries which came into the possession of the Saracens. The works of Galen and Aristotle were translated into Arabic. Public schools were instituted; and long flourished, at Bagdat, Bassora, and Bochara. Nor was philosophy at this time confined to the countries of the east: with the Saracenic empire, it extended to the western world. Numerous schools were founded, in which professors of philosophy were appointed. During the period of Arabian learning, the most eminent philosophers were Rasi, Essereph, Thophail, Averroës, Al Ashari, Alkendi, Alfarabi, Avicenna, Avenzoar, Avenpace, Al Gazel, Abulfarabi, &c.

### Fourthly, PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIANS.

#### I. *From the Birth of CHRIST to the Seventh Century.*

The Fathers of the Christian Church, who were distinguished by philosophical learning were, in the *second century*, Justin Martyr, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Pantæus, and Hermias; who all



favoured the Platonism which then prevailed: Tatian, who went over to the Gnostics; and Tertullian, who, though well skilled in ancient philosophy, rejected it altogether. In the *third century*, Origen, who mixed the Eclectic philosophy of Alexandria with the Christian doctrine. In the *fourth century*, Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, Didymus, Augustine, Chalcidius. In the *fifth century*, Synesius, and Pseudo-Dionysius, in the East; and in the West, Claudius Mammertus and Boëthius; who, after Origen, leaned towards the Eclectic sect, while Boëthius favoured the Peripatetic. In the *sixth century*, Æneas Gaza, and Zacharias Scholasticus, who were inclined to the Eclectic philosophy; to whom may be added Philoponus; who, though attached to the same system, turned his attention chiefly to the interpretation of Aristotle.

## II. *From the Seventh Century to the Revival of Letters;* during which come under consideration,

1. *The philosophy of the Greek or Oriental Christians, from the seventh century to the taking of Constantinople;* where the following things are chiefly to be remarked: Alexandrian Platonism expired among the Pagans in the seventh century, and its remains were only found among the Christians, and chiefly among the monks. Out of the monasteries, the Aristotelian philosophy began to revive through the labours of John of Damascus, who called in this philosophy to the aid of theology. He may not improperly be considered as the harbinger of the Scholastic philosophy. After this time barbarism prevailed, till, in the *ninth century*, under the emperors Michael and Barda, learning was in some degree revived. The most celebrated names, at this period, in the East, were, Psellus the Elder, Leo the philosopher, Photius, Nicetas, Nicephorus, Pachymerus, and Lapitha, all Peripatetics; and Psellus the Younger, an admirer of the Alexandrian philosophy.

2. *The philosophy of the Western Christians from the seventh century to the twelfth:* during which period flourished, in the *seventh century*, Boëthius and Isidore. In the *eighth*, Bede, Theodore Cilix, Alcuin, &c. In the *ninth*, Rabanus, Erigena, Eginhard, Adelard, Grimbold,

&c. In the *tenth*, Bridferd, Dunstan, Remigius, Nanno, Gerbert, &c. In the *eleventh*, Fulbert, Berengar, Lanfranc, Anselm, Hermannus, &c. and Roscelin, from whom arose the memorable controversy between the Nominalists and Realists. The wisdom of this period was almost wholly wasted in dialectic subtleties.

The *Scholastic philosophy*, which was a confused mass of notions compounded of Arabian and Aristotelian philosophy and polemic theology. Lanfranc, Roscelin, and others, have been called the fathers of this philosophy.

From the beginning of the *twelfth* century to the middle of the *thirteenth*, the more celebrated *Scholastics* were, Abelard, Lombard, Porretan, Comestor, John of Salisbury, and Pulleyn; between the middle of the thirteenth century and the year 1390, flourished Albert, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Roger Bacon, Ægidius, Duns Scotus; to these succeeded, before the revival of letters, Durand, Occam, Suisset, and Wessel.

The Scholastics were divided into various sects, such as Albertists, Thomists, Scotists, Occamists; but those of the Nominalists and Realists are most celebrated.

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## PERIOD THE THIRD.

*From the Revival of Letters to the Beginning of the present Century; in which we find,*

**I. ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE AND CORRECT THE SECTARIAN PHILOSOPHY.** These we owe to the restoration of learning, and particularly to the revival of the study of the Greek language.

1. After Raymund Lully, in the *thirteenth* century, had in vain pretended to improve philosophy by his inventive art; in the *fourteenth* and *fifteenth* centuries, many learned men arose; who, either by reviving a taste for classical studies, or by translating and commenting upon the writings of the ancient philosophers, or by satirizing the Scholastic philosophy and its professors, prepared the way for the reformation of philosophy. Among these, some of the more celebrated names are Chrysoloras, Paleologus,

Dante, Petrarch, Boccace, Aretin, Politian, Philolphus, Valla, Agricola, and Argyropulus.

2. The revival of learning, accompanied with the reformation of religion, produced a general inclination to restore the ancient honours of philosophy. Erasmus, Vives, Nizolius, and others, exposed to ridicule the false philosophy of the Scholastics; Luther, Melancthon, Faber, Agricola, Camerarius, and others, contributed in various ways to the correction of philosophy in general.

3. Learned men arose, who formed the design of reviving the ancient Grecian sects, and arranged themselves, respectively, under the standards of the ancient masters. Particularly,

(1.) The *Platonic Philosophy*, mixed with the Pythagorean, was revived by Pletho, Bessario, and Ficinus: Picus added the *Cabbalistic* doctrine; and his footsteps were followed by Reuchlin, Venetus, Agrippa, and More; while Patricius, Gale, Cudworth, Burnet, and others, rejecting the Cabbalistic dreams, endeavoured to restore Alexandrian Platonism.

(2.) The *Aristotelian Philosophy* was taught, either *mixed* with the Scholastic, by Lobkowitz, Ricciolus, Honoratus Faber, and others; or *pure*, by Gaza, Trapezuntius, Scholarius, Pomponatius, Niphus, Cremoninus, Melancthon, Simon, Schegkius, Sherbius, Taurellus, Sonerus, Conringius, and many more.

(3.) The *Parmenidean Philosophy* was restored by Telesius, who, meeting with much opposition, was ably defended by Campanella.

(4.) The *Ionic Philosophy* had a new advocate in Berigard; who however acknowledged that, both the Ionic and the Peripatetic system were defective, and was hence inclined to scepticism.

(5.) The *Stoic Philosophy* found an able patron in Lipsius, who was closely followed by Scioppius and Gataker.

(6.) The *Epicurean Philosophy*, after an unsuccessful attempt by Magnenus, was revived by Gassendi, who was followed by Bernier and Charleton.

## II. ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE NEW METHODS OF PHILOSOPHISING, made by

1. *Modern Sceptics*; of whom the most celebrated are Sanchez, Hernhaym, Vayer, Huet, and Bayle.

2. *Scriptural Philosophers*, who, despairing of being able to arrive at truth by the light of reason, had recourse to the Scriptures, particularly to the Mosaic cosmogony, and endeavoured upon this foundation to raise a new structure of philosophy. These are, chiefly, Alsted, Dickinson, Burnet, Whiston, Comenius, and Bayer.

3. *Theosophists*, who boast that they derive their hidden wisdom, not from the exercise of the understanding in inquiries after truth, but from immediate Divine illumination. To this class of philosophers are to be referred, Paracelsus and his disciples, Fludd, Boehmen, Helmont, Poiret, and, according to some, the Rosicrusians.

4. *Professed Enemies of Philosophy*, of whom the principal are, besides the Sceptics and Theosophists, Pomponatius, Cremoninus, and Daniel Hoffman.

**III. ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE PHILOSOPHY IN THE TRUE ECLECTIC METHOD;** not such as was followed by the Alexandrian philosophers, but that which consists in rejecting prejudices of every kind, subjecting the opinions of former philosophers to the strict scrutiny of reason, and admitting no conclusions but such as may be clearly deduced from principles founded in the nature of things, and discovered by experience. Among modern Eclectic philosophers are,

1. *Those who have endeavoured to improve Philosophy in general;* of whom the principal are Bruno, Cardan, Bacon, Campanella, Hobbes, Des Cartes, Leibnitz, Thomas, and Wolfe.

2. *Those who have endeavoured to improve particular Branches of Philosophy;* as,

(1.) *Logic and Metaphysics;* such as, Peter Ramus, Arnold, Spinoza and his followers, Mallebranche, Tschernhausen, Locke.

(2.) *Morals and Jurisprudence;* as Montaigne, Charon, Scultet, Boden, Machiavel, Grotius, Selden, Puffendorf.

(3.) *Natural Philosophy;* as Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, Gilbert, Boyle, Newton.

# HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

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## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

**I**N an undertaking so extensive as the ensuing, it is necessary, that the general object be at first clearly ascertained, and that the limits of the design be accurately defined. As this work is intended to be a history, not of literature or science in general, but of Philosophy, the reader should be previously informed, in what sense the author understands the term; especially, as there are few words to which a greater variety of significations has been annexed.

What is now called Philosophy, was, in the infancy of human society, denominated Wisdom; and indeed every ingenious discovery, and useful art, was then honoured with this appellation.<sup>1</sup> The title of Wise Men was, at that time, frequently conferred upon persons who had little claim to such distinction; and superstition very early bestowed it upon those who were entrusted with the direction of religious concerns;<sup>2</sup> although it cannot be doubted, that they had often no other right to such pre-eminence, than that which was founded upon ingenious imposture. Men of superior understanding, at length detecting the fallacy of these pretensions, were induced to assert their own right of free inquiry, and prosecuted their researches after truth, if not with the success which they expected, at least with that liberal spirit which gave them a just claim to the title of Wise Men. The wisdom, which they in this manner acquired, many of them applied to purposes highly beneficial to mankind: whence the term Wisdom came, by degrees, to denote both the scientific study, and the practical application of such truths, as were adapted to promote the happiness of human life.

In process of time, when a race of self-created preceptors arose in Greece, who assumed the name of Sophists, or Wise Men, their arrogant pretensions gave great offence

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *Ethic. ad Nicom.* l. vi. c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, l. xv. p. 501. Diog. Laert. l. i. § 1, 2.

to such as were capable of distinguishing between real and counterfeit wisdom, and led them to adopt an appellation more suitable to the character of men, who modestly professed themselves to be in the pursuit, rather than in the possession of truth and wisdom, namely, that of Philosophers.

Cicero ascribes the invention of this term to Pythagoras, and thus relates the occasion upon which it was introduced. Every one knows, that among the Greeks there were seven eminent men, who have since been universally denominated the Seven Wise Men of Greece; that, at a still earlier period, Lycurgus, and even in the heroic ages, Ulysses and Nestor, were called wise men; and, in short, that this appellation has, from the most ancient times, been given to those who have devoted themselves to the contemplation of nature. This title continued in common use till the time of Pythagoras. It happened, whilst this great man was at Phlius, that Leon, the chief of the Phliasians, was exceedingly charmed with the ingenuity and eloquence with which he discoursed upon various topics, and asked him in what art he principally excelled: to which Pythagoras replied, that he did not profess himself master of any art, but that he was a *philosopher*. Leon, struck with the novelty of the term, asked Pythagoras, who were philosophers, and wherein they differed from other men? Pythagoras replied, that, as in the public games, whilst some are contending for glory, and others are buying and selling in pursuit of gain, there is always a third class, who attend merely as spectators; so, in human life, amidst the various characters of men there is a select number, who, despising all other pursuits, assiduously apply themselves to the study of nature, and the search after wisdom: these, added Pythagoras, are the persons whom I call philosophers.<sup>1</sup>

This appellation, assumed merely through modesty, to intimate that even they who have made the greatest advances in knowledge, are rather to be considered as lovers of wisdom than as wise men, soon lost its original meaning, and was borne with as much haughtiness and vanity, as if it had implied an exclusive right to the possession of wisdom. "Some there are," says Quintilian, "who, des-

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Tuscul. Disp.* i. v. c. 3.

pising the occupation of an orator, have employed themselves in prescribing rules for the conduct of life: these have insolently assumed to themselves the title of the Sole Professors of Wisdom."<sup>2</sup>

At a later period the signification of the term philosophy was extended so far, as to include not only all speculative science, but also skill in municipal law, the knowledge of medicine, the art of criticism, and the whole circle of polite literature. The term was even transferred to theology; the Christian religion was called sacred philosophy; and ecclesiastical doctors and monks were styled philosophers.

This brief account of the changes which this term has undergone, in its meaning and use, may serve to shew the necessity of fixing, with some degree of precision, the sense in which we understand the word, before we attempt to trace the rise and progress of philosophy.

Philosophy may be defined, that love of wisdom, which incites to the pursuit of important and useful science. Philosophy discovers and teaches those principles by means of which happiness may be acquired, preserved, and increased: wisdom applies these principles to the benefit of individuals and of society. "Knowledge which is applicable to no useful purpose, cannot deserve the name of wisdom."

"Qui ipsi sibi sapiens prodesse nequit, nequicquam sapit."<sup>3</sup>

The sources of that knowledge of truth which leads to the possession of happiness are two, reason and revelation. To instruct men in those truths which God hath communicated to mankind by revelation, is the province of theology. To teach them such truths connected with their happiness, as are capable of being discovered by the powers of reason, is the province of philosophy. These two provinces are perfectly distinct, and ought to be kept separate, except where the one may occasionally serve to cast light upon the other.

The leading offices of philosophy may be easily deduced from the general idea of its object: for if the end to be attained be the permanent enjoyment of real good, it must

<sup>2</sup> Quintil. Proem. Instit. <sup>3</sup> Ennius ap. Cic. Epist. Fam. l. vii. ep. 6.



unquestionably be the business of philosophy, to investigate the nature of good, and the means by which it may be acquired, and so to form and improve the whole man, that he may arrive at the complete possession of true felicity. Consequently, the business of philosophy will be, to cultivate the understanding, and point out the manner in which it may best perform its operations; to correct and meliorate the will and affections, by discovering what objects are desirable, comparing their respective claims, and showing how they may be rendered most productive of happiness; to inquire into the causes of natural appearances, and hence arrive at the knowledge of the First Cause, under these characters and relations which are most interesting to mankind; to conduct men to such an acquaintance with the properties of natural bodies, and their reciprocal actions, as shall enable them to apply the objects around them, to their own convenience; and, finally, to assist them in investigating the principles of social virtue, and to provide them with such rules of conduct, as arise from natural convenience and interest, from the natural sentiments of justice and humanity, and from the voluntary engagements of civil society. Dialectics, physics, natural religion, ethics, and policy, are thus comprehended under the general term, philosophy. How far this distribution agrees with the arrangements adopted by the ancients, and comprehends their several objects of philosophical discussion, will appear in the sequel.

From this explanation of the sense in which we understand the term philosophy, the reader will easily perceive, what is to be expected from the present undertaking. A history of philosophy, is a history of doctrines, and of men. As a history of doctrines, it lays open the origin of opinions, the changes which they have undergone, the distinct characters of different systems, and the leading points in which they agree or differ: it is therefore, in fact, a history of the human understanding. As a history of men, it relates the principal incidents in the lives of the more eminent philosophers; remarks particularly, those circumstances in their character or situation, which may be supposed to have influenced their opinions; takes notice of their followers and their opponents, and describes the origin, progress, and decline of their respective sects.

In this manner we have undertaken to trace the history

of philosophy, and philosophers, from the earliest records to the present time. The undertaking, we are sensible, is attended with many difficulties, and requires much industry and impartiality. That we might proceed, in the execution of so extensive and arduous a design, with some probability of success, we have found it necessary to prescribe to ourselves certain rules and cautions, which we have invariably endeavoured to follow.

Wherever original authors were to be obtained, we have carefully examined them. In perusing these, we have considered, whether they deliver their own opinions, or merely relate the opinions of others; attending all along to the general phraseology, and particularly to the technical terms, made use of by the sect which they founded, or to which they belonged. We have, in the first place, endeavoured to discover the general principles on which each system is built; and then, to trace out the particular conclusions which have been deduced from these; always preferring that interpretation of any doubtful passage, which best agrees with the fundamental principles, and the spirit of the system. We have carefully remarked those personal circumstances, respecting any philosopher, which might serve to throw light upon his opinions; such, for example, as his country, his family, his education, his natural temper, his habits of life, his patrons, friends, or enemies. In those cases, in which the founder of a sect has either left no writings behind him, or his works are lost, we have preferred the authority of his immediate followers, or of such as lived nearest his time, to the testimony of later writers. Well aware of the unpardonable liberties which have been taken, in imposing spurious books upon the world, under the sanction of the most venerable names of antiquity, we have been constantly upon our guard against this kind of deception, and have rejected, without hesitation, such writings as bear the evident marks of imposture.<sup>4</sup> In comparing the proofs of questionable facts, we have endeavoured to weigh them fairly in the scale of probability; asserting or denying nothing with greater confidence, than the nature of the evidence adduced will justify, and always suspending our judgment where we are uncertain, and, where means of information are wanting, confessing our ignorance. We

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Fabricii Bibl. Græc. vol. xiv. p. 191.

have been particularly careful, not to ascribe modern ideas and opinions to the ancients, nor to torture their expressions into a meaning which probably never entered into their thoughts, in order to accommodate them to a modern hypothesis or system. Where we have found any doctrine imperfectly explained, or have met with any philosopher, who appears to have been himself defective in perspicuity of conception, or who, by making use of vague and indeterminate language, leaves his reader in uncertainty; we have rather chosen to let the veil of obscurity remain upon his system, than to substitute our own ideas in the room of the writer's, from the hope of making that clear, which the author himself has left obscure. In fine, we have not neglected to make use of every collateral aid, which chronology, ecclesiastical history, or general literature could afford.

By observing these rules and precautions, we trust we have been enabled, in some measure, to rise superior to the difficulties of our undertaking. After all, however, we cannot but exceedingly regret, that our sources of information are so defective, and the materials which they supply so imperfect. A circumstance which the reader will easily account for, when, besides the unavoidable injuries of time, he recollects, how many famous libraries of ancient manuscripts have been destroyed by military plunder, or by the still more barbarous hand of religious bigotry. It is well known, that the celebrated collection which had been made by the Egyptian Ptolemies was consumed, through the ignorance and rashness of Julius Cæsar's soldiers; that the public library which had been formed at Rome, in the palace of the Cæsars, and was carefully preserved in a temple dedicated to Apollo, was destroyed by lightning; that Pope Gregory issued a general order, for burning all the Heathen writings which remained at Rome;<sup>5</sup> that when Alexandria was taken by Omar, the Saracen Caliph, its immense library, which had been accumulating for several centuries, in a place distinguished for the study of philosophy, was consigned to the flames, and furnished fuel for heating the baths of the city for the space of six months;<sup>6</sup> and that Al-Mamon, an Arabian, whose name is celebrated for the protection which he afforded to learning and learned men, in order to give greater value to the translations which were

<sup>5</sup> Sarisberiensis Policrat. l. ii. p. 123. <sup>6</sup> Abulphar. Hist. Dynast. p. 114.

at that time made, under his patronage, from the Greek tongue, destroyed the original manuscripts, as soon as the Arabic or Latin version was finished.<sup>7</sup>

The uses, to which an impartial and accurate inquiry into the rise and progress of philosophy may be applied, and the advantages, which are to be expected from it, are numerous and important.

The history of philosophy is, as we have said, the history of the human understanding, clearly shewing the extent of its capacity, the causes of its perversion, and the means by which it may be recalled from its unprofitable wanderings, and successfully employed in subserviency to the happiness of mankind. Whilst it traces the origin and growth of useful knowledge, it also discovers the manner in which errors have arisen and been propagated, and exposes the injury which they have done to science, literature, and religion: It exhibits great and exalted minds, as forsaking the path of truth, and adopting opinions at once the most absurd and the most pernicious: a representation, which cannot fail to shew the folly of placing an implicit confidence in the judgment of celebrated men, or of admitting any system as true, before it has undergone an accurate examination. Nor is there any hazard, as some suppose, lest such a freedom, from the shackles of authority, should produce a contempt of truly wise and learned men, and cherish the humour of conceit and vanity. For, an acquaintance with the mistakes and failures of men, who have unsuccessfully employed great ingenuity and industry in the pursuit of truth, suggests a useful lesson of modesty and diffidence in our own inquiries, and of candour towards the mistakes of others. A clear detection of error, and of the sources whence it has sprung, furnishes facts to prove, that opinions, which have no other foundation than weak misconception; a blind respect for authority or antiquity, or a selfish attention to interest, may be embraced by multitudes as true; and that, on the other hand, truths, which have been long rejected as idle paradoxes or pernicious principles, may, at length, lift up their heads, and triumph over prejudice; whence will naturally arise enlargement of mind and a manly freedom of thinking.

The history of philosophy may also be useful, as a faith-

<sup>7</sup> *Eco Africanus de Viris Illustr. Arab. c. 1. apud Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vol. xiii. p. 260. Conf. Schelhornii Amœnit. t. vii. p. 75.*

ful register of discoveries in the world of science, and as a skilful guide towards unknown regions, whither future adventurers may with advantage direct their course. It may serve to prevent the farther waste of precious time in speculations, which experience has shewn to lie beyond the reach of the human faculties, and to give that prudent direction to philosophical industry, without which the boundaries of knowledge can never be enlarged. By shewing how far science has been hitherto successfully prosecuted, and in what instances it has been treated injudiciously, inaccurately explained, or imperfectly explored, it instructs men, what is to be avoided, and what yet remains to be done, in the pursuit of knowledge; puts them upon their guard against the repetition of attempts, which have already, in many instances, proved fruitless; enables them to distinguish new doctrines, or discoveries from things already known and taught, and to strip off the plumes from imposing plagiaries; and assists them in the choice of a proper field of inquiry, and in the regulation of future speculations.

An acquaintance with the history of philosophy, moreover, includes the knowledge of the general sources of science, of the names and characters of valuable authors, the subjects of their works, and the assistance which may be expected from them in scientific researches. The history of philosophy is, in this view, an important branch of the history of universal erudition, serving to introduce the young inquirer to an acquaintance with those silent preceptors, from whose instructions he may expect the daily increase of his intellectual stores.

In several distinct branches of science, the history of philosophy may afford much assistance. In theology, it may be of great use, in discovering the origin of natural religion, and tracing the course of its stream, even when united with the foul current of gentile idolatry; in confirming the credit of sacred history by external testimony; in ascertaining the limits between the province of reason, and that of revelation, and in reflecting light upon many passages in the sacred writings. In ecclesiastical history, it enables us to account for the early introduction of metaphysical subtleties into the Christian system, as well as the consequent corruption of the simplicity of its doctrine, and to explain the origin of many obscure tenets, and idle fictions, which have, at different periods, gained admission

into the church of Christ. In jurisprudence, it assists us in discovering the foundation of municipal law, by shewing, that in every age of the world the principles of natural justice have been known, and that they have been admitted into every philosophical system, and received by every nation of the earth. It is particularly useful in the study of the civil law, many of the ideas and terms of which are borrowed from the Stoic philosophy. It might easily be shewn, in like manner, that the history of philosophy casts light upon mathematics, medicine, and other sciences; but in a matter so exceedingly obvious, a farther detail would be superfluous.

To these benefits, which may be expected to accrue from a history of opinions, may be added others, of great importance, arising from the history of philosophers and sects. Besides the biographical entertainment and instruction, which such memoirs may afford, they must contain much useful information peculiar to this branch of learning. To observe by what means they who have been engaged in the pursuit and propagation of knowledge have accomplished their design; what obstacles they have overcome; in what instances, and from what causes, they have been imposed upon by the semblance of truth, and have embraced the shadow for the substance; into what mistakes they have fallen through prejudice, precipitation, or vanity; what inconveniences they have suffered from their misconceptions and errors, and what advantages they have derived from their wisdom, with other circumstances of a similar nature, cannot fail to suggest hints and reflections, which may be of great use in the prosecution of science.

Having said thus much to explain the nature of our design, the rules which we have prescribed to ourselves in the execution, and the advantages which are to be expected from a work of this kind, we have nothing further to add, in the way of introduction, than to give our readers a general view of our plan.

The whole history of philosophy we divide into Three Periods. The *first* period traces its rise and progress from the earliest times to the establishment of the Roman empire. The *second* period represents its state among the Heathens, whilst it flourished under the emperors, which brings the history down to the sixth century; and among the Jews, Saracens, and Christians, from the commencement of the

Christian era to the time of the revival of letters. The *third* period relates the attempts which have since been made for the reformation and improvement of philosophy, and describes the various forms which it has assumed from the revival of letters to the present century. Thus the whole history of philosophy is conveniently divided into *ancient, middle, and modern*. In order to assist the memory, the utmost care has been taken, to give each of these periods its distinct characters of time and place.

The First Period includes the Barbaric and the Grecian philosophy: the former comprehending all those nations, which, before the time when the Grecian philosophy passed over to the Romans, did not make use of the Greek language; the latter, all those countries in which that language was spoken.

We shall find, in treating of the Barbaric philosophy, that, as might be expected in the infancy of the world, it was simple in its nature and office, and was taught, without any laboured efforts of reasoning, merely by tradition. As knowledge advanced, philosophy assumed a more manly tone, and put on the habit of science; till, at length, it appeared with great dignity among the Greeks, the freedom of whose spirit and manners led them to lay open the mysteries of wisdom, and to make use of their own faculties in investigating new truths, and framing new systems.

Our survey of the state of philosophy among the Barbaric nations, takes its rise, with respect to time, from the first records of history; and follows, with respect to place, the natural order of East, South, West, and North; an order which was followed by the ancients, who divided the inhabitants of the world into four parts, calling the inhabitants of the east, Indians; those of the south, Ethiopians; those of the west, Celts; and those of the north, Scythians.<sup>8</sup> Among the eastern nations, our design will lead us to treat distinctly concerning the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Arabians or Sabeans, the Phenicians, and the Indians: our account of the southern barbaric nations will include the people of Egypt and Lybia: in the west, we shall take notice of the Celts or Gauls, the Germans, the Britons, and the ancient Romans: and in the north, we

<sup>8</sup> Pompon. Mela de Situ Orbis, l. ii. c. 1. Strabonis Geogr. l. ii.

shall treat of the Scythians, Thracians, and other neighbouring nations.

The philosophy of Greece we shall find to have a double character. In its infancy, and in its juvenile state, we shall see it, like the barbaric philosophy, rather simple than artificial, rather empiric than theoretical, expressed in fable, and in moral and political maxims or rules of prudence. Afterwards, we shall find the Greek philosophy, improved by the ingenuity of many eminent men, becoming systematic, and branching out into a great number of sects, of which a particular account will be given in this part of our work. To preserve this period entire, we have subjoined an account of the fate of the Grecian philosophy in Egypt and in Asia.

The Second Period, from the beginning of the Roman empire to the revival of letters, will open before us a field of philosophical history, not less spacious than the former. It will exhibit the state of philosophy during the course of twelve hundred years, among the Romans, the Orientalists, the Jews, the Saracens, and the Christians. With respect to the Romans, philosophy having met with much opposition when it was first introduced among them by the Greeks, did not obtain a firm footing till towards the close of the republic. Under the Cæsars, philosophy almost entirely deserted Athens, its native seat, and took up its residence in Rome, where almost every Grecian sect flourished; till at length that which had been formed in the Alexandrian school, by combination from the rest, called the Eclectic, became predominant. Among the Asiatics a new kind of philosophy sprung up, formed upon the doctrine, real or supposed, of the ancient Zoroastrian and Greek mythology. The nation of the Jews, after their return from their Babylonish captivity, though they chiefly devoted themselves to the study of their own law, were not strangers to the gentile philosophy, especially those of them who resided in Egypt; and in a subsequent period, in which the Aristotelian philosophy was predominant, they ranked themselves among the Peripatetics. The Arabians, who, under the name of Saracens, in the seventh century, disturbed the Eastern empire, although at first exceedingly averse to inquiry (Mahomet, their leader, having prudently denied the privilege of private judgment to



the people whom he had destined to slavery,) became at last so much devoted to philosophy, according to the Peripatetic sect, that, during a long period of general darkness and confusion, they were almost the only nation who afforded her an asylum. Among the first Christians, who were industriously employed in disseminating the Divine doctrine of their Master, the subtleties of gentile philosophy obtained little credit. But, very soon after the rise of Christianity, many persons, who had been educated in the schools of the philosophers, becoming converts to the Christian faith, the doctrines of the Grecian sects, and especially of Platonism, were interwoven with the simple truths of pure religion. As the Eclectic philosophy spread, Heathen and Christian doctrines were still more intimately blended, till, at last, both were almost entirely lost in the thick clouds of ignorance and barbarism which covered the earth; except that the Aristotelian philosophy had a few followers among the Greeks, and Platonic Christianity was cherished in the cloisters of monks. About the beginning of the eleventh century, a new kind of philosophy sprung up, called the Scholastic, which, while it professed to follow the doctrine of Aristotle, corrupted every principle of sound reasoning, and hindered, instead of assisting, men in their inquiries after truth. At length, learning beginning to revive, and to be disseminated by the Greeks, who after the taking of Constantinople were dispersed through Europe, a happy opportunity was afforded for restoring philosophy to its ancient honours.

This resurrection of literature and science is the commencement of the Third Period of our history. In this part of our course, we shall see the successful efforts of philosophy to rise above the unwholesome atmosphere of tyranny, superstition, and bigotry, into the pure regions of freedom and truth; we shall find the several ancient sects reviving, new and better methods of philosophising discovered, the chains of authority in some measure shaken off, and farther advances made in true philosophy, within the course of a single century, than had before been made in a thousand years.

To the general history of these Three Periods of philosophy will be added, by way of Appendix, a brief sketch of the progress and present state of philosophy in the Indies, and among the Chinese.

# BOOK I.

## OF BARBARIC PHILOSOPHY.

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### CHAP. I.

#### OF BARBARIC PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL.

**THE** term Barbarian was applied by the Greeks<sup>1</sup> to all those nations who spoke a language different from their own. We shall adopt the obvious division which arises from this signification of the term; and, in treating of the *First Period* of the history of philosophy, *from the earliest records of the world to the beginning of the Roman empire*, we shall first inquire into the state of philosophy, during that period, among barbaric nations, and then trace its rise and progress in the states of Greece,

It has long been a subject of dispute, whether philosophy first appeared among the Barbarians, or among the Greeks. The inhabitants of Greece, who were very early remarkable for literary and philosophical vanity, and soon learned to make use of an artificial method of philosophising, were unwilling to allow that philosophy had any existence in other countries, except where it had been borrowed from them. They could not persuade themselves, that the mere communication of precepts of wisdom in the simple form of tradition, and in languages harsh and dissonant compared with their own, could deserve to be called philosophising. On the other hand, the barbaric nations, in their turn, treated the Greeks as Barbarians, and looked upon them as children in philosophy. Plato, in his *Timæus*, introduces a Barbarian as instructing the wise Solon, and saying: "You Greeks are always children; there is not an old man among you: you have no such thing as grey-headed wisdom." They were the more confirmed in this persuasion, when they understood, that the most learned men, and the most ancient philosophers among the

<sup>1</sup> Ovid. *Trist.* l. v. el. 10. v. 37.

Greeks, had either been Barbarians by birth, or instructed by Barbarians;<sup>2</sup> that Pythagoras, for example, was a Tuscan; Antisthenes a Phrygian; Orpheus a Thracian; Thales a Phœnician; and that Thales, Pythagoras, Plato, and others, had derived their knowledge from Chaldean and Egyptian priests.

Many of the Christian fathers espoused, in this dispute, the cause of the Barbarians, and maintained, with great vehemence, and with all the learning they could command, that the barbaric philosophy was the fountain of all the wisdom which had appeared among the Greeks, except so far as they had been indebted, in the way of tradition, to Divine revelation.

In this question, as it frequently happens in controversy, from a want of distinct ideas, and an accurate use of terms, many things foreign to the argument were advanced. If the meaning of the term Philosophy had been correctly settled; if the infant state of knowledge had been distinguished from its more advanced age; and especially if due attention had been paid to the essential difference between communicating doctrines by mere authority, and investigating the principles, relations, and causes of things by diligent study, the whole dispute would soon have been found to be nothing more than a logomachy.

For no one would assert, that the barbaric nations were wholly inattentive to wisdom, or strangers to every kind of knowledge, human or Divine. On the other side, it cannot be questioned, that they became possessed of knowledge rather by simple reflection than by scientific investigation, and that they transmitted it to posterity rather by tradition than by demonstration; whereas the Greeks, as soon as they began to be civilized, discovered a general propensity to inquiry, and made use of scientific rules and methods of reasoning. Hence it is easy to perceive, that though the improvement of philosophy is to be ascribed to the Greeks, its origin is to be sought for<sup>3</sup> among the barbaric nations.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. Stromata, l. i. p. 302, 303.

<sup>3</sup> Tatian. in proem. Clem. Al. Strom. l. i. p. 302. Origen adv. Celsum, l. i. p. 5. Ed. Hoeshel.

<sup>4</sup> Consult also, upon the subject of this chapter, Beausobre Hist. du Manichéisme, p. ii. l. i. c. 2. Scaliger. Exerc. li. contra Cardan. p. 188. Bos. Animadv. ad Script. c. ii. p. 12. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 204. Heurnii Ant. Phil. Barb. Ed. Lugd. Bat. 1600.

## CHAP. II.

## OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS.

**AMONG** the barbaric nations (using the term Barbaric in the sense before explained) the most ancient people, concerning whom any authentic records remain, are the Hebrews. We shall inquire into the state of philosophy among this people, from the earliest period of their history to the time of their return from their Babylonish captivity; after which, the Jewish philosophy will be more properly considered in connexion with the Grecian.

From the praises which are bestowed, in the Jewish history, upon some of their more illustrious ancestors, patriarchs, prophets, and princes, some have been induced to place them upon a level, in respect of speculative wisdom, with the philosophers of Greece, and even with those of modern times. But that this is a misconception, must be evident to every one who recollects the state of science, and of general civilization, at that early period.

A better or more certain judgment concerning the wisdom of the ancient Hebrews cannot be formed, than from the monuments which they themselves, or their descendants, have left in the sacred Scriptures. Much greater credit, particularly in this instance, is due to domestic than to foreign testimony. For the Jewish historians had their information, concerning the ancient state of their nation, from records preserved with the utmost care by their ancestors; whereas, other writers, in speaking of a people who had little intercourse with their neighbours, for want of a better guide than vague report, must necessarily have given a precipitate, and often an erroneous judgment.

We learn from the Scriptures, that among the ancient Hebrews there were many eminent men, who made use of the clear light of Divine truth, with which they were favoured by Heaven, as their guide in the conduct of life. In practical and moral wisdom it cannot be doubted, that they held a place of high distinction. Their wisdom, however, must not be confounded with philosophy, in the strict ac-

ception of the term. Blessed with a Divine revelation, they have transmitted to posterity rays of sacred truth, which have been spread through the world; and they have hence obtained an immortal name in an order of higher dignity than that of philosophers. Under the direction of genuine principles of religion, they pursued the plain path of simple virtue, without being led astray by vain curiosity into fruitless speculations. In the first ages of their history, their patriarchs were shepherds, who, by their domestic virtues, obtained great authority over the people among whom they lived, and seemed to have had no other object of ambition, than that of providing for the safety and prosperity of their families. Joseph, the son of Jacob, and after him Moses, David, Solomon, Ezra, and other eminent men, were occupied in affairs of legislation and government, and, by the wisdom with which they conducted them, acquired high renown. Others, who were distinguished by the name of prophets, were employed in declaring to the people the will of God, in managing the affairs of religion, and in training up disciples for these sacred services. Among the Hebrews, we are therefore to look for prudent statesmen, upright judges, and priests learned in the law, but not for philosophers, in the limited sense in which we understand the term. Much pains has indeed been taken, both by Jewish and Christian writers, to affix this character to several illustrious names in the ancient Hebrew nation, particularly Moses, Solomon, and Daniel; but it will not be difficult to prove, that this has been attempted without sufficient reason.

Upon the authority of Philo,<sup>1</sup> and other Jewish writers, it is asserted by Clemens Alexandrinus,<sup>2</sup> Justin Martyr,<sup>3</sup> Origen,<sup>4</sup> and other Christian fathers, that Moses reached the summit of human learning, and he is represented as having been a perfect master of astronomy, geometry, music, medicine, occult philosophy, and, in short, of the whole circle of the arts and sciences which were at that time known. And this opinion, like many others, has been received without much examination in later times. The principal arguments by which it has been supported are,

<sup>1</sup> De Vita Mosis, p. 604. De Mundi opificio, p. 2. <sup>2</sup> Strom. l. i. p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> Quest. 25. ad Orthod. <sup>4</sup> Advers. Celsum, l. i. p. 14.

that St. Stephen speaks of him<sup>5</sup> as having been “learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;” that a general tradition to this purpose has prevailed among the Jews from the most ancient times; that in reducing Aaron’s golden calf to powder,<sup>6</sup> he shewed great chemical skill; that his account of the creation discovers an extensive acquaintance with nature; and that his laws abound with moral wisdom. To this it has been added, that Moses, during the forty days in which he was upon the mount with God, besides the written code, received also an oral or traditionary law, since called the *Cabbala*, and that he taught this concealed doctrine to persons selected out of all the tribes of Israel, by whom they were transmitted to posterity. Some have even asserted that he wrote books, now lost, from which Pythagoras and Plato drew a great part of their doctrine: the authority of Eusebius has often been quoted in support of this assertion, in a passage<sup>7</sup> where he mentions, on the credit of Jewish tradition, several theological and philosophical tenets of Moses, and amongst the rest, his opinion concerning the immortality of the soul.

With respect to the evidence from testimony, on this subject, it is easy to see that it may all be traced up to Philo, who will have little credit with those who remark how exactly he has adapted his account of the opinions of Moses to the philosophy of the times in which he lived, and how egregiously he mistakes in supposing learned men to have come from Greece, at a period when Greece was in a state of barbarism. The judgment of Clemens Alexandrinus, and other Christian fathers, upon this question, is of little weight; for they were induced to accommodate their idea of the wisdom of Moses to the model of the Greek philosophy, by an opinion which they took up, without examination from the Jews, that all the genuine wisdom which was found among the Heathens, had passed over to them from the Hebrews, and was originally derived from Divine revelation. Little stress is to be laid upon the account given of Moses by St. Stephen, since the learning which he ascribes to him was only that of the Egyptians at the time when he flourished, which, as we shall afterwards see,

<sup>5</sup> Acts vii. 22.<sup>6</sup> Exod. xxxii. 20. Deut. ix. 21.<sup>7</sup> Demon. Evan. l. iii. c. 2.

was confined within very narrow limits. The skill which Moses discovered in the affair of Aaron's golden calf was probably not chemical, as many have supposed, but merely mechanical; for nothing farther can with certainty be inferred from the scripture account of this transaction, than that Moses ordered the calf, which had been made an object of idolatry, to be cut into small pieces, and thrown into an adjoining river, whence the Israelites were, at that time, supplied with water; probably, that, as often as they should fetch water from this stream, they might be reminded of their offence. In delivering laws and institutions to the Jews, Moses is to be considered, not as a philosopher, but in the higher character of minister and representative of Jehovah, by whose immediate authority their nation was governed. As to the traditionary law, which the Jewish writers suppose to have been the ground of their Cabala, if it were not a mere invention of later times, it must have been given by Divine revelation, and can furnish no argument in defence of the philosophy of Moses. Much less can any argument for this purpose be derived from writings which are confessedly lost, and which have not been proved to have ever existed.

*Solomon*, in the Jewish scriptures, has the first place assigned him among the wise men of the East. But the later Jewish writers, not satisfied with this general encomium, have advanced the most extravagant assertions concerning his wisdom. They have not scrupled to say, that Aristotle pillaged his doctrine from the writings of Solomon. A bold assertion of this kind might have been endured from a people, whose vanity has always been equal to their ignorance; but that learned men of later times should adopt so absurd an opinion, is truly wonderful. Yet an English writer, of no mean name in the republic of letters,\* has maintained, that Aristotle and Theophrastus learned natural history; Hippocrates, medicine; the Stoics, ethics; and Pythagoras and Plato, the Symbolical philosophy from Solomon. Others have supposed him to have known the use of the mariner's compass,<sup>9</sup> and to have been acquainted with the doctrine of the circulation of the blood,<sup>10</sup> and with

\* Gale, *Phil. Gener.* §. 8.

\* Fuller's *Sacred Miscel.* b. iv. ch. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Corn. Bontekoe de *Vit. hum.* p. ii. § 10. Witsii. *Miscel. Sac.* t. ii. ex. 13. § 24.

other anatomical discoveries. And Pineda, a Jesuit,<sup>11</sup> has gone so far as to ascribe to Solomon the perfect knowledge of every modern, as well as ancient science. Upon all this it is sufficient to remark, that had Solomon been thus wonderfully enlightened, it must have been by Divine revelation, and not by philosophy; and that the wisdom which is attributed to him in scripture<sup>12</sup> was not speculative science, but that practical wisdom which was necessary to qualify him for the offices of government.

*Daniel* takes the next place among the wise men of Israel. From the particulars related concerning him in the book which bears his name, some have concluded, that he was an eminent teacher of the Chaldean philosophy, and a great master of all the wisdom of the East. It has even been said, that he was acquainted with the whole circle of Aristotelian learning.<sup>13</sup> All this, however, is founded upon mere conjecture: for we have no certain information concerning this prophet except from his own writings; and these only relate, in general terms, that he was well furnished with that kind of wisdom, which served to obtain him influence, and procure him esteem and confidence in the court of Babylon, and that, besides this, he was endowed with miraculous powers from heaven.

In the history of the Jews, frequent mention is made of their prophets; and a great part of the Jewish Scriptures consists of prophecies: but these prophets appear in no other light than as good men supernaturally illuminated, for the purposes of instructing and admonishing the Jewish people, and predicting the great events which were to befall them. We are also informed, that there were, among the Hebrews, schools, in which the prophets presided, and gave instructions to their disciples; but we are not to imagine that these schools were colleges of philosophers, or, as some have done,<sup>14</sup> to apply our modern idea of an academical life to these institutions. As the prophets were employed in delivering the will of God to the people, and in inculcating upon them the principles, and inspiring them with the sentiments of religion, by means of sacred hymns accompanied with music, so it was, doubtless, the busi-

<sup>11</sup> De Rebus Solom. Mogunt. 1618.      <sup>12</sup> 1 Kings iii. 9—11. iv. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Horn. Hist. Phil. l. v. c. 20. Huet. Dem. Ev. Pr. iv. p. 278.

<sup>14</sup> Altlingii Hist. Ebr. Acad. p. 281.



ness of the schools to train up young men, who were devoted to the priesthood, for the same offices. The account which the sacred writings give of the schools of the prophets in Kirjath-jearim and Ramoth-Gilead,<sup>15</sup> is far from conveying any idea of a philosophical seat of learning. We do not mean to assert, that the ancient Hebrews were destitute of learning; <sup>16</sup> we only maintain, that it was of a very different kind from that philosophy which we meet with in later ages. Their learned men were chiefly occupied in explaining the Mosaic law, and in inculcating principles of religion, and precepts of morality, drawn from the pure fountain of Divine revelation. The sacred Odes or Psalms of David afford an excellent specimen of Hebrew learning. They every where breathe the spirit of sublime piety, but discover no traces of abstract philosophy.

We shall conclude our view of the state of philosophy among the Hebrews in the words of an eminent English writer: "It is well known that the Hebrews never excelled in mathematical or philosophical learning, or liberal arts, nor were ever distinguished by any ingenious discoveries. Whence Appollonius passes this severe judgment upon them, that they are to be ranked among the most stupid barbarians, and are perhaps the only people who have never produced any single invention. Their ancient institutions, called Schools of the Prophets, were not so much intended for the purpose of instruction in the circle of the sciences, after the manner of modern schools, as for that of training up youth for discharging the prophetic and priestly functions. No nation or country upon the face of the earth has abounded so much with prophets and inspired men: one might almost imagine, that some Divine virtue resided even in the soil and climate of Judea." <sup>17</sup> \*

<sup>15</sup> 1 Sam. x. 5. xix. 18. 2 Kings ii. 3—5.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Kings iv. 11.

<sup>17</sup> T. Burnetii Archæologia. Phil. l. i. c. 7. Joseph. contr. Apion, l. ii.

\* Vidend. Albert. Fabricii Cod. Vet. T. Buddæi Hist. Phil. Hebr. Spencer. de Legibus Hebr. Dickinson. Phys. Vet. c. xx. Altingii Hist. Acad. Heb. Witsius de Prophetis. Hornii. Hist. Phil. l. v. Gialæ Phil. Gent. l. i. Maii Diss. de Phil. Job. Reeman. Ant. Lit. Ægypt. l. i. Baumgarten's notes on Ant. Univ. History, v. i. note 327.

## CHAP. III.

## OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHALDEANS.

**AMONG** the eastern nations, the most ancient people, next to the Hebrews, who appear to have been acquainted with philosophy, (using the term in its more relaxed sense) are the Chaldeans. For, although the Egyptians have claimed the honour of being the more ancient nation, and contended that the Chaldeans were an Egyptian colony, and consequently derived all their learning from Egypt, there is reason to believe, <sup>1</sup> that the kingdom of Babylon, of which Chaldea was a part, flourished before the Egyptian monarchy: whence it is probable, that with respect to knowledge, the Egyptians were rather indebted to the Chaldeans, than the Chaldeans to the Egyptians. There is little room, however, to doubt, that Chaldea had, from the most remote times, its own preceptors, and was not indebted for its wisdom <sup>2</sup> to any other country.

There were, it must be owned, amongst the Chaldeans themselves, fabulous accounts of the antiquity of their learning. When Alexander became possessed of Babylon, Aristotle, who was desirous of making the Asiatic expedition subservient to philosophy, requested Callisthenes to inform himself concerning the origin of science in Chaldea: for, at that time, the Chaldeans boasted that their ancestors had continued their astronomical observations through a period of 470,000 years. <sup>3</sup> Callisthenes, through the interest of Alexander, examined into the grounds of this report, and found that the Chaldean observations reached no farther backward than 1903 years. If this term be subtracted from 4383, the year of the Julian period in which Babylon was taken, these observations will appear to have commenced in the year of the Julian period 2480, or 2234 years before the Christian era. And even these are not mentioned by Ptolemy, who takes notice of no Chaldean observations prior to the Nobonasserian era, which commenced in the 3967th of the Julian period, or

<sup>1</sup> Pompon. Mela de Situ Orbis, l. i. c. 9. p. 21. Ed. Gron. Plin. N. Hist. l. v. c. 9.    <sup>2</sup> Conf. Diodor. Sicul. l. ii.    <sup>3</sup> Porphy. apud Simplic. Comment. in Aristot. de Cœlo, l. ii. Cicero de Divin. l. i.

before Christ 747 years. Nevertheless, the great antiquity of the Chaldean learning cannot be disputed. Aristotle,<sup>4</sup> on the credit of the most ancient records, speaks of the Chaldean magi as prior to the Egyptian priests, who, it is well known, cultivated learning before the time of Moses.

The history of the Chaldean or Babylonian philosophy is, from its great antiquity, necessarily involved in much uncertainty. The only remaining records, which can cast any light upon the subject, we owe, not to the Chaldeans themselves, but to other nations, chiefly the Greeks, whose genius was not adapted to the Oriental learning, and whose vanity frequently led them into misrepresentations in their accounts of barbaric nations. Add to this, that, in consequence of the symbolical mode of instruction made use of by the Chaldeans, their doctrines have been transmitted to posterity under a veil of obscurity, which it is now become extremely difficult to remove. The difficulty was greatly increased by a race of philosophers, who, about the beginning of the Christian era, in order to obtain credit for certain wild and extravagant doctrines of their own, passed them upon the world as the ancient wisdom of the Chaldeans and Persians, in spurious books, which they ascribed to Zoroaster, or some other eastern philosopher. Thus the fictions of these impostors became confounded with the genuine dogmas of the ancient eastern nations. And the industry of modern critics has done little towards removing these difficulties: for either they have not attended to the causes of uncertainty which have been enumerated; or they have suffered themselves to be imposed upon by forged writings; or they have given credit to the fallacious pretensions of the Arabian writers, who have boasted, that they had, in their language, the exclusive possession of many valuable treasures of ancient learning. All that can be related, with any tolerable degree of probability, concerning the Chaldean philosophy, may be comprised within a small compass.

The Chaldean philosophers were the priests of the Babylonian nation, who instructed the people in the principles of religion, interpreted its laws, and conducted its ceremonies. They sustained the same character with the Persian

<sup>4</sup> Apud Laert. l. i. §. 8.

magi, afterwards to be noticed, and are often confounded with them by the Greek historians. Like the priests in most other ancient nations, they employed religion in subserviency to the ruling powers, and made use of imposture to serve the purposes of civil policy. This is confirmed by the general testimony of ancient history, and by the express authority of the historian, Diodorus Siculus, who relates,<sup>5</sup> that they pretended to predict future events by divination, to explain prodigies, and interpret dreams, and to avert evils, or confer benefits, by means of augury and incantations. They retained, for many ages, a principal place among diviners. In the reign of Marcus Antoninus, when the emperor and his army, who were perishing with thirst, were suddenly relieved by a shower, the prodigy was ascribed to the power and skill of the Chaldean soothsayers.<sup>6</sup> No wonder that, as long as these Chaldean priests could perform such marvels, they retained their consequence in the courts of princes.

The principal instrument which these impostors employed in support of superstition, was astrology. The Chaldeans were probably the first people who made regular observations upon the heavenly bodies.<sup>7</sup> This kind of knowledge was in such high estimation among them, that a distinct order of men was appointed for this purpose, and supported at the public expense;<sup>8</sup> whence the appellation of Chaldean afterwards became synonymous with that of astronomer. But all their observations were applied to the single purpose of establishing the credit of judicial astrology; and they employed their pretended skill in this art, in calculating nativities, foretelling the weather, predicting good and bad fortune,<sup>9</sup> and other practices, usual with impostors of this class. Teaching the vulgar that all human affairs are influenced by the stars, and professing to be acquainted with the nature and laws of this influence, and consequently, to possess a power of prying into futurity, they encouraged much idle superstition, and many fraudu-

<sup>5</sup> L. ii. p. 81. Compare Dan. ii. 1, &c. Ecclus. xlv. 3. Vid. Just. Mart. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Lamprid. in Heliogab. c. 9. Claudian. in vi. Consul. Honor.

<sup>7</sup> Cic. de Divin. l. i. Strabo, l. xv.

<sup>8</sup> Arrian. Exp. l. vii. c. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Sextus Empir. adv. Math. l. v. § 2. Aulus Gellius, l. xiv. c. 1. Strabo. l. c.

lent practices. Hence other professors of these mischievous arts were afterwards called Chaldeans, and the arts themselves were called Babylonian arts. Among the Romans, these impostors were so troublesome, that it was found necessary, during the time of the Republic, to issue an edict,<sup>10</sup> requiring the Chaldeans, or mathematicians, (for they were commonly known by this latter appellation) to depart from Rome and Italy within ten days; and afterwards, under the Emperors, these soothsayers were put under the most severe interdiction.

Still farther, to lay open the true character of the Chaldean philosophy, it must be remarked, that it consisted, not in a free and diligent examination of the nature of things, but in the bare transmission of certain settled opinions from father to son. Diodorus Siculus, who herein shews how little he himself was entitled to the character of a philosopher, commends the Chaldeans, for having taken up their opinions upon the authority of their ancestors, and says, "that, in this respect, they acted much more wisely than the Greeks, who, addicting themselves to disputation, were ever ready to embrace new opinions, and thus obliged their disciples to wander through their whole lives in perpetual uncertainty."<sup>11</sup> Whether the Grecian method of proceeding, or the Chaldean, was most likely to lead to the discovery of truth, it can require no extraordinary sagacity to discover. But, for the purpose for which the Chaldean philosophy appears to have been chiefly instituted, no mode of philosophising could have been better chosen. Their mysteries were to be revealed only to a select few, and to be studiously concealed from the multitude, that a veil of sanctity might be cast over their doctrine, which would, by this means, be the more easily employed in the support of civil and religious tyranny.

Another circumstance which greatly contributed to produce the same effect, was the care which was taken by the Chaldean priests, to prevent the spreading of religious and philosophical knowledge among the people. Instead of teaching their doctrine promiscuously to all who were disposed to receive it, after the manner of the Greeks, they confined it to a certain tribe and district. Instead of com-

<sup>10</sup> Valer. Maxim. l. i. c. 8. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. p. 622. Sueton. in Tiber.

<sup>11</sup> L. ii. p. 81.

municating important truths to the people in intelligible language, they gave forth their dogmas under the veil of symbols; hereby always reserving to themselves a power of varying the popular system, according to the exigencies of the times, or the pleasure of the ruling powers, without danger of detection. The implicit credit which, by these artifices, the Chaldean priests obtained among the people, is particularly remarked by Juvenal :<sup>12</sup>

Chaldæis sed major erit fiducia : quicquid  
Dixerit astrologus, credent a fonte relatum  
Ammonis, quoniam Delphis oracula cessant,  
Et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri.<sup>13</sup>

From this account of the Chaldeans, it is easy to perceive, what title they had to the appellation of wise men. No one, who has a just idea of the nature and use of philosophy, can hesitate in dismissing them, from the rank of philosophers, to their proper station among impostors. Whatever share of knowledge they possessed, it is evident that they applied it to the purposes of superstition. Little regard is, therefore, due to the encomiums which some ancient writers, particularly Philo,<sup>14</sup> have passed upon this race of sages; and still less to the general admiration, which, at a very early period, they obtained in the east; for it is easy to perceive, that this was the natural effect of the successful practice of the arts of imposture among an ignorant and credulous people.

Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque  
Inversis quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt.<sup>15</sup>

It is not, however, to be inferred, from what<sup>16</sup> is known of the manner in which philosophy was taught and propa-

<sup>12</sup> Sat. vi. 562.

<sup>13</sup> More credit, yet, is to Chaldeans given;  
What they foretell is deem'd the voice of heaven :  
Their answers as from Hammon's altar come,  
Since now the Delphian oracles are dumb ;  
And mankind, ignorant of future fate,  
Believes what fond astrologers relate. DRYDEN.

<sup>14</sup> De Nominum Mutat. Op. p. 1046.

<sup>15</sup> Whate'er the mystic phrase hides from their sight,  
The crowd of fools admire, with fond delight.

<sup>16</sup> Lucretius, l. i. v. 622.

gated by the Chaldeans, that there was among them no variety of opinions. We learn, from the authority of Strabo<sup>17</sup> and Pliny,<sup>18</sup> which is confirmed by the testimony of the Jewish prophets,<sup>19</sup> that there were, in Assyria and Chaldea, different schools or sects. But the accounts which we have of these sects, are so general and imperfect, that they will scarcely authorize us to do more than give it as a probable opinion, that they differed from each other chiefly in the mode of practising the arts of divination and astrology; and that their knowledge of nature extended little farther than to the discovery of the supposed magical uses of certain natural bodies, particularly minerals and herbs.<sup>20</sup> Whatever were the tenets or the institutions of each sect, they were implicitly transmitted from father to son; and it was seldom known, that the followers of one sect revolted to another.

It is universally acknowledged by the ancients, that *Zoroaster* was the founder of the Chaldean philosophy. But learned industry has in vain attempted to draw aside the veil of obscurity which covers this celebrated name. "The accounts which have been given of him," says Fabricius,<sup>21</sup> "are so confused and contradictory, that it would be a task of much greater labour than profit to compare them." The uncertainty which necessarily arises from the remote antiquity of the Chaldean history has been greatly increased, in part by the absurd attempts of the Greek writers to trace a resemblance between their own learning and religion and that of the eastern nations, and in part from the vanity of the Persians and Arabians, who have pretended to derive their religion from the Chaldean Zoroaster, and have supported the pretence by many extravagant fictions. No greater uncertainty, however, attends the history of Zoroaster, than as attended that of other ancient heroes and wise men, who were the first authors of civilization, or inventors of arts and sciences; with respect to whom it is now scarcely possible, to separate the real incidents of their lives from the fables with which they are involved.

For this uncertainty several causes may be assigned. These renowned benefactors of mankind lived at a period,

<sup>17</sup> L. xvi. p. 509.

<sup>18</sup> Hist. Nat. l. vi. c. 26.

<sup>19</sup> Dan. i. 20. ii. 2, 27, iv. 4.

<sup>20</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxxvii. c. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Bibl. Græc. vol. i. p. 246, 247.

in which ignorance and barbarism universally prevailed. To raise men from this savage state to rational and civilized life; to form them into communities; to afford them the protection of laws and government; and to furnish them with the conveniences and benefits arising from arts and sciences, were the important objects of their labours. The ignorant and superstitious multitude, from a sense of obligation to such benefactors, have readily admitted the claims which, for the sake of establishing their authority, they have made to supernatural powers; and, after their death, have delivered their names and actions to posterity, surrounded with all the fictitious lustre of imaginary divinity. Nor have these been wanting artful men, who have accommodated this superstitious humour in the multitude to their own benefit, or that of the state, by inventing many fables concerning these illustrious men, and by passing their own opinions or writings upon the world under the sanction of their names. The uncertainty has been farther increased; by the contention which has arisen among different nations concerning their descent, each claiming them as their own, and advancing every thing, whether true or false, which could serve to support the claim. From these causes, it has become impossible to distinguish truth from fiction, in reports which have flowed down to the present time through so long a channel of imposture. Many examples will occur in the course of this work, which will serve to illustrate these remarks, but none more striking than that of Zoroaster.

Concerning Zoroaster, it is wholly uncertain whence the name is derived, or to how many eminent men it belonged. Some have maintained, that there was but one Zoroaster, and that he was a Persian.<sup>22</sup> Others have said, that there were six eminent founders of philosophy of this name. Ham, the son of Noah, Moses, Osiris, Mithras, and others, both gods and men, have by different writers been asserted to have been the same with Zoroaster.<sup>23</sup> Many different opinions have also been advanced, concerning the time in which he flourished. Aristotle and Pliny<sup>24</sup> fix his date at so remote a period as six thousand years before the death

<sup>22</sup> Hyde de Rel. Pers. c. 24. p. 308. Prideaux's Connexion, vol. i. p. 318. <sup>23</sup> Vid. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. vol. i. p. 243, 246. Hist. Dem. Evang. pr. 4. c. 5. Kircher. Œdip. Egypt. p. 216. <sup>24</sup> Plin. Hist. N. l. xxx. c. 1.



of Plato; Hermippas says, that he lived five thousand years before the Trojan war: idle tales, which are, doubtless, to be classed with the report of the Chaldeans concerning the antiquity of their astronomical observations. According to Laertius,<sup>25</sup> he flourished six hundred years before the Trojan war; according to Suidas,<sup>26</sup> five hundred. If, in the midst of so much uncertainty, any thing can be advanced with the appearance of probability, it seems to be this; that there was a Zoroaster, a Perso-Median, who flourished about the time of Darius Hystaspes, and that besides him there was another Zoroaster, who lived in a much more remote period among the Babylonians, and taught them astronomy. The Greek and Arabian writers are agreed concerning the existence of the Persian Zoroaster; and the ancients unanimously ascribe to a philosopher, whom they call Zoroaster, the origin of the Chaldean astronomy, which is certainly of much earlier date than the time of Hystaspes: it seems, therefore, necessary to suppose a Chaldean Zoroaster distinct from the Persian. Concerning this Zoroaster, however, nothing more is known, than that he flourished towards the beginning of the Babylonish empire, and was the father of the Chaldean astrology and magic.<sup>27</sup>

The magic which Zoroaster invented, was probably nothing more than the performance of certain religious ceremonies, by means of which good demons were supposed to be prevailed upon to communicate supernatural properties, and powers to herbs, stones, and other natural bodies, or to afford assistance, in other miraculous ways, to those who invoked them.<sup>28</sup> In war, it was supposed that, by the help of magic, the forces of an enemy might be routed, or an army struck with a general panic, as is said to have happened to Ninus in his war with the Bactrians.<sup>29</sup> In this art the kings of Chaldea and Persia were instructed, as one of the most useful instruments of government, among a people, whose ignorance and credulity rendered them proper subjects of imposture. For "barbarous nations are naturally prone to superstition; and a weak, illiterate, and

<sup>25</sup> Lib. i. § 2.    <sup>26</sup> In Voc. Zoroast.    <sup>27</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 16. xi. 42. xxx. 1. Justin, l. i. c. 2. Recognitiones Clementis, l. iv. c. 27.

<sup>28</sup> Platon. Alcib. i. Ficin in Argument. Cratyl. Bayle Zoroast,

<sup>29</sup> Diod. Sic. l. ii. c. 6.

fickle multitude, when they are once brought under its dominion, will be more obedient to their priests than to their civil or military leaders.<sup>30</sup> The Chaldean magic was then a very different thing from a knowledge of the real properties of bodies; and, though some acquaintance with the motions of the heavenly bodies was necessary for astrological calculations, it cannot be inferred, either from their magical or astrological arts, that the Chaldeans were eminent masters in any branch of natural science. All the writings, which have been ascribed to the Chaldean Zoroaster, are unquestionably spurious.

Among the Chaldean philosophers, we must not omit to mention Belus and Berosus.

Of *Belus* nothing farther is known, than that he promoted the study of astronomy among the Assyrians; probably with no other view, than to encourage that faith in astrological predictions, which he knew how to apply to political purposes. It is related,<sup>31</sup> that Semiramis erected a lofty tower to his memory, which the Chaldeans afterwards made use of as an astronomical observatory. After his death, Belus was honoured with a place among the divinities, and this was, probably, the origin of the fables which are found concerning him in the Grecian mythology.

The history of *Berosus* is of later date, and is better known. He lived before Manetho, who wrote concerning the affairs of Chaldea under Ptolemy Philadelphus; he probably flourished about the time of Alexander.<sup>32</sup> He was a Babylonian, a priest of Belus. Going into Asia Minor, he settled in the island of Cos, where he opened a school for teaching the Chaldean astrology, and obtained such reputation by his predictions,<sup>33</sup> that his statue was erected at Athens. He published a history of the Chaldeans, which contained many memorials of ancient times; but this work, except a few fragments preserved by other writers,<sup>34</sup> is lost. An impudent monk, Annius, of Viterbo in Tuscany, who employed himself in forging books, which he ascribed to the ancients, obtruded upon the world a fictitious history of the Chaldeans, under the name of Berosus, which ob-

<sup>30</sup> Plutarch in Sertorio. <sup>31</sup> Diod. Sic. l. ii. p. 69. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vi. c. 26. <sup>32</sup> Tatianus Adv. Græc. c. 58. p. 171. Ed. Par. Syncelli. Chronicon, p. 14, 28, 40. <sup>33</sup> Vitruvius, l. ix. c. 4. <sup>34</sup> Fabricius Bibl. Gr. vol. xiv. p. 175.

tained greater credit among the learned than might have been expected.

Notwithstanding the obscurity with which antiquity has covered the Chaldean philosophy, it has been highly extolled, not only by the Orientalists and Greeks, but by Jewish and Christian writers. But, if we have recourse only to such authorities as are unquestionably genuine, we shall find little, in this branch of the barbaric philosophy, deserving of notice. The following brief detail includes the most interesting particulars, which are known, concerning the tenets, and the magical and astrological arts, of the ancient Chaldeans.

It appears, not only from the testimony of Diodorus,<sup>35</sup> but from other ancient authorities collected by Eusebius,<sup>36</sup> that the Chaldeans believed in God, the Lord and Parent of all, by whose providence the world is governed. And indeed, without this, it is impossible to conceive, how their religious rites should ever have arisen: for the immediate object of these rites was a supposed race of spiritual beings or demons, whose existence could not have been imagined, without first conceiving the idea of a Supreme Being, the source of all intelligence. Accordingly we find in fact, that not only the Chaldeans, but the Egyptians, and the whole Heathen world, from the most remote times, believed in a Supreme Deity, the fountain of all the divinities which they supposed to preside over the several parts of the material world. This was the true origin of all religious worship, however idolatrous, not excepting even that which consisted in paying Divine honours to the memory of dead men. Besides the Supreme Being, the Chaldeans supposed spiritual beings to exist, of several orders, gods, demons, heroes. These they probably divided into subordinate classes, as their practice of theurgy, or magic required. The ancient Eastern nations in general, and among the rest the Chaldeans, admitted the existence of certain evil spirits, clothed in a vehicle of grosser matter; and in subduing or counteracting these, they placed a great part of the efficacy of their religious incantations.<sup>37</sup>

These doctrines were the mysteries of the Chaldean religion, communicated, as was usual among the ancients, only to the initiated. Their popular religion consisted in the

<sup>35</sup> Loc. cit.    <sup>36</sup> Prep. Evan. l. iv. c. 5.    <sup>37</sup> Plutarch. de Defectu Orac.

worship of the sun, moon, planets, and stars, as divinities,<sup>38</sup> after the general practice of the East.<sup>39</sup>

The religious system of the Chaldeans gave rise to two arts, for which they have long been celebrated, magic and astrology.

The magic of the Chaldeans, as appears from what has already been related, is not to be confounded with witchcraft, or a supposed intercourse with evil spirits: it consisted in the performance of certain religious ceremonies or incantations, which were supposed, through the interposition of good demons, to produce supernatural effects. Their astrology was wholly founded upon this chimerical principle, that the stars have an influence, either beneficial or malignant, upon the affairs of men, which may be discovered, and made the certain ground of prediction, in particular cases: the whole art consisting in applying astronomical observations to this fanciful purpose, and, by this means, imposing upon the credulity of the vulgar. Referring the reader, for farther information concerning this visionary and pernicious art, to those writers who have treated upon it more at large,<sup>40</sup> we shall only add, upon this subject, the sensible reflection of Horace:<sup>41</sup>

Tu ne quæsieris (scire nefas) quem mihi, quem tibi  
Finem Dii dederint, Leuconoë, neu Babylonios  
Tentaris numeros: Ut melius, quidquid erit, pati!<sup>42</sup>

Whilst the Chaldeans busied themselves in these and other arts of divinations, true science was very little indebted to their labours. We have scarcely any remains of their astronomical observations and opinions. As to the latter, the loss is not much to be regretted, if we may judge from the following specimens. According to Plutarch and Vitruvius, who quote Berosus, it was their opinion, that an

<sup>38</sup> Job xxxi. 27. Diod. Sic. loc. cit. Herod. l. i. c. 161.

<sup>39</sup> Selden de Diis Syriis, Prol. c. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Sextus Empir. Adv. Math. l. v. p. 339. Diod. Sic. l. ii. p. 83. Manilius, l. ii. ver. 456. Jamblich. de Myster. § 8. c. 4. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 494. Vossius de Theolog. Gent. l. ii. c. 47.

<sup>41</sup> L. i. Od. xi. l.

<sup>42</sup> Ask not—'tis impious to inquire—what date  
The limit of your life is fix'd by fate:  
Nor vainly Babylonian numbers try;  
But wisely wait your lot, to live or die.

eclipse of the moon happened, when that part of its body which is destitute of fire is turned toward the earth.<sup>43</sup> From the same authority Seneca<sup>44</sup> gives it as a notion of the Chaldeans, that when all the planets shall meet in Cancer, the world will be consumed by fire; and that when they shall meet in Capricorn, it will be destroyed by an inundation. They thought the form of the earth to be that of a boat.<sup>45</sup>

The sum of the Chaldaic Cosmogony, as it is given by Berosus in his *Babylonica*, preserved by Syncellus,<sup>46</sup> divested of allegory, is, that in the beginning, all things consisted of darkness and water; that Belus, or a Divine power, dividing this humid mass, formed the world; and that the human mind is an emanation from the Divine nature.<sup>47</sup>

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## CHAP. IV.

### OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PERSIANS.

**CONCERNING** the philosophy of the Persians, which comes next under our consideration, it is difficult to form a satisfactory judgment: for we have no information upon this subject, but from the Greeks and Arabians; and the accounts we receive from both are liable to material objections. The Greeks had, indeed, sufficient opportunities for becoming acquainted with the affairs, the religion, and the tenets of this people: but their inveterate enmity against the Persians, rendered them incapable of giving a fair re-

<sup>43</sup> Plut. de Placit. Phil. l. ii. c. 29. Comp. Euseb. Prep. l. xv. c. 51. Vitruv. l. ix. c. 4. <sup>44</sup> Quæst. Nat. l. iii. c. 29. <sup>45</sup> Diod. Sic. loc. cit.

<sup>46</sup> Chronic. p. 28.

<sup>47</sup> Vidend. Tribbechovius de Phil. Mor. inter Barbaros. c. 4. Perizon. in Orig. Bab. Rhodigin. Antiq. Lect. 16. Voss. de Scient. Matth. c. xxx. § 5. De Theol. Gent. l. ii. c. 47. Werenfels de Logomach. Erudit. c. vi. Buddæi Hist. Eccl. Per. v. ii. sect. 5. Patricius de Zoroast. Ursinus de Zor. &c. ed. Norimb. 1661. Hottinger. Hist. Or. p. 365. Herbelot. Bibl. Or. Voc. Zor. Kircher Oedip. Ægypt. p. 216. Jonsius de Script. Hist. Phil. l. ii. Schroërus in Imp. Bab. Herbert Relig. Gent. Pet. Fred. Arper de Talismanibus. Anc. Univ. History, vol. iv. Diss. on Zoroaster. Prideaux's Connexion, b. iv. Shuckford's Harmony, b. viii. Weidler. Hist. Astron. Naudæi Apol. pro Viris magnis Magiæ suspectis, c. viii. Burnet. Archæol. Phil. l. i. c. iv.

presentation of what they saw or heard ; and their impartiality to their own institutions, led them to speak contemptuously of those of all barbarous nations. As to the Arabians, notwithstanding the credit which has been given them by several writers of distinguished erudition, particularly by Pococke, Prideaux, Beausobre, and Hyde, it must be confessed that difficulties, of still greater magnitude, embarrass their testimony. Not to urge that the Arabian writers were little qualified, either by natural temper, or by education, for the arduous task of examining questions, which time had involved in the deepest obscurity ; it is most evident, that the shameful practice which, after the time of Mahomet, prevailed amongst the Arabians, of supporting their new religion at the expense of truth, and making use of every kind of falsehood, particularly that of imposing upon the world supposititious writings, in order to reconcile Jews and Christians to their system, renders their evidence, in all doubtful cases, exceedingly liable to suspicion. That this charge against the Arabian writers is not without foundation, will fully appear in the sequel, and cannot indeed be questioned by those who have read their works without prejudice, and observed what absurd fables they have endeavoured to pass upon the world, under the sanction of ancient names, for genuine history. It must not, therefore, be thought surprising, if even from such eminent modern writers as those abovementioned, we receive, with some degree of hesitation, accounts of the ancient Persians which are given wholly upon the credit of the Arabians, and presume to question, whether, in reporting these accounts, sufficient attention has been paid to the nature of historical evidence. We perceive much occasion for this kind of suspicion in the writings of the learned Hyde, whose fondness for Oriental learning seems to have led him to magnify slight conjectures, and doubtful traditions, into certain facts, and to have prevented him from making a judicious use of the immense mass of materials with which his erudition furnished him.<sup>1</sup> Having laid it down

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Bayle's *Dict. Zoroaster*. Works of the learned, 1701, p. 405. Mosheim's *Eccel. Hist.* 8. i. p. ii. c. 1. § 2. Not. ad Cudworth, c. iv. § 16. n. 28. Baumgarten *Notes on Ant. Univ. Hist.* vol. iv. n. 75. Montfaucon *Antiq.* t. ii. p. ii. l. iv. c. 6. Fabricii *Bibliogr. Ant.* p. 31. A. Tierre in *Monum. Vet. Antii*. Renaudot, the author of *Anciennes Re-*

to ourselves as an invariable rule, not to admit any authority till we have carefully examined its foundation, we must be allowed not to give credit to modern reports, unless we find them supported by more solid evidence than that of the Arabians, and confirmed either by the concurrent testimony of the Greek writers, or by circumstances of probability derived from some other quarter. This is the only way in which we can possibly lay before our readers an impartial history of philosophy.

Philosophy was introduced, or rather revived and corrected, among the Persians, by *Zardusht*, whom the Greek writers call *Zoroaster*. The different accounts given of *Zoroaster* by the Greeks and by the Arabians and Persians, can only be reconciled by supposing, as we have done, that the Chaldean and the Persian *Zoroaster* were different persons, and that the latter lived at a much later period than the former. From comparing these accounts,<sup>2</sup> it is probable, that the latter was of Persian extraction, and was born in Media. What the Arabian writers report concerning his having been early instructed by the Jews, seems to be a fiction invented to obtain credit, among the Jews and Christians, to the doctrines which they professed to have received from him. It is not, however, improbable, that he might have learned some things from the Israelites residing in Babylon, which might be of use to him in executing his design of correcting the doctrine of the Persian magi, though it may not be easy to specify the particulars.

Several miracles are ascribed to *Zoroaster*, such as an artful impostor would naturally attempt, and would not, perhaps, find it difficult to perform. It is said, particularly, that he suffered melted metal to be poured upon his bosom, and held fire in his hand, without suffering any injury.<sup>3</sup> Having by these and other artifices established his credit, it is related that he undertook the revival and

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*lations des Indes et de la Chine*, censures Hyde, for having preferred the testimony of one obscure and enigmatical author, who wrote only one hundred and twenty years before his time, to the authority of all antiquity.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Agathias, l. ii. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 304. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prep. Pr. iv. c. 5. Abulfeda apud Pococke Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 146. Hyde Rel. vet. Pers. p. 293. Suidas in Zor.

<sup>3</sup> Hyde, p. 311. Prid. Conn. p. 214.

improvement of the religion of the ancient magi, which had long before this time prevailed in Media and Persia; but which, in consequence of the massacre of the magi (who after the death of Cambyses had usurped the government) had been interrupted, and almost entirely supplanted, by the worship of the stars, to which the Persians, with their king Darius, were addicted. Much is also said by the Arabian writers, concerning the learning which Zoroaster acquired from the Indian Brachmans, concerning the influence which he obtained with Darius, and the success with which he propagated his system; and, lastly, concerning his assassination, by Argaspis, king of the Eastern Scythia, at the siege of Bactria.<sup>4</sup> But the silence of the Greeks, who were at this time well acquainted with the affairs of Persia, and after Alexander's conquests must have become possessed of many Persian records, is a circumstance which casts a cloud of suspicion over these relations. Thus much, however, may be admitted as probable; that there was in Persia, in the time of Darius Hystaspes, a reformer, who, assuming the ancient name of Zoroaster, brought back the Persians from the worship of the stars to their ancient worship of fire, with some innovations both in doctrine and ceremonies: perhaps, too, it may be added, that he was acquainted with astronomy, with the medical art, and with other branches of learning, as far as they were at that time advanced in the east. Both the reality and the success of this attempt are confirmed by the testimony of Lucian, who relates, that in his time the ancient religion of the magi flourished among the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Chorasmians, the Sacans, the Medes, and other barbarous nations.<sup>5</sup> And the reports of modern travellers give farther credit to this relation;<sup>6</sup> for we learn from them, that there is still, in the province of Carmania, a sect who adhere to the doctrines of Zoroaster, and worship fire according to the institutions of the ancient magi.

To Zardusht, or the Persian Zoroaster, many writings are ascribed. One of these, called the *Zend*, is said to be

<sup>4</sup> Hyde, c. 24. p. 313. Prideaux. p. 221. Bayle, Zor. Pococke Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 146, &c.

<sup>5</sup> In Longæv. Op. tom. ii. p. 818. <sup>6</sup> See Prideaux Connect. vol. i. p. 231.



still remaining among the followers of Zoroaster, and is esteemed of sacred authority. It is written in the Persian language, and consists of two parts, one of which contains their forms of devotion and order of ceremonies; the other the precepts of religion and morality. A portion of this book, or of a compendium of it, called the *Sadder*, is read to the people on every sacred day by their priests.<sup>7</sup> There is, however, much reason to question whether this book be of such ancient date as the time of Zoroaster:<sup>8</sup> probably it was written about the time when many Jews and Christians resided among the Persians, that is, about the fourth or fifth century. Many other works in astrology, physics, theology, &c. have been attributed to Zoroaster; but they are all lost; and it is probable that most of them were forged to serve the purposes of imposture.

Fragments of a work, entitled, *The Oracles of Zoroaster*, are still extant. A small collection of these fragments, consisting of only sixty verses, was published<sup>9</sup> by Pletho. Patricius afterwards made a much larger collection, containing three hundred and twenty-three verses, with the commentaries of the Platonic philosophers.<sup>10</sup> Several other editions of these verses have been published, and much pains has been taken by various writers to explain them. Stanley has subjoined to his account of *The Lives of Philosophers* a correct translation of them. They are quoted, with the highest respect, by philosophers of the Alexandrian school, as genuine remains of Chaldean wisdom. But they abound so much in the ideas and language peculiar to that school, that it is probable they were written by some Platonist, about the beginning of the second century; a period when nothing was more common than to attempt to support the falling credit of gentile philosophy by spurious writings.<sup>11</sup> \*

Besides Zoroaster, we have few eminent names remain-

<sup>7</sup> See a Latin version of the *Sadder*, in Hyde Rel. Pers. p. 431, &c.

<sup>8</sup> Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. i. p. 246. <sup>9</sup> Paris, An. 1538, 1589. Amst. 1689.

<sup>10</sup> Published at the end of his *Nova Philosophia de Universis*. Ferrar. 1591. Venet. 1593.

<sup>11</sup> Compare Stanley, p. 1176, Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. i. p. 247. 249. Mosheim. Not. ad Cudworth, p. 340. n. 54. Hyde, p. 386. Burnetii Archæologia, p. 28.

\* Hyde, Prideaux, and others, mention ancient books of Zoroaster, which are at this day extant among the Gheuri and other professors of the Zoroastrian superstition, and made use of in their sacred worship, copies

ing among the ancient Persian philosophers. The prince Hystaspes has been ranked in this class; and it is related,<sup>12</sup> that he ordered his son Darius to inscribe upon his tomb the title of Master of the Magi. It is probable that, after the usual manner of kings in ancient times, he united in himself the two characters of high priest and sovereign prince. Hostanes is also mentioned by Eusebius<sup>13</sup> as an eminent Persian philosopher, who borrowed his learning from the Egyptians; but it is, not without reason, suspected by Scaliger and Bochart, that the passage is surreptitious, and was inserted by Panodorus, a monk, in order to give the sanction of antiquity to the art of alchemy.

Though our information concerning the history of philosophy among the Persians, in the ages prior to the time of Zoroaster, is very imperfect, it is certain, from the united testimony of the Greeks and Arabians, that long before that time the magi existed as a body, and were the official guardians of religion and learning. The religion which they taught, consisted in the worship of the sun or fire; a practice which prevailed among the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and many other eastern nations.<sup>14</sup> The name under which the Persians worshipped the sun, or rather the invisible Deity, whom they supposed to be, in a peculiar manner, resident in this luminary, was Mithras. Both Herodotus<sup>15</sup> and Strabo<sup>16</sup> relate, that the Persians wor-

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from which have been brought over to England and France. A catalogue of these and other Persian MSS. lodged in the library of the King of France, was published by M. Anquetil du Perron, in his travels, and is copied in the *Journal de Savans* for July, 1762. But these books, written partly in the Zendic or sacred, and partly in the vulgar Persian language, are, for the most part, a narrative of miracles and revelations, by which Zoroaster is said to have established his religion, or a collection of precepts for religious ceremonies. Some of them indeed treat of fundamental doctrines of theology, taught among the worshippers of fire: but it is probable, from the tenets contained in these books, many of which seem to have been borrowed from the Jews and Mahometans, from the entire silence of Greek authors who wrote after the time of Alexander concerning these books, and from other considerations, that they were written at a later period, for the purpose of appeasing the resentment of their Mahometan persecutors.

<sup>12</sup> Ammianus Marcell. l. xxiii. c. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Chron. l. i. p. 43.

<sup>14</sup> Vossius de Theol. Gent. l. ii. c. 2. Selden de Diis Syriis. pass. Herbert de Rel. Gent. c. 4.

<sup>15</sup> L. i. c. 131.

<sup>16</sup> L. xv.

shipped none of the gods but the sun : and it appears, from comparing the inscriptions on several ancient Persian monuments yet remaining, that Mithras was the name of this divinity. Among these are the following :<sup>17</sup> *Deo Soli invicto Mithræ* ; and, *Omnipotenti deo Mithræ*. The historians just cited add, that the Persians sacrificed horses to the sun ; a circumstance to which Ovid alludes, when he says : <sup>18</sup>

Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,  
Ne detur celeri victima tarda Deo.<sup>19</sup>

It may be conjectured, that, in a more remote period, some eminent hero, or public benefactor, whose name was *Mithras*, had after his death been deified : for, in certain ancient Persian monuments, Mithras is represented as a mighty hunter, armed with a sword, having a *tiara* on his head, and riding a bull.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the Persians might conceive the soul of this hero to be resident in the sun, and might afterwards transfer their worship to the sun itself under the name of Mithras. But, whatever be thought of this conjecture, it can scarcely be doubted, that the sun, under this name, was an object of worship among the Persians.

It has been disputed, whether the Persians worshipped the sun as immediately the Supreme Divinity, or considered him as the visible representation of a higher invisible power. The passages above referred to have been urged in proof of the former opinion : in support of the latter are adduced the testimonies of Herodotus<sup>21</sup> and Xenophon,<sup>22</sup> who say, that the Persians looked upon lightnings as the ensigns of the Supreme Divinity ; and of Strabo,<sup>23</sup> who relates, that they called the whole circuit of the heavens, God. The true solution of this difficulty probably is, that the vulgar paid their worship immediately to the sun, as the visible fountain of light and heat, whilst the more

<sup>17</sup> Spanhemius ad Jul. Cæs. p. 144. Van Dale, Diss. ix. ad. ant. Marm. p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Fastor. l. i. v. 383.

<sup>19</sup> The horse, renown'd for speed, the Persians slay,  
A welcome victim to the god of day.

<sup>20</sup> Van Dale Marm. ant. Diss. i.

<sup>21</sup> L. i. c. 131.

<sup>22</sup> Cycop. l. i. p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> Lib. xv.

enlightened, conceiving of the Deity as the soul of the world, diffused through the whole circuit of the universe, imagined the sun to be the chief seat of this Divine principle, and paid homage to that luminary, as the representative of the invisible power. Whilst the multitude were contented with a sensible object of devotion, the magi, and those whom they instructed in the mysteries of religion, considered the sun and fire merely as visible symbols of the animating principle of the universe.

Besides Mithras, the Persians worshipped, under opposite characters, *Oromasdes* and *Arimanius*; the former as the author of all good, the latter as the author of all evil. Perhaps these divinities were originally, like Mithras, merely human beings; the one, a good prince, who had distinguished himself by rendering important services, military or civil, to his countrymen; the other, a tyrant, who had been the cause of grievous public calamities.<sup>24</sup> *Arimanius* was not called by the Persians a god, but an evil demon, and they always wrote his name with the letters inverted.<sup>25</sup> This rude and vulgar superstition, which had no other object than individual men, was afterwards corrected and improved by philosophy, till it was changed into the worship of two spiritual beings; the one the author of good, the other of evil. The system which supposes two such principles in nature, seems to have been held by the Persian magi before the time of Zoroaster; but how far they supposed them dependent upon the Supreme Divinity does not appear. Zoroaster, however, certainly taught the doctrine of their inferiority to the first parent of all things,<sup>26</sup> and introduced many alterations into the religious system and ceremonies of the magi, which are intimately connected with the history of philosophy.

The sacred fire, which the Persians had hitherto worshipped upon altars erected in the open air, Zoroaster appointed to be inclosed in temples, the care of which was committed to an order of *magi*, or priests.<sup>27</sup> These magi were divided into three classes; the first consisted of the inferior priests, who conducted the ordinary ceremonies of

<sup>24</sup> Leibnitz Theodicée, p. ii. § 138. Mosheim. ad Cudworth, p. 328.

<sup>25</sup> Hyde, l. c.

<sup>26</sup> Plutarch, l. c.

<sup>27</sup> Hyde, c. 28, 29, 30.

religion; the second presided over the sacred fire; the third was the *Archimagus*, or high-priest, who possessed supreme authority over the whole order. They had three kinds of temples; first, common oratories, in which the people performed their devotions, and where the sacred fire was kept only in lamps; next, public temples, with altars, on which the fire was kept continually burning, where the higher order of the magi directed the public devotions, and the people assembled, to perform magical incantations, hear interpretations of dreams, and practise other superstitions;<sup>28</sup> and, lastly, the grand seat of the *Archimagus*, which was visited by the people at certain seasons with peculiar solemnity, and to which it was deemed an indispensable duty for every one to repair, at least once in his life. This principal temple was erected by Zoroaster, in the city of Balch, and remained till the seventh century, when, the followers of Zoroaster being driven by the Mahometans into Carmania, another building of the same kind was raised, to which those who still adhered to the ancient Persian religion resorted. They were divided into several sects; but this division probably rather respected the mode of conducting the offices of religion, than religious tenets. The kings of Persia were not allowed to take possession of their government, till they had been instructed in the mysteries of religion, and enrolled among the magi.<sup>29</sup> No images, or statues, were permitted in the Persian worship. Hence, when Xerxes found idols in the Grecian temples, he, by the advice of the magi, set them on fire, saying, that the gods, to whom all things are open, are not to be confined within the walls of a temple.

The account which Diogenes Laertius<sup>30</sup> gives of the Persian magi is this: "They are employed in worshipping the gods by prayers and sacrifices, as if their worship alone would be accepted; they teach their doctrine concerning the nature and origin of the gods, whom they think to be fire, earth, and water; they reject the use of pictures and images, and reprobate the opinion, that the gods are male and female; they discourse to the people concerning

<sup>28</sup> Cic. de Divin. lib. i. c. 4. Ælian. l. ii. c. 17. Valerius Max. l. i. c. 6. Strabo, l. xvi. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxiv. c. 6.

<sup>29</sup> Hyde, p. 126. Pococke, ib. p. 146.

<sup>30</sup> L. i. § 6—9.

justice; they think it impious to consume dead bodies with fire;<sup>21</sup> they allow of marriage between mother and son; they practise divination and prophecy, pretending that the gods appear to them; they forbid the use of ornaments in dress; they clothe themselves in a white robe; they make use of the ground as their bed, of herbs, cheese, and bread for food, and of a reed for their staff." And Strabo relates,<sup>22</sup> that there were in Cappadocia, a great number of magi, who were called *Pyrethi*, or worshippers of fire, and many temples of the Persian gods, in the midst of which were altars, attended by priests, who daily renewed the sacred fire, accompanying the ceremony with music.

The religious system of the magi was materially improved by Zoroaster. Plutarch, speaking of his doctrine, says: <sup>23</sup> "Some maintain, that, neither is the world governed by blind chance without intelligence, nor is there one mind alone at the head of the universe; but, since good and evil are blended, and nature produces nothing unmixed, we are to conceive, not that there is one store-keeper, who, after the manner of an host, dispenses adulterated liquors to his guests, but that there are in nature two opposite powers, counteracting each other's operations, the one accomplishing good designs, the other evil. To the better power Zoroaster gave the name of Oromasdes; to the worse that of Arimanius; and affirmed, that, of sensible objects, the former most resembled light, the latter darkness. He also taught, that Mithras was a divinity who acted as a moderator between them, whence he was called by the Persians, the Mediator." After relating several fabulous tales concerning the contests between the good and evil demon, Plutarch, still reciting the doctrines of Zoroaster, proceeds; "The fated time is approaching, in which Arimanius himself shall be utterly destroyed; in which the surface of the earth shall become a perfect plain, and all men shall speak one language, and live happily together in one society." He adds, on the authority of Theopompus, "It is the opinion of the magi, that each of these gods shall subdue and be subdued by turns, for six

<sup>21</sup> Con. Dioscorid. Anthol. l. iii. c. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Lib. xv.

<sup>23</sup> Isis et Osiris, tom. ii. p. 155.

thousand years, but that, at last, the evil principle shall perish, and men shall live in happiness, neither needing food, nor yielding a shadow; the God who directs these things taking his repose for a time, which, though it may seem long to man, is but short." Diogenes Laertius,<sup>34</sup> after Hecateus, gives it as the doctrine of Zoroaster, that the gods (meaning, doubtless, those of whom he last speaks, Oromasdes and Arimanius) were derived beings.

Sharistan, an Arabian writer, gives the following account of the doctrine of Zardusht, or Zoroaster.<sup>35</sup> "Zardusht affirmed light and darkness, Yezdan and Ahreman, to be two contrary principles, which were the origin of every thing subsisting in the world; the forms of nature being produced from the combination of these principles: but maintained, that the existence of darkness is not to be referred to the one Supreme Deity, who is without companion or equal, but must be considered as the unavoidable consequence of his determination to create the world, in which light can no more subsist without darkness, than a visible body can exist without its shadow." To these accounts we may add that of the Nestorian Bishop, Theodorus Mopsuestenus, who, in his book concerning the magian religion of the Persians says,<sup>36</sup> that according to their doctrine, Zarva, or the chief of all the gods, produced Hormisda and Sātana.<sup>37</sup>

If these authorities be carefully compared, it will appear probable, that Zoroaster, adopting the principle commonly held by the ancients, that from nothing, nothing can be produced, conceived light, or those spiritual substances which partake of the active nature of fire, and darkness, or the impenetrable, opaque, and passive mass of matter, to be emanations from one Eternal Source; that, to the derived substances he gave the names, already applied by the magi to the causes of good and evil, Oromasdes and Arimanius; and that the first Fountain of Being, or the Supreme Divinity, he called Mithras. These active and passive principles he conceived to be perpetually at variance; the former tending to produce good, the latter evil; but that, through the *mediation* or intervention, of the Supreme Being, the contest

<sup>34</sup> Loc. cit.    <sup>35</sup> Apud Hyde, p. 299.    <sup>36</sup> Apud Photium, Cod. 81.

<sup>37</sup> Compare Pococke, p. 147. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vol. xiv. p. 137.

would at last terminate in favour of the good principle. According to Zoroaster, various orders of spiritual beings, gods or demons, have proceeded from the Deity, which are more or less perfect, as they are at a greater or less distance, in the course of emanation, from the eternal Fountain of Intelligence; among which, the human soul is a particle of Divine light, which will return to its source, and partake of its immortality; and matter is the last and most distant emanation from the first Source of Being, which, on account of its distance from the Fountain of Light, becomes opaque and inert, and whilst it remains in this state is the cause of evil; but, being gradually refined, it will at length return to the fountain whence it flowed. This doctrine of emanation afterwards produced many fanciful opinions in theology.<sup>30</sup>

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## CHAP. V.

### OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE INDIANS.

FROM whatever quarter India, the country which, as adjacent to Persia, next comes under our notice, received its wisdom, there can be no doubt that its wise men very early obtained a high degree of reputation. We find that it was visited, for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, by Pythagoras, Anaxarchus, Pyrrho, and others, who afterwards became eminent philosophers in Greece.

It is not, however, easy to collect satisfactory information concerning the ancient philosophical history of these remote countries. Modern travellers, either from the want of an accurate acquaintance with the language of the

<sup>30</sup> Vidend. Mosheim de Causis suppos. Libr. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. iv. c. 5. Buddæi Eccl. Hist. tom. ii. Kircher Œdip. Æg. tom. ii. p. ñ. Mop-suestenus de Mag. Pers. apud Photium. Solini Polyh. c. 65. Rhodig. Ant. Lect. xiii. Selden de Diis Syr. Proleg. et Synt. ii. c. 8. Van Dale, Diss. l. ix. ad Ant. Marm. Montfaucon Diar. Ital. c. 14. Fabric. Bibl. Ant. c. viii. x. Fab. Bib. Gr. vol. xiv. p. 137. J. Firmic. de Error. p. 414. Voss. de Orig. Idol. l. ii. c. 9. Beausobre de Manich. tom. i. Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. iv. & notæ. Beyer Hist. Regni Bactr. Leibnitzii Theodæcæ, præf.



country, and a ready access to the interior regions, or from the changes which have happened in the tenets and customs of these nations since they have been under the dominion of the Moguls, or on account of the poetical and allegorical dress in which the history of India is clothed, or lastly, through the suspicion of fraud which hangs upon their sacred books, have been able to furnish little assistance to those who are desirous of searching into the antiquities of India. Our chief reliance, in this part of our work, must be upon the ancients, and particularly those who wrote after the time when Alexander extended his conquests into this country. At that time, much information was gained concerning the religion, the tenets, and the manners of the Indians, which was afterwards committed to writing, and is preserved in the geography of the accurate Strabo, in the works of Plutarch and Arrian, and afterwards in those of Porphyry, Philostratus, and others. But even these writers must be read, upon this subject, with some degree of distrust; for their accounts are given wholly upon the reports of unknown persons, who themselves visited only the exterior parts of the country; and they are written under the strong bias of a disposition to judge of the Oriental philosophy by comparing it with the Grecian.

In the most ancient times, we find among the Indians a race of wise men, who are sometimes called Gymnosophists, from their custom of appearing with the greater part of the body naked, and sometimes Brachmans: but this latter is properly the name of only one class of these philosophers, who were divided into several sects.<sup>1</sup>

The Brachmans were all of one tribe. From the time of their birth they were put under guardians, and, as they grew up, had a succession of instructors. They were in a state of pupillage till thirty-six years of age; after which they were allowed to live more at large, to wear fine linen and gold rings, to live upon the flesh of animals not employed in labour, and to marry as many wives as they pleased. Others submitted, through their whole lives, to a stricter discipline, and passed their days upon the banks of the Ganges, with no other food than fruits, herbs, and milk.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, l. xv. p. 822. Conf. Schmidii Diss. de Gymnos. & Bayle. Porphy. de Abst. l. iv. § 17. Laert. l. i. § 1. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vii. c. 2.

The Samanæans were a society, formed of those who voluntarily devoted themselves to the study of Divine wisdom. They gave up all private property, and committed their children to the care of the state, and their wives to the protection of their relations. They were supported at the public expense, and spent their time in contemplation, in conversation on Divine subjects, or in acts of religion. A wonderful circumstance is related concerning these philosophers; that frequently, without any apparent reason from ill-health or misfortunes, they formed a resolution to quit the world, and, when they had communicated their intention to their friends, immediately, without any expressions of regret on the one side, or of apprehension on the other, threw themselves into a fire which they had themselves prepared for the occasion. There was another sect, called the Hylobeans, who lived entirely in forests, upon leaves and wild fruits, wore no other clothing than the bark of trees, and practised the severest abstinence of every kind.\*

From this account of the Indian Gymnosophists, it is easy to perceive, that they were more distinguished by severity of manners than by the cultivation of science, and that they more resembled modern monks than ancient philosophers. Some of them, indeed, allowed themselves a greater latitude of manners than others; but their general characters were, rigid abstinence, indolence, and the pride of independance. Of their high spirit Strabo relates the following example:—When Onesicritus was commissioned by Alexander to invite a body of these philosophers to visit him, they refused to go, saying, that if Alexander had any business with the Brachmans he might come to them.

The rigours which have been, and are to this day, practised among the Indians, are such as could not be credited but upon the best authority. Pliny relates,<sup>3</sup> that some have stood with their eyes steadfastly fixed upon the sun from morning to night; and that others have remained, in one painful posture, upon the burning sands, for whole days: stories which are confirmed by the reports of modern travellers<sup>4</sup> concerning the voluntary severities, and even tor-

\* Megasthenes ap. Strabon. l. c. Pococke's Travels.    <sup>3</sup> Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 2.    <sup>4</sup> Bernier's Travels, vol. ii. p. 127.    Kempfer's Hist. of Japan, vol. i. p. 30.

tures, which are commonly practised upon themselves by the Indian Brachmins.

Such examples of abstinence and hardy endurance could not fail to make a strong impression upon the minds of the multitude, and to give the Gymnosophists great influence, in an age of ignorance and superstition. In order to preserve and increase their power, they made use of two expedients. The first was, the keeping among themselves the whole business of foretelling future events. "The wise men alone," says Arrian,<sup>5</sup> "were skilled in the arts of divination, or permitted to practise them. They only predicted the changes of the seasons or public calamities, thinking it a degradation of themselves, or their art, to employ it upon trifling occasions." They, doubtless, made use of this precaution, in order to render themselves the more necessary to the ruling powers, who would easily perceive the value of such an instrument of superstition. The other expedient, by means of which they maintained their authority, was the appropriating to themselves the regulation of religious concerns. To establish their reputation for sanctity, they spent the greater part both of the day and the night in performing acts of worship, which were chiefly addressed to the sun.<sup>6</sup> By these means, they made themselves of consequence to the ruling powers, and became objects of veneration to the people; so that they could easily gain access wherever they pleased, and obtain whatever they wished.<sup>7</sup> Many tales are related concerning these Gymnosophists, which are too strongly marked with the characters of fiction to merit a place in the history of philosophy.<sup>8</sup>

Among the few Indian philosophers, whose names have been preserved to the present times, the most celebrated is *Buddha*. Little is known concerning him, more than that he was a religious impostor, who, by pretending to a Divine original and miraculous birth, obtained credit and authority whilst he lived, and after his death was honoured with Divine worship. St. Jerom relates, that he boasted of having

<sup>5</sup> In Indicis et Exped. Alex. l. vii.

<sup>6</sup> Porphyry, l. c. et Philostrat. l. iii. c. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, l. c.

<sup>8</sup> Apuleij Florid. l. ii. Alex. ab Alex. l. v. c. 21. Hieron. contra Jo-  
vinian. § 22. Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 306.

been brought forth from the side of a virgin.<sup>9</sup> This impostor is probably the same who is at present honoured in Siam, China, and Japan, under the names of Somonacodom, Xeko, and Fohi.

Among those Brachmans, who are mentioned with respect by the Greek writers, who treat of the time when Alexander visited India, are Dandamis and Calanus.<sup>10</sup> Dandamis is celebrated for the boldness with which he censured the intemperance and licentiousness of Alexander and his army, in a conference which he held with Onesicritus. Calanus, when he saw Alexander's messengers clothed with fine linen garments, and elegantly adorned, laughed at their effeminacy, and requested them, if they wished to hold any conference with the Brachmans, to lay aside their ornaments, and, like them, recline naked upon the rocks. It is also related, that when he found the infirmities of age coming upon him, he devoted himself to voluntary death, and, ascending the funeral pile, said,<sup>11</sup> "Happy hour of departure from life, in which, as it happened to Hercules, after the mortal body is burned, the soul shall go forth into light!" The doctrines of the ancient Indians, as far as they are at present known, may be arranged under three classes, Divine, Natural, and Moral.

The sum of their doctrine concerning Divine subjects is as follows:

God is light, not such as is seen, like the sun or fire, but intelligence and reason;<sup>12</sup> that principle, through whose agency the mysteries of knowledge are understood by the wise. He never produced evil, but light, and life, and souls, of which he is the sole Lord. The former and governor of the universe pervades it, and is invested with it, as with a garment: he is immortal, and sees all things; the stars, the moon, and the sun, are his eyes. He is beneficent, and preserves, directs, and provides for all. The human mind is of celestial origin, and has a near relation to God. When it departs from the body, it returns to its Parent, who expects to receive back the soul which he has sent forth. Besides the Supreme Divinity, inferior deities, proceeding from him, are to be worshipped, but not with

<sup>9</sup> Contra. Jovin. l. c.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo, l. c. Arrian, l. c.

<sup>11</sup> Cic. de Divin. c. 23. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Aq. c.

the sacrifice of harmless animals, nor in temples, and upon altars adorned with gold and gems, but with eyes lifted up to heaven, and with minds free from criminal passions.<sup>13</sup>

The notions, which the ancient Indians seem to have had of God, approach so near to the tenets of the Persian Zoroaster on this subject, that it is very probable, that his doctrine passed over to India, and was, in part at least, received among them. In speaking of the universe as the garment of God, their idea seems to have been, that the intellectual principle, which animates all things, is contained within the sphere of the universe. They conceived God to be the soul of the world, a rational and intellectual light, whence all good is produced, and the chief seat of whose divinity is the sun. Their notion of Divine providence, deduced from that of the soul of the world, probably extended no farther, than that this principle is necessarily the first spring of all motion, life, and enjoyment, and fell far short of that wise, and gracious voluntary superintendence, which is the Christian idea of providence. The human soul they represented as of Divine original, because, with all the other Eastern nations, they conceived it to be a particle, or an emanation, of that intellectual fire, by which they believed the universe to be animated. Their doctrine of the return of the soul to God, which some have confounded with the Christian doctrine of the resurrection, seems to have meant nothing more, than that the soul, after being disengaged from the grosser material body, would be re-united to the Fountain of all Being, the Soul of the world. It is an opinion still found among the Indians, and probably of very ancient date, that there is in nature a periodical restitution of all things; when, after the return of all derived beings to their source, they are again sent forth, and the whole course of things is renewed. Inferior divinities were, doubtless, worshipped among them as emanations from the First Spring of life.

Some of the doctrines of the Greeks concerning Nature are said to have been derived from the Indians;<sup>14</sup> but there is little reason to doubt, that these accounts are the mere

<sup>13</sup> Pseudo-Origenis Philosophum, c. 24. Palladius de Gent. Ind. p. 22. 31. 158. Clement. Alex. Stromat. l. iii. p. 451.

<sup>14</sup> Megasthenes apud Strabon. l. xv. Philostr. l. iii. c. 34.

fictions of Grecian ingenuity and vanity. Natural science was probably no farther advanced among them, than merely to furnish them with instruments of imposture, in the arts of astrology and divination.

Many extravagant assertions have been advanced concerning their moral system. It has been said, that the fables of Pilpay, which have been translated from the Indian tongue into the Persian, and have passed from these into European languages, were written by an ancient Indian philosopher two thousand years before Christ. But the work contains many internal proofs, that it was written at a much later period: probably it was the production of some ingenious Persian, who, to give it the greater credit, passed it upon the world as a relic of the ancient Indian philosophy. All that can be certainly known concerning the morality of the Indians, must be inferred from the manners of the Brachmans; whence we may conclude, that it chiefly consisted in voluntary acts of abstinence and mortification, and in a contempt of death.<sup>15</sup>

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## CHAP. VI.

### OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ARABIANS

**ALTHOUGH** the Greek writers have been entirely silent concerning the philosophy of the ancient Arabians, and even the Saracens themselves have confessed, that before the rise of Mahometanism, their country was in a low state of civilization, yet some modern writers have taken much pains to maintain, that Arabia was very early distinguished by wisdom. In support of this opinion it has been said, that Pythagoras acquired a great part of his knowledge from the

<sup>15</sup> Vidend. Palladius de Gent. Ind. et Brachm. Ambros. de Mor. Brachm. Bisse on the Brachmans, Lond. 1665. Burnet. Arch. c. iii. Heurn. Ant. Ph. Barb. l. ii. Horn. Hist. Ph. l. ii. Schmidii Diss. de Gymnosoph. Rhodog. Lect. xiii. Maffæus de Rebus Ind. l. i. Beausob. de Man. tom. i. Thomæius de Manetis Dogmata. Hist. Sap. tom. i. Herbolet. Bibl. Or. p. 118. 206. 456. Starekii Specimen Sap. Ind. Vet. Berol. 1697. Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. iv. ix.

Arabians; that Moses fled out of Egypt into this country, and carried with him the wisdom of the Egyptians; that the queen of the East, who visited Solomon, was of Sabea, a region in Arabia; and that the wise men, who visited Jesus, were from this country.<sup>1</sup> But the whole story concerning Pythagoras's journey to Arabia, is, as we shall afterwards see, extremely uncertain; and, if it were not, nothing more could be fairly inferred from this circumstance, than that he learned from the Arabians the arts of divination, with which it is not improbable that, like the rest of the eastern nations, they were well acquainted: and with respect to the remaining arguments, if they be allowed their utmost force, they will give the Arabians a very small share of the credit arising from the ancient philosophy of the East.

It has been said,<sup>2</sup> that there was in Arabia, at a very remote period, a sect of philosophers called the Zabians. But of this sect, no mention is made by Greek or Roman writers. We owe all our information concerning them to the Arabians, from whom Maimonides,<sup>3</sup> the Jew, borrowed his account. The probable truth concerning them is, that they were a mixed body of Gentiles and Jews, who, to give the sanction of antiquity to their institutions, pretended to derive them from Sabi the son of Seth. Their religion consisted in the worship of the sun, the stars, and planets, and resembled the ancient Chaldean superstition; which is not at all surprising, considering how extensively the Chaldean tenets were spread through the East. Their system of opinions was an heterogeneous mass, which must have been the produce of a period much later than that of which we are now treating.<sup>4</sup>

The sum of our knowledge of the ancient Arabians, as far as respects our subject, is, that they were not unacquainted with astronomy, and that they were famous for their ingenuity in solving enigmatical questions, and for their skill in the arts of divination.<sup>4</sup> Like the neighbour-

<sup>1</sup>Ludewig. Diss. de Phil. Turc. Hal. 1691. Porphy. Vit. Pyth. § 2. Grot. in Matt. ii.

<sup>2</sup>Hyde Rel. Pers. c. 3. Pococke Hist. East. B. i. c. 8. Spencer de Legibus Heb. l. ii. c. 1. <sup>3</sup>Moreh Nebh. p. lii. c. 29.

<sup>4</sup>Abulfarius Dynast. ix. p. 184. Porphy. Vet. Pyth. § 2. Pococke, p. 147.

ing Chaldeans and Persians, they seem to have had their wise men, by whom their knowledge, such as they had, was taught, and their religious ceremonies and superstitious arts were practised. Pliny<sup>5</sup> mentions the Arabian magi, and speaks of Hippocus, an Arabian, as belonging to this order.

It can scarcely be supposed, that the Arabians, who cultivated poetry, were unacquainted with moral wisdom. But none of their moral writings are remaining, unless we allow the fables of Lokmann (translated from Arabic into Latin by Erpenius)<sup>6</sup> to be of as ancient date as some have conceived. It is, however, wholly uncertain, at what period the supposed author of these fables lived; and the work seems rather to be a collection of ancient fables, than the production of any one writer. From the similarity of many of these fables to those of Æsop, some have inferred that Lokmann and Æsop were only different names for the same person. But it is more likely, that the compiler of these fables had seen those of Æsop, and chose to insert some of them in his collection. Whoever was the writer, the fables afford no inelegant specimen of the moral doctrine of the Arabians; better adapted, however, to popular instruction than to the improvement of philosophy, which the Arabians do not appear to have cultivated, till the period when their government passed into the family of the Abbasidæ.<sup>7</sup>

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## CHAP. VII.

### OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PHENICIANS.

AMONG the Asiatic nations who come under the general denomination of Barbaric, in the sense before explained,

<sup>5</sup> Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Lugd. Bat. 1615, 1656. Vid. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. vol. i. p. 400.

<sup>7</sup> Vidend. Ursinus de Zor. Sect. vol. i. Horn. Hist. Ph. l. v. P. de Ludewig Diss. de Hist. Ph. ap. Turcas. Hal. 1691. Bochart. Geog. Sac. p. i. l. ii. c. 27. Le Moyne Var. Sac. p. 685. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. ii. c. 1. Hottinger Hist. Or. p. 165. Stoll. Hist. Ph. Mor. § 9. Chardin Voy. de Pers. p. iii. p. 227.



the Phenicians are the only people, whose philosophical history still remains to be considered.

The commercial celebrity of this people has induced some writers to allow them great credit for wisdom. It has been maintained, that their philosophers taught sounder principles of natural science, than those of any other eastern nation. Situated as they were upon the borders of the Mediterranean; obliged, by the narrow limits of their territory, frequently to send forth colonies into distant regions; and led, by their mercantile connexions, into an extensive acquaintance with foreigners, they enjoyed, it has been said, peculiar advantages, for dispersing abroad their native stock of knowledge, and for possessing themselves, in return, of the learning and wisdom of other countries. A nation of merchants would, it is urged, carry on a traffic, not only in the natural productions of the earth and in manufactures, but in arts and sciences.

But the experience of modern times, in which navigation and commerce are so much more extensively pursued than formerly, is by no means favourable to these hypothetical conclusions. Mariners and merchants have seldom leisure to attend to the improvement of science. There can, indeed, be little reason to doubt that the Phenicians were acquainted with those arts, which, at that time, admitted of an easy application to the purposes of gain. As far as they found a knowledge of the celestial *phenomena* to be useful in navigation, they were astronomers: and as far as experience taught them the utility of numbers in mercantile affairs, they were mathematicians.<sup>1</sup> But it is not likely, that they should have much leisure, or inclination, for prosecuting scientific researches beyond the line of practical application; and such a degree of knowledge as their commerce would require, could hardly entitle them to the appellation of philosophers. Among the ancient Phenicians, we, however, meet with some individuals, who, on account of the inventions which have been ascribed to them, claim attention.

*Moschus*, or *Mochus*, the most ancient name remaining on the list of Phenician philosophers, was a native of Sidon.

<sup>1</sup> Lucian in *Toxari*. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. v. c. 12. *Porphyr. Vit. Pyth.* § 6. p. 9. *Strabo*, l. xvi. p. 168.

If we are to credit Jamblichus,<sup>2</sup> he lived before the time of Pythagoras. After Posidonius, many writers<sup>3</sup> ascribe to him a system of philosophy, which afterwards rose into great celebrity under the Grecian philosophers, Leusippus and Epicurus, called the Atomic. It is urged in defence of this opinion, that the Monads of Pythagoras were the same with the Atoms of Moschus, with which Pythagoras became acquainted, during his residence in Phenicia; and that from Pythagoras this doctrine passed to Empedocles and Anaxagoras, and afterwards to Leusippus and Epicurus.<sup>4</sup>

To this it may be replied, that the single evidence of Posidonius, the Stoic, who lived so many ages after the time of Moschus, to whom Cicero allows little credit, and of whose authority even Strabo and Sextus Empiricus, who refer to him, intimate some suspicion, is too feeble to support the whole weight of this opinion. But the circumstance which most of all invalidates it, is, that the method of philosophising by hypothesis or system, which was followed by the Greek philosophers, was inconsistent with the genius and character of the Barbaric philosophy, which consisted in simple assertion, and relied entirely upon traditional authority.<sup>5</sup> The argument drawn from the history and doctrine of Pythagoras, will afterwards be fully refuted, when it is shewn, that this part of the history of Pythagoras has been involved in obscurity by the later Platonists, and that neither the doctrine of Monads, nor any of those systems which are said to have been derived from Moschus, are the same with the Atomic doctrine of Epicurus. We therefore conclude, that, whatever credit the corpuscular system may derive from other sources, it has no claim to be considered as the ancient doctrine of the Phenicians.

*Cadmus*, so celebrated in Grecian history, was a native of Sidon, who, on the settlement of a Phenician colony at Thebes, formed the Greek alphabet on the foundation of the Phenician.<sup>6</sup> But, though this fact seems to be well

<sup>2</sup> Vita Pythag. c. 3. § 14.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 718. Sext. Empiric. adv. Phys. l. i. p. 621. Laert. l. viii. § 140. Cudworth Int. Syst. c. i. § 9.

<sup>4</sup> Stobæi Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 13. Arist. Metaph. l. xiii. c. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Burnet. Archæol. Phil. c. vi.

<sup>6</sup> Bochart, p. i. l. iv. c. 34. Montfaucon Palæogr. l. i. c. 23. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 147.

ascertained, it affords little ground for ranking Cadmus in the class of philosophers: for the characters which he introduced into Greece were not the invention of his own ingenuity; but were merely conveyed by him from Phenicia (where, as well as in other Eastern countries, they had long been in use) and accommodated to the Greek language. What has been advanced by some modern writers, to prove that Cadmus instituted schools of philosophy at Thebes, being grounded merely on conjecture, can deserve no attention.

The only remnaants of antiquity, which treat of the philosophy of the Phenicians, are sundry fragments of the Cosmogony of Sanchoniathon, preserved by Eusebius and Theodoret. Eusebius,<sup>7</sup> on the authority of Porphyry, speaks of Sanchoniathon as an accurate and faithful historian, who wrote of the affairs of Phenicia before the Trojan war, about the time of Semiramis; and adds, that his work, which was translated by Philo-Byblius from the Phenician into the Greek language, contains many things relating to the history of the Jews, which deserve great credit, both because they agree with the Jewish writers, and because Sanchoniathon received these particulars from Hierombalus, a priest of the god Jao. Theodoret,<sup>8</sup> on the same authority, confirms Eusebius's account of the historical ability and fidelity of Sanchoniathon, and says, that he applied himself diligently to the examination of ancient records, and particularly took pains to collect authentic materials for the history of Taant, or Thoth, called by the Greeks, Hermes, and by the Romans, Mercury.

Upon these authorities, or rather upon the mere testimony of Porphyry, many learned men have concluded, that the genuine writings of Sanchoniathon were translated by Philo-Byblius, and that Sanchoniathon derived a great part of his information from the books of Moses; nay, some have supposed that Thoth was only another name for Moses.<sup>9</sup> But, the inconsistencies, chiefly chronological, which the learned have detected in these accounts, and especially the silence of the ancients concerning this historian, who, if he had deserved the character given him

<sup>7</sup> Prep. Evang. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>8</sup> De Curand. Græc. Affect. Serm. ii.

<sup>9</sup> Bocharti Geog. 8. p. ii. l. ii. c. 17. Huet. Ev. Prep. l. iv. p. 50 and 70.

by Porphyry, could not have been entirely overlooked, create a just ground of suspicion, either against Porphyry or Philo-Byblius. It seems most probable, that Philo-Byblius fabricated the work from the ancient cosmogonies, pretending to have translated it from the Phenician, in order to provide the Gentiles with an account of the origin of the world, which might be set in opposition to that of Moses. Eusebius and Theodoret, indeed, who, like the rest of the fathers, were too credulous in matters of this kind, and after them some eminent modern writers,<sup>10</sup> have imagined, that they have discovered a resemblance between Sanchoniathon's account of the formation of the world and that of Moses. But an accurate examination of the doctrine of Sanchoniathon, as it appears in the fragment preserved by Eusebius, will convince the unprejudiced reader, that the Phenician philosophy, if indeed it be Phenician, is directly opposite to the Mosaic. Sanchoniathon teaches, that, from the necessary energy of an eternal principle, active, but without intelligence, upon an eternal passive chaotic mass, or *Mot*, arose the visible world. A doctrine, of which there are some appearances in the ancient cosmogonies, and which was not without its patrons among the Greeks. It is therefore not unreasonable to conjecture, that the work was forged in opposition to the Jewish cosmogony, and that this was the circumstance which rendered it so acceptable to Porphyry.

But, though little credit seems due to the fragments of Sanchoniathon, of which, as well as of their author, nothing is known but from Porphyry or Suidas; it will be readily allowed, that the Phenicians, like the other eastern nations, philosophised in the Barbaric manner concerning the origin of the world. Strabo mentions several Phenician philosophers; but they flourished, after the Greeks had introduced their systematic mode of philosophising; a period which must not be confounded with the age of Barbaric philosophy.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Grotius de Verit. Chr. Rel. l. i. § 16. Huet. l. c. Compare Cumberland's Cosmogony of Sanchoniathon. Introd. to Anc. Univ. History.

<sup>11</sup> Vidend. Bochart. Geog. Sac. p. ii. l. i. c. 2. l. iv. c. 34. Bayer de Phæn. Stud. et Invent. Diss. Jen. 1709. Scheffer de Phil. Ital. c. v. Mosheim ad Cudw. c. i. § 6—10. Le Clerc. Bibl. Choisée, tom. i. p. 75. Burnet. Arch. c. vi. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 147. Montfaucon. Paleogr. Gr. l. i. c. 23.

## CHAP. VIII.

## OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

**H**AVING taken a survey of the state of Barbaric philosophy in the eastern nations, the first country which calls for our notice, as we pass southward, is Egypt; a country which has claimed the honour of being the first seat of learning, and the fountain whence the streams of philosophy flowed to Chaldea, and other Asiatic nations, till it reached the remotest borders of India. Though there seems to be no sufficient ground for admitting these high pretensions, Egypt is unquestionably to be ranked among the most ancient civilized countries, and was very early famous for wisdom. Many eminent philosophers among the Greeks, such as Orpheus, Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus, and Plato, visited Egypt in search of knowledge; and the illustrious legislator of the Hebrews was “learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.”

Nevertheless, it must be owned, that the history of Egyptian learning and philosophy, after all the pains which have been taken to elucidate the subject, still remains involved in thick clouds of uncertainty. The causes of this uncertainty it is easier to enumerate than to overcome. To mention them may, however, be of use, in enabling us to judge how far we may expect satisfaction, and where it will be necessary, for want of sufficient information, to suspend our judgment.

The history of the Egyptian philosophy looks backwards beyond the period in which men first began to commit the great transactions of society to writing, into the infant state of the world, when arts and sciences, as far as they were known, were only taught by oral instruction, concerning which nothing remains but obscure fables, and doubtful conjectures. From the numerous natural and political changes, which, in a long succession of ages, have taken

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Ursin. de Zor. Trismeg. et Sanchoniathon. Ex. 3. Van. Dale ap. Diss. super Aristeā. Dodwell's Two Letters on Sanchon. Voss. Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 1. Simon Bib. Crit. tom. i. c. 9. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. l. i. c. 2. Shuckford's Harm. v. ii. p. 12. Banier Mythol. l. ii. c. 1.

place in Egypt, its customs and tenets have undergone various alterations and corruptions; whence it has happened, that authors who have written of the philosophy of Egypt at different periods, not adverting to these changes, have given different, and even contradictory relations. Knowledge was communicated by the Egyptian priests, under the concealment of symbolical characters or hieroglyphics, the key of which was at first intrusted only to the initiated, and has since been irrecoverably lost: a circumstance which has afforded subsequent theorists an opportunity of accommodating their representations of the doctrines of the Egyptians to their own system. Even at the time when Egyptian wisdom first flourished, different dogmas were taught in the different schools at Thebes, Memphis, and other places; which has occasioned great diversity in the accounts given of the Egyptians by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch. At a later period, when Alexandria became the common resort of learned men from every part of the world, the combination of their opinions with those of the native Egyptians gave philosophy and religion a form till then unknown. The state of opinions in Egypt was at all times subject to alteration, from the dependance of the priests, who were the chief depositories of knowledge, upon the civil power, and their consequent inclination to suit the doctrines of religion to the taste of the reigning prince, and to accommodate them to the purposes of policy; a design, which might easily be effected by means of hieroglyphical characters. Farther difficulties arise from the vanity of the Greek writers, our chief authorities on this subject, who have every where confounded the gods of the Egyptians, and their theogony, with their own mythology, and, upon the ground of the slightest resemblances, have concluded Osiris to be Jupiter, Typhon to be Pluto, and other Egyptian and Grecian gods to be the same divinities under different names; hereby involving the mythological history of both countries in endless confusion. Nor must we expect much assistance, in clearing our way through this thorny path, from modern interpreters of Egyptian learning: for we find them perpetually wandering in the mazes of conjecture, and amusing themselves, and their readers, with unsatisfactory and incon-

sistent explanations of Egyptian mysteries. Of this we have a memorable example in the fanciful conjectures which have been offered concerning the Isiac Marble, one of the remains of Egyptian hieroglyphics, which was found by a common workman, and presented to Vincent, Duke of Mantau, in the year 1630. In this tablet Kircher discovered sundry religious mysteries favourable to Christianity, and Pignonus found precepts of moral and political wisdom; another critic was of opinion that it was a Runic calendar; while a fourth attempted to persuade the learned world, that these characters described the properties and use of the magnet, and of the mariner's compass. What assistance can the cautious inquirer expect from remains of antiquity, which afford such ample scope for the exercise of imagination? Lastly, it is a circumstance which greatly embarrasses every attempt to trace out the ancient philosophy of Egypt, that we have few remains of ancient writings, which treat directly upon this subject. Of Chere-mon, Manetho, and other Egyptian writers, we have only a few fragments, preserved in other authors: their works probably perished in the destruction so fatal to literature, of the Alexandrian library. The book *de Hieroglyphicis*, under the name of *Horus Apollo*, is spurious.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of such numerous causes of uncertainty, it will not be thought surprising that it is only in our power to lay before our readers the following particulars, as a probable state of facts respecting the ancient Egyptian philosophy.

*Theut*, or *Thoth*, called by the Phenicians Taaut, by the Greeks *Hermes*, and by the Romans *Mercury*, is generally spoken of, by ancient writers, as the first author of the Egyptian learning; but little is known concerning him. Cicero mentions<sup>2</sup> five Mercuries, three of whom were Greeks; the fourth, the son of Nilus, whom the Egyptians thought it unlawful to name; and the fifth, him whom the Phaneatæ worshipped, who is said to have slain Argus, and by that means to have possessed himself of the government of Egypt. The Egyptians called him *Thoth*, and named the first month in the year after him. In this

<sup>1</sup> Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. iii.

account Cicero confounds the Egyptian with the Arcadian Mercury.<sup>3</sup> Thoth, according to Diodorus Siculus,<sup>4</sup> was chief minister to Osiris, and assisted him by his counsel; the historian adds, that he improved language, invented letters, instituted religious rites, and taught astronomy, music, and other arts. Other writers also assert, that he invented letters:<sup>5</sup> and the assertion may be credited, if by letters we understand symbolical characters, whence alphabetical letters were afterwards formed.

Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos  
Noverat, et saxis tantum volucresque feræque  
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.<sup>6</sup>

The Egyptian Mercury, or Thoth, was probably some man of superior genius, who, before the age of Moses (for among the Egyptians knowledge was in his time considerably advanced) had invented useful arts, and taught the first rudiments of science; and who caused his instructions to be engraved in emblematical figures<sup>7</sup> upon tables or columns of stone, which he dispersed over the country, for the purpose of enlightening the ignorant multitude. One of the principal uses, to which these symbolical inscriptions were applied, doubtless was, to teach the doctrines of religion, and maxims of political and moral wisdom. Some writers have, fancifully enough, conjectured this Thoth, or Mercury, to have been the same with Adam, or Enoch, or Joseph. Others have, with more plausibility, maintained, that he was the Jewish legislator; but the circumstances of resemblance, between Thoth and Moses, were such as might easily be supposed to have occurred between any other eminent founders of states.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Marsham Chron. Sec. 1. p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> L. i.

<sup>5</sup> Ælian. Hist. l. xiv. c. 34. Plin. Hist. N. l. vii. c. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Lucan, l. iii. v. 222.

Then Memphis, ere the reedy leaf was known,  
Engrav'd her precepts and her arts on stone;  
While animals in various order plac'd,  
The learned hieroglyphic column grac'd.

ROWE.

<sup>7</sup> Herodot. l. ii. c. 37. Diodor. l. i.

<sup>8</sup> Huet. Dem. Evang. Pr. iv. c. 4. Heumann Acta-Phil. t. ii. p. 687.



Besides this Hermes, or Mercury, there was another, who, at a later period, was equally celebrated. Manetho distinguishes him from the first, and says of him,<sup>9</sup> that from engraved tables of stone, which had been buried in the earth, he translated the sacred characters written by the first Mercury; and wrote the explanation in books, which were deposited in the Egyptian temples. He calls him the son of Agathodæmon, and adds, that to him are ascribed the restoration of the wisdom taught by the first Mercury, and the revival of geometry, arithmetic, and the arts, among the Egyptians. He was also called *Trismegistus*. The written monuments of the first Hermes having been lost or neglected, in certain civil revolutions or natural calamities, the second Hermes recovered <sup>10</sup> them, and made use of them as means of establishing his authority. By an ingenious interpretation of the symbols inscribed upon the ancient columns, he impressed the sacred sanction of antiquity upon his own institutions; and, to perpetuate their influence upon the minds of the people, he committed the columns, with his own interpretations, to the care of the priesthood. Hence he obtained a high degree of respect among the people, and was long revered as the restorer of learning. From the tables of the first Hermes he is said to have written, as commentaries and explanations, an incredible number of books. It has been asserted, that he was the author of more than twenty thousand volumes which treated of universal principles, of the nature and orders of celestial beings, of astrology, medicine, and other topics.<sup>11</sup> But many of the subjects, on which these writings are said to have treated, were unknown in the early period of the Egyptian philosophy. There can be little doubt, therefore, that they were the forgeries of a later age, when it became one of the common artifices of imposture to give the sanction of antiquity to fiction.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ap. Syncellum, p. 40.

<sup>10</sup> Herodot. l. ii. c. 82. Marsham. Chron. p. 241. Clem. Alex. Strom. v. p. 242.

<sup>11</sup> Jamblichus de Myst. Ægypt. § viii. c. 1, 2. Julius Firmicus, l. ii. Mathes. Fabricii Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 76.

<sup>12</sup> Jablonski, the author of *Pantheon Ægyptiorum*, is of opinion, that the first Hermes, or Thoth, was not a man, but a sacerdotal divinity, from

From these first authors of Egyptian wisdom, all learning was transmitted to posterity by means of the priesthood, a sacred order probably instituted by the second Hermes. The Egyptian priests had the reputation of extraordinary sanctity, and were even supposed to participate of divinity. Hence they obtained great sway over the people, and possessed no small share of influence in civil affairs. At several fixed hours of the day they celebrated the praises of the gods in hymns; the rest of their time they employed in mathematical studies, in astronomical observations, or in other scientific pursuits. They observed a great degree of gravity in their dress and external deportment. They were exceedingly attentive to personal cleanliness; and, for this purpose, they made use of frequent ablutions, and of circumcision. They held it unlawful to eat fish or beans. This latter superstition was adopted by the Pythagoreans.<sup>13</sup>

These priests concealed the mysteries of religion and philosophy from the vulgar, by means of written characters, which none but the initiated could understand. These were of two kinds, hieroglyphical and alphabetical. The former, were those symbolical characters, which were inscribed by the first Hermes on pillars or tables of stone, and which were afterwards copied and interpreted by the priests. The latter was the method of writing invented, or adopted, for the sake of explaining the hieroglyphic records, but made use of only by the priests, and for religious purposes. Hence these characters were called Sacerdotal,

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whom the priests were supposed to have derived all their wisdom and authority, and who presided over the *στυλαί*, or columns, on which the ancient learning of the country was inscribed. 'This divinity, who as the god of the columns was called Thoth, he maintains to have been the same with Phthas (called by the Greeks, Vulcan), that is, the Supreme Deity.\* But it seems more consonant to the general voice of antiquity to suppose, that the first inventor of the inscriptions upon the columns was conceived to have been inspired by some divinity; and that afterwards, upon the recovery of the sacred columns, the second Hermes, who undertook to explain them, pretended to have derived his descent from Thoth, and to partake of that Divine inspiration, which had dictated the ancient wisdom inscribed upon these pillars.

<sup>13</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 37. Strabo, l. xvii. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iii. p. 303. vi. p. 633. Vid. Jablonski Pantheon Ægyptiacum, Proleg. c. 3.

\* Pantheon. Æg. l. v. c. 5.

or Sacred. Besides these, there was a third kind of character in common use among the people, called the Epistolary.<sup>14</sup>

Many attempts have been made to explain the hieroglyphic mode of writing, from the few specimens, and the imperfect accounts, which remain from antiquity. But it would be surprising, if the sagacity of modern criticism were able to decipher characters, which do not appear to have been always perfectly understood by the Egyptian priests themselves, and which were, if not at their first introduction, certainly in their subsequent application, made use of for the purpose of concealment.<sup>15</sup> The Sacerdotal writings were deposited in the inmost recesses of temples: none but priests of the higher orders were commonly permitted to examine them; no stranger could obtain a sight of them, without an express order from the king, or without submitting to several troublesome ceremonies, particularly that of circumcision.<sup>16</sup> Pythagoras seems to have been the only man, who ever chose to gratify his curiosity on these hard conditions.

From this regular system of concealment, it may reasonably be inferred, that the Egyptian theology and philosophy were chiefly contrived to preserve and increase the authority of the priesthood, and to aid the designs of government.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, it is very evident, that we can have little hope, at this distant period, of being able to draw aside the veil, which has so long concealed the Egyptian mysteries. What kind of claim the Egyptians had to the character of philosophers, will, however, in part appear, if we proceed to inquire into the state of knowledge among them, respecting particular sciences and arts.

Geometry, whether invented by the Egyptians or not (a question, which it is not our province particularly to examine) was certainly known among them.<sup>18</sup> But, to sup-

<sup>14</sup> Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. v. p. 555. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 15. Shaw's Travels, v. ii. c. 5. <sup>15</sup> Origen contra Celsum, l. i. p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Jamblich. l. c.

<sup>17</sup> Jablonsk. Panth. Æg. tom. ii. p. 183. 253. Orig. adv. Cels. l. i. p. 11. Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 533.

<sup>18</sup> Vossius de Scientiis Math. c. xiii. p. 48. Burnet. Archæol. c. viii. D. Lacrt. l. i. § 11.

pose that they were acquainted with the higher and more abstruse parts of this science, is a mistake. The necessity they were under, of annually settling the boundaries of their lands, which were broken up by the overflowing of the Nile, taught them the art of mensuration; but we have no proof, that they possessed more mathematical knowledge than this art required. The elementary discoveries, which were made by Pythagoras and Thales after their return from Egypt, sufficiently prove, that this science must have been in a very imperfect state in that country, at the time when they visited it for the purpose of acquiring knowledge. It may therefore be certainly concluded, that we are indebted to Greece, and not to Egypt, for the advanced state in which the mathematical sciences have been transmitted from ancient to modern times.

The case was nearly similar with respect to astronomy. Some writers have made the Egyptians, and others the Babylonians, the original authors of this science. But it is probable, that the first elements of astronomy were discovered by different nations, whose habits of life led them to the frequent observation of the heavens. Thus Cicero says,<sup>19</sup> "The Egyptians and Babylonians, dwelling in open plains, where nothing intercepted the view of the heavenly bodies, devoted themselves to the study of astronomy." If, however, the honour of inventing this science be given to the Egyptians, it must be allowed, that their knowledge of the subject was neither sufficiently extensive, nor profound, to entitle them to the character of astronomical philosophers. They observed the rising and setting of the stars, the order of the signs in the Zodiac, and the aspects of the planets; but it was merely to enable them to practise astrological arts: they remarked the equinoctial and solstitial points; but it was only to ascertain the length of the year: they noticed the varieties of weather, and imagined them connected with the appearance or situation of the heavenly bodies; but they had no other object in view, than to regulate the labours of the husbandman. It was in the Pythagorean school, that Eudoxus first applied mathematical principles to the explanation of the celestial mo-

<sup>19</sup> De Divinat. l. i.

tions : and it was Thales, a Grecian, who first predicted an eclipse.<sup>20</sup>

The invention of Music is also ascribed to the Egyptians; but this can only relate to the first elements of melody: for the proportion of harmonic sounds was discovered, as we shall afterwards learn, by Pythagoras.

The origin of the Medical art was referred by the Egyptians to their demigods. It is chiefly on this account, that the names of Isis, and her son Horus, or Apollo, are so highly celebrated among the Egyptian divinities. Whence Ovid speaking of Apollo says,<sup>21</sup>

Inventum medicina meum est, opiferaque per orbem  
Dicor, et herbarum subjecta potentia nobis.<sup>22</sup>

The name of Esculapius, or Serapis,<sup>23</sup> has also, for the same reason, a distinguished place in the Egyptian mythology. But the history of these inventors of medicine is too obscure to afford any other conclusion, than this simple fact, that there were, in the most remote period of the Egyptian history, celebrated men, who devoted themselves to the benevolent office of healing diseases, and who were afterwards, by their grateful but ignorant and superstitious countrymen, ranked among the gods. Homer, indeed, speaks of Egypt as fertile in drugs :<sup>24</sup>

——— Τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα  
Φάρμακα ———<sup>25</sup>

But the particulars which are preserved respecting the Egyptian method of practice, will scarcely permit us to rank the Egyptian physicians among philosophers. Herodotus relates,<sup>26</sup> that, in his time, there were distinct physicians for different diseases, which they classed according to their seat in the human body. From Diodorus Siculus we learn,<sup>27</sup> that instead of prescribing medicines according

<sup>20</sup> Plin. l. ii. c. 13. Cic. Div. l. i.

<sup>21</sup> Metam. l. i. v. 521.

<sup>22</sup> Med'cine is mine, what herbs and simples grow

In fields and forests, all their powers I know;

And am the great physician call'd below. DRYDEN.

<sup>23</sup> Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 84. Apuleius, l. x.

<sup>24</sup> Odyss. l. iv. v. 229.

<sup>25</sup> ——— Where prolific Nile

With various simples clothes the fatten'd soil.

POPE.

<sup>26</sup> L. ii,

<sup>27</sup> L. i. c. 28.

to the judgment and experience of the practitioner, every physician was obliged to follow a written code; and if, in adhering to this, he proved unsuccessful, he was free from blame; but, if he ventured to depart from the prescribed forms, though the patient recovered, the physician was to lose his life. In administering medicines, they called in the aid of magical incantations, and pretended that supernatural virtues were, by means of these, communicated to certain plants.<sup>28</sup> In short, from every circumstance which is known concerning medical practice among the Egyptians, it appears, that it was entirely empirical, and that it was artfully connected with superstition, to serve the purposes of priestcraft.

The art of alchymy has been said to have been known by the ancient Egyptians; and, from the founder of the Egyptian philosophy, it has been called the Hermetic art. But we find no certain account of any attempt to effect the transmutation of metals, earlier than the time of Constantine.

In the fictitious sciences of astrology and magic,<sup>29</sup> there can be no doubt that the Egyptians were adepts. Their priests were not negligent in cultivating arts, which would give them such an irresistible sway over an ignorant and superstitious populace. Diodorus Siculus relates,<sup>30</sup> that the Chaldeans learned these arts from the Egyptians, which he could not have asserted, had there not been at least a general tradition that they were practised, from the earliest times, in Egypt. One of the most ancient sects of the magi, as the Mosaic history informs us,<sup>31</sup> was among the Egyptians. These magi made use of small images, of various forms, with which they pretended to perform many wonders, and particularly to cure diseases.<sup>32</sup> The image of Harpocrates, an astronomical divinity, who seems to have personified the return of the sun at the winter solstice, and who was represented in the form of a young infant, was hung from the neck, or worn in a ring upon the finger, as an amulet.<sup>33</sup>

Before we attempt to approach the mysteries of the Eryp-

<sup>28</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Ib. c. i.

<sup>30</sup> Lib. i. p. 51.

<sup>31</sup> Exod. iv.

<sup>32</sup> Pet. Arp. de Talism. p. 7. Gaulmin de Vit. Mosis, l. i. c. 11.

<sup>33</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxxiii. c. 2. Jablonski Panth. Egypt. p. i. c. 6.

tian theology, or philosophy (for, in speaking of ancient times, these cannot be separated) we must remark, that it was of two kinds; the one exoteric, addressed to the vulgar; the other esoteric, confined to a select number of the priests, and to those who possessed, or were to possess, the regal power.<sup>34</sup> The mysterious nature of their concealed doctrine was symbolically expressed by images of sphinxes placed at the entrance of their temples. It must also be recollected, that in different cities of Egypt, and in different colleges of priests, different tenets prevailed. Of this Juvenal furnishes an example, in his account of a quarrel between the inhabitants of Tentyra and Ombri, two neighbouring districts in Egypt, concerning the crocodile; the Tentyriteans being accustomed to worship this formidable animal, and the Ombrians to kill it wherever they found it:<sup>35</sup>

— Summus utrinque  
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum  
Odit uterque locus, quem solus credat habendos  
Esse Deos, quos ipse colit.<sup>36</sup>

That these disputes were not confined to the popular superstitions, appears from the different and contradictory accounts, which were given by the Egyptian priests themselves,<sup>37</sup> of the origin and history of their divinities.

The exoteric religion of the Egyptians is universally known to have consisted in the grossest and most irrational superstitions. It could only be on account of the strictness with which the populace adhered to these, that Herodotus speaks of them as the most religious of men.<sup>38</sup> Besides gods, heroes, and eminent men, they worshipped various kinds of animals and plants. Their superstitious character is thus ridiculed by Juvenal:<sup>39</sup>

*Quis nescit, Volusi Bythinice, qualia demens  
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat*

<sup>34</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 566. Plutarch de Isid. et Osir.

<sup>35</sup> Sat. xv. v. 34.

<sup>36</sup> ——— Hence ruthless rancour springs;

Each hates his neighbour's gods, and each believes

The power alone Divine which he adores.

<sup>37</sup> Herodot. l. ii. c. 42. Plutarch de Is. et Os.

<sup>38</sup> L. ii. c. 37.

<sup>39</sup> Sat. xv. v. 1, &c.

Pars hæc; illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.  
 Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci,  
 Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,  
 Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.  
 Illic cæruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic  
 Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam;  
 Porrum et cepe nefas violare, ac frangere morsu.  
 O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis  
 Numina!<sup>40</sup>

At Rome, the Egyptian superstitions were thought so pernicious, that, under the consulship of Piso and Gabinius, the public worship of their gods was prohibited;<sup>41</sup> and in the reign of Tiberius the observance of Egyptian rites was suppressed, and those who were infected with this superstition were required to burn their sacred vestments, and other articles employed in their ceremonies.<sup>42</sup>

The most probable account of the origin of the Egyptian superstitions is, that those natural bodies, which were at first introduced into their religious rites merely as emblems, or symbols, of invisible divinities, became themselves, in process of time, objects of worship.

Concerning the esoteric, or philosophical doctrine of the Egyptians, it seems evident, in the first place, that they conceived matter to be the first principle of things, and that before the regular forms of nature arose, an eternal chaos had existed, which contained, in a state of darkness

<sup>40</sup> Who knows not, that there's nothing vile or odd,  
 Which brainsick Egypt turns not to a god?  
 Some of her fools the crocodile adore,  
 The ibis cramm'd with snakes as many more,  
 A long-tail'd ape, the suppliants most admire  
 Where a half Memnon tunes his magic lyre;  
 Where Thebes, once for her hundred gates renown'd,  
 An awful heap of ruins strews the ground:  
 Whole towns, in one place, river fish revere,  
 To sea-fish some as piously adhere:  
 In some a dog's high deity is seen;  
 But none mind Dian, though of dogs the queen:  
 Nay vegetables here take rank Divine;  
 On leeks and onions 'tis profane to dine.  
 Oh holy nations! where the gardens bear  
 A crop of gods through all the live-long year!

OWEN.

<sup>41</sup> Tertull. Apol. c. 6.<sup>42</sup> Sueton. Tib. Plut. Is. et Osir.



and confusion, all the materials of future beings. This Chaos, which was also called Night, was, in the most ancient times, worshipped as one of the superior divinities. Aristotle speaks of Chaos and Night as one and the same, and as the First Principle, from which, in the ancient cosmogonies, all things are derived.<sup>43</sup> It is probable, that the Egyptians worshipped the material principle, Chaos, or Night, under the name of Athor; a word which in the Coptic language signifies *night*.<sup>44</sup> This divinity the Grecian mythologists, after their usual manner, confounded with Venus. Hesychius refers to a temple in Egypt, dedicated to the nocturnal Venus: 'Αφροδίτης σκοτίας ἱερὸν.<sup>45</sup> And Herodotus relates;<sup>46</sup> that in the city of *Atarbechis* was a temple sacred to Venus; whence it may be inferred, that long before the time of Herodotus, Athor, or the Egyptian Venus, denoting the material principle, was an object of worship. Of this divinity, the symbol, which, after their usual manner, the Egyptians placed in her temple was a cow.<sup>47</sup> That the passive principle in nature was thus admitted to a primary place in the philosophy and theology of the Egyptians is confirmed by Diogenes Laertius, who says, that the Egyptians taught, that matter is the First Principle, and that from this the four elements are separated, and certain animals produced.<sup>48</sup>

Besides the material principle, it seems capable of satisfactory proof, that the Egyptians admitted an active principle, or intelligent power, eternally united with the chaotic mass, by whose energy the elements were separated, and bodies were formed, and who continually presides over the universe, and is the efficient cause of all effects. For this we have not only the authority of Plutarch,<sup>49</sup> who may be suspected of having exhibited the Egyptian philosophy in a Grecian dress, but the united testimony of many writers, who give such accounts of the Egyptian gods, *Phthas* or *Vulcan*, and *Cneph* or *Agathodæmon*, as render it probable that these were only different names expressing different attributes of the Supreme Divinity. "The Egyptians,"

<sup>43</sup> Metaphys. l. xii. c. 6.

<sup>44</sup> Jablonsk. Panth. Egypt. l. i. c. 1. § 7.

<sup>45</sup> In verb. *σκοτία*.

<sup>46</sup> L. ii. c. 41.

<sup>47</sup> Ælian. de Anim. l. xi. c. 27. Jabl. ib. § 15. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 552.

<sup>48</sup> Proem. § 10.

<sup>49</sup> Isis and Osiris.

says Eusebius,<sup>50</sup> "call the Maker of the universe by the name of Cneph, and relate, that he sent forth an egg from his mouth; which in their symbolical language denotes that he produced the universe." Diodorus Siculus<sup>51</sup> speaks of the Egyptian Vulcan, as the first king among the gods, and Manetho<sup>52</sup> ascribes to him unlimited duration, and perpetual splendour. The name itself, Phthas, in the Coptic language, denotes one by whom events are ordained. When the Egyptians meant to represent the Ruler of the world as good, they called him by the appellation Cneph; a word which denotes a good genius. They represented him under the symbol of a serpent.<sup>53</sup> Upon a temple dedicated to Neitha, at Sais, the chief town in Lower Egypt, was this inscription, "I am whatever is, or has been, or will be, and no mortal has hitherto drawn aside my veil; my offspring is the sun." Both Plutarch and Proclus mention this inscription, though with some difference of language;<sup>54</sup> and it is so consonant to the mythological spirit of the Egyptians, that, notwithstanding the silence of more ancient writers, who treat of their theology, its authenticity may be easily admitted. If this be allowed, and if, at the same time, it be granted (as the learned Jablonski maintains<sup>55</sup>) that Neitha and Phthas were only different names for the same divinity, this inscription will be a strong confirmation of the opinion, that the Egyptians acknowledged the existence of an active Intelligence, the cause of all things, whose nature is incomprehensible. On the whole, notwithstanding what has been advanced in support of the contrary opinion by Porphyry<sup>56</sup> and others, it appears highly probable that the ancient Egyptians acknowledged an active, as well as a passive principle in nature, and, as Plutarch asserts, worshipped  $\tau\tilde{\varphi} \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\tilde{\varphi} \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\varphi}$ , the Supreme Deity.

The doctrine of an ethereal intelligence pervading and animating the material world, appears, among the Egyptians, to have been from the earliest time accompanied with a belief in inferior divinities. Conceiving emanations from the Divinity to be resident in various parts of nature, when

<sup>50</sup> L. iii. c. 11.<sup>51</sup> L. i. p. 13.<sup>52</sup> Apud. Syncellum, p. 51.<sup>53</sup> Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. i. c. 10. l. iii. c. 11. Plut. Amat. Lamprid. c. 28.<sup>54</sup> Plut. Is. et Osir. Procl. in Tim. p. 30. <sup>55</sup> Pantheon Egypt.<sup>56</sup> Vid. Jambl. Myst. Eg. Pref. Ed. Galæi.

they saw life, motion, and enjoyment communicated to the inhabitants of the earth from the sun, and, as they supposed, from other heavenly bodies, they ascribed these effects to the influence of certain divinities, derived from the first Deity, which they supposed to inhabit these bodies. Hence arose their worship of the sun, under the names of Osiris, Ammon, and Horus; of the moon, under those of Isis, Bubastis, and Buto; of the Cabiri, or planets; of Sothis, or the Dog-star; and of other celestial divinities.<sup>47</sup> The Cabiri were called by the Egyptian priests, sons of Phthas, or Vulcan, that is, of the Supreme Being.<sup>48</sup> When the Egyptians worshipped the Divinity under the notion of an offended sovereign, they called him Tythrambo, that is, according to the Greeks, Hecate: and the evil principle, from which they conceived themselves liable to misfortune, they deprecated as an object of terror, under the name of Typhon.<sup>49</sup>

From the same source it may be easily conceived that, among the Egyptians as well as in other nations, would arise the worship of deified men. When they saw their illustrious heroes, or legislators, protecting their country by their prowess, or improving human life by useful inventions and institutions, they concluded that a large portion of that divinity, which animates all things, resided in them, and supposed that, after their death, the good demon that animated them passed into the society of the divinities. In this manner it may be conceived, that the worship of heroes would spring up together with that of the heavenly bodies. But whether the former did in fact prevail among the Egyptians, is a question which has been much disputed, and which, after all that has been advanced upon it, still remains undecided.<sup>50</sup>

The opinion of the Egyptians concerning the human soul is very differently represented by different writers. It is indeed universally agreed, that they believed it to be immortal. Herodotus asserts, though perhaps without sufficient ground, that they were the first people who taught this

<sup>47</sup> Jablonsk. l. ii. c. 1, 2. 4. l. iii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4. Proleg. c. i. § 26.

<sup>48</sup> Herod. l. iii. c. 37.

<sup>49</sup> Jabl. l. i. c. 5. l. v. c. 2.

<sup>50</sup> See on this question, Euseb. Pr. l. i. c. 9. Diod. Sic. l. i. c. 8. Univ. Hist. v. 1. § 510. Shuckford, v. 1. p. 208. Jablonski Proleg. c. 2.

doctrine:<sup>61</sup> and Diodorus Siculus relates,<sup>62</sup> that the Egyptians, instead of lamenting the death of good men, rejoiced in their felicity, conceiving that, in the invisible world, they would live for ever among the pious. To the same purport is the account which he gives of the custom of bringing the characters of the deceased under a public trial, and offering up prayers to the gods on behalf of those who were adjudged to have lived virtuously, that they might be admitted into the society of good men. But it has been a subject of debate, into what place, according to the Egyptian doctrine, the souls of men passed after death. Plutarch speaks<sup>63</sup> of the *Amenthes* of the Egyptians, corresponding to the *Hades* of the Greeks, a subterraneous region, to which the souls of dead men were conveyed. With this agrees the account given by Diodorus Siculus of the funeral customs of the Egyptians. It is also confirmed by a fact, related by Porphyry,<sup>64</sup> upon the authority of Euphantus, that the Egyptians, at their funerals, offered up this prayer, in the name of the deceased: "Thou sun, who rulest all things, and ye other powers, who give life to man, receive me, and grant me an abode among the immortal gods." Herodotus, on the contrary, gives it as the opinion of the Egyptians,<sup>65</sup> that, when the body decays, the soul passes into some other animal, which is then born; and that after it has made the circuit of beasts, birds, and fishes, through a period of three thousand years, it again becomes an inhabitant of the human body. Diogenes Laertius, after Hecateus, relates,<sup>66</sup> that, according to the tenets of the Egyptians, the soul after death continues to live, and passes into other bodies.

These different notions, concerning the state of the soul after death, were probably held by different colleges of priests, some of whom were advocates for the doctrine of transmigration, while others held, that the souls of good men, after wandering for a time among the stars, were permitted to return to the society of the gods. Or, the seeming inconsistency of these opinions may be reconciled by means of a conjecture, which naturally arises from the doctrine, that God is the soul of the world, from which all

<sup>61</sup> L. ii. c. 123.<sup>62</sup> L. i. c. 12.<sup>63</sup> *Isis et Osiris*.<sup>64</sup> *De Abstinencia*, l. iv. § 10.<sup>65</sup> L. ii. c. 123.<sup>66</sup> L. i. § 10.

things came, and to which they will return. According to this doctrine it may be conceived, that all souls, being portions of the universal mind, must return to the divinity; but that since different minds, by their union with the body, are stained with different degrees of impurity, it becomes necessary, that, before their return, they should pass through different degrees of purgation, which might be supposed to be accomplished by means of successive transmigrations. According to this system, bad men would undergo this *metempsychosis* for a longer, good men for a shorter period; and the Amenthes, or Hades, may be conceived to have been the region in which departed souls, immediately after death, received their respective designations.

As the Egyptians held, that the world was produced from chaos by the energy of an intelligent principle, so they conceived that there is in nature a continual tendency towards dissolution. In Plato's *Timæus*, an Egyptian priest is introduced, describing the destruction of the world, and asserting that it will be effected by means of water and fire. They conceived that the universe undergoes a periodical conflagration, after which all things are restored to their original form, to pass again through a similar succession of changes.<sup>67</sup>

Of preceptive doctrine the Egyptians had two kinds, the one sacred, the other vulgar. The former, which respected the ceremonies of religion, and the duties of the priests, was doubtless written in the sacred books of Hermes, but was too carefully concealed to pass down to posterity. The latter consisted of maxims and rules of virtue, prudence, or policy. Diodorus Siculus relates many particulars concerning the laws, customs, and manners of the Egyptians, whence it appears that superstition mingled with, and corrupted their notions of morals. It is in vain to look for accurate principles of ethics among an ignorant and superstitious people. And that the ancient Egyptians merited this character, is sufficiently evident from this single circumstance, that they suffered themselves to be deceived by impostors, particularly by the professors of the fanciful

<sup>67</sup> Diod. S. l. i. c. 1. Laert. l. i. § 10. Orig. contra. Celf. l. v. p. 252. Macrob. Sat. l. ii. c. 6.

art of astrology; concerning whom Sextus Empiricus justly remarks,<sup>68</sup> that they have done much mischief in the world, by enslaving men to superstition, which will not suffer them to follow the dictates of right reason.<sup>69</sup>

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## CHAP. IX.

### OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ETHIOPIANS.

THE country of Ethiopia, which, in the more confined use of the name, nearly corresponds to the modern Abyssinia, was, at a very remote period, inhabited by a people, whose opinions and customs nearly resembled those of the Egyptians. Many of their divinities were the same; they had the same orders of priesthood, and religious ceremonies; they made use of the same characters in writing; their mode of dress was similar; and the regal sceptre made use of in both countries was in the form of a plough.<sup>1</sup> Whence it is evident, either that the Egyptians received their religion and learning from the Ethiopians, as Lucian asserts,<sup>2</sup> or, which the great antiquity and celebrity of the Egyptian nation renders much more probable, that the Ethiopians were instructed by the Egyptians. Ethiopia seems to have been

<sup>68</sup> Adv. Math. l. v.

<sup>69</sup> Vidend. Jablonski Pantheon Ægyptiorum, passim. Herm. Conringius de Hermet. Ægypt. Witsii Ægyptiaca. Moshem. Not. ad Cudworth. c. 4. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. 3. Cyrald. Hist. Deor. l. ix. Natal. Comes. Mythol. l. v. c. 5. Voss. de Idol. l. ii. Reland. Diss. de Diis Cabiris. tom. i. Ursin. de Zor. Merc. et Sanch. Basnage Hist. des Juifs. t. iii. c. 18. § 20. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 222, &c. Voss. de Scient. Math. c. 13. Burnet. Arch. c. 8. Pignorus in Mens Isiac. Le Clerc. Bibl. Univ. t. iii. Horus Apollo in Hieroglyph. l. i. Banier Diss. sur le Typhon, ap. Hist. Anc. Inscip. t. vi. Joach. Operinus de Immort. Mortalium. Liv. Galantes. Compar. Theol. Plat. p. 237, &c. Dickenson. Phys. Vet. et Ver. c. 12. Perizonii Ægypt. investigat. Stillingfleet. Orig. Sac. l. i. c. 2. Reimann. Antiq. Liter. Ægypt. Diss. de Ann. Æg. Misc. Berolin. t. iv. Wachter. Concord. Ration. et Script. l. iii. Warburton Div. Leg. l. iv. § 2, &c. An. Univ. Hist. v. i. Banier sur la Mythol. Ægypt.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. l. ii. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vi. c. 29. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 779.

<sup>2</sup> De Astrolog.

colonized from Egypt, and to have received its institutions from the parent country.

Little can be advanced with certainty concerning the philosophy of the Ethiopians. Their wise men, like those of the Indians, were called Gymnosophists, from their custom of wearing little clothing. They discharged the sacred functions after the manner of the Egyptian priests; had distinct colleges, and classes of disciples; and taught their dogmas in obscure and mythological language. They were remarkable for their contempt of death.<sup>3</sup>

Strabo speaks of the southern Ethiopians as atheists;<sup>4</sup> but we must understand by this character, not that they were destitute of all belief in a Supreme Power, but that they did not worship the same gods, or make use of the same ceremonies, with their neighbours.<sup>5</sup> In another place,<sup>6</sup> the same historian says, that they acknowledged two gods, one immortal and the other mortal; that the immortal god was always the same, the first cause of all things; but that the mortal god was uncertain, and without a name. Perhaps this mortal god was the principle of evil, which the Egyptians acknowledged under the name of Typhon, who being at length to be overcome by the good principle, might properly be said to be mortal. However this be, it is certain, that the Ethiopians were scrupulously exact in their religious worship, and therefore could by no means deserve the charge of atheism. Homer says,<sup>7</sup>

Zeûs γὰρ ἐπ' Ἰκσανὸν μετ' ἀμυμάρας Αἰθιοπίας  
Χθιζὸς ἔβη μετὰ δαῖρα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἔποντο.<sup>8</sup>

Lucian<sup>9</sup> ascribes the invention of astronomy and astrology to the Ethiopians. But it is not probable, that the observation and knowledge of the celestial phenomena were originally confined to any one country. The Babylonians,

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. l. c. Lucian. de Astrol. Laert. l. i. § 6.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Vossius de Idolot. Gent. l. i. c. 2.

<sup>6</sup> P. 822. Conf. Stobæi. Sermon. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Il. l. i. v. 429.

<sup>8</sup> The sire of gods, and all th' æthereal train,  
On the warm limits of the farthest main,  
Now mix with mortals, nor disdain to grace  
The feasts of Ethiopia's blameless race.

Pope.

<sup>9</sup> Loc. cit.

Egyptians, Ethiopians, and other nations, who, from their climate and manner of life, had frequent occasion to observe the motions of the stars, may be supposed, independently of each other, to have made many discoveries respecting the celestial *phenomena*. But, though there is no sufficient reason for ascribing to the Ethiopians the exclusive honour of inventing astronomy, the story of Atlas makes it very probable, that this science was early studied among them. The fable of his bearing the heavens upon his shoulders perhaps only means, that Atlas was a diligent observer of the heavenly bodies, and taught his countrymen astronomy.<sup>10</sup> He is said to have had seven daughters, called the Pleiades, who (perhaps because they had pursued the study of astronomy under their father) were advanced to an honourable station in the heavens, and gave name to a well-known constellation.<sup>11</sup> His residence was probably near those lofty mountains, which to this day bear the name of Atlas, and which Virgil so beautifully describes:<sup>12</sup>

Oceani finem juxta, solemque cadentem,  
Ultimus Æthiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas  
Axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.<sup>13</sup>

Many other particulars are related, concerning the philosophy of the Ethiopians, by Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius Tyanæus; but this, as we shall afterwards see, is a work, on many accounts, of doubtful credit.

The morality of the Ethiopians, according to Laertius,<sup>14</sup> consisted in worshipping the gods, doing no evil, exercising fortitude, and despising death.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Virg. *Æneid*. l. i. v. 745.

<sup>11</sup> Natalis Comes *Mythol*. l. iv. c. 7.

<sup>12</sup> *Æn*. l. iv. ver. 480.

<sup>13</sup> Near Ocean's utmost bound a region lies,

Where mighty Atlas props the starry skies. PITT.

<sup>14</sup> L. i. § 6.

<sup>15</sup> Vidend. Scheffer de Phil. Ital. c. 4. Witsii *Ægypt*. l. ii. Voss. de Idol. l. i. c. 1. Marsham. Can. Chron. Sect. xiii. Bochart. Geog. Sac. p. 1. l. ii. c. 13. Lambecii *Prodrom. Hist. Lit.* p. 133. Natal. Comes *Myth*. l. iv. c. 7. Ludolph. *Hist. Æthiop. An. Univ. Hist.* v. 16.



## CHAP. X.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CELTS, INCLUDING THE GAULS,  
BRITONS, GERMANS, AND NORTHERN NATIONS.

**H**AVING traced the ancient history of Barbaric philosophy through Asia and Africa, we now pass over into Europe, to observe the forms which it assumed in the western and northern regions. In this part of the world, besides the exotic Romans, and the Greeks, of whom we shall afterwards treat, we find the nation of the Celts, who, from the northern extremities of Asia, sent out colonies, westward, similar to each other in their customs and institutions. Hence not only the Scythians and the Pannonians, but also the ancient inhabitants of Germany, Britain, Gaul, and Spain, come under the general denomination of Celts.

The history of the Celtic nations is involved in great obscurity, not so much from the unavoidable depredations of time, as from the total want of ancient records. So far were the ancient Gauls, Germans, and Britons, from having among them any learned historians to record their institutions or opinions, that they industriously discouraged every attempt to commit things of this kind to writing. Julius Cæsar, who was well acquainted with the state of Gaul, says, that though, in almost all their public and private records, the Gauls made use of Greek letters, they did not commit their doctrines to writing:<sup>1</sup> but he is to be understood as only speaking of his own times; for, at a more remote period, the Gauls were strangers to the art of writing. According to Strabo,<sup>2</sup> they were first instructed in letters by a Greek colony which settled at Marseilles about the year of Rome 165. The Germans became acquainted with this art much later: Tacitus<sup>3</sup> intimates, that it was not in common use among them even in his time. These nations had no other records of public transactions than the songs of their bards.<sup>4</sup>

It is not to be supposed that they who received the oral

<sup>1</sup> Bell. G. VI. 13.

<sup>2</sup> L. iv. p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Mor. Germ. c. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, L. iv. p. 190. Athæn. l. vi. p. 154.

instructions of wise men under an injunction of secrecy, as seems to have been the general practice among the Celtic nations, would communicate them to strangers. The reports of the Greek and Roman historians on this subject, must, therefore, have had no better foundation than vulgar rumour, gathered up by foreigners in accidental conversation. Julius Cæsar himself, though the conqueror of Gaul, and a curious observer of the nations whom he conquered, found little to relate concerning the opinions of the Gauls. No wonder that other writers have filled their accounts of the Celtic theology with idle tales and extravagant fables.

From the imperfect reports concerning these nations which remain, it is, however, desirable, that we should frame the best idea we are able of their philosophy. For, though their wisdom was of a very different character from that of the Greeks and Romans, they were not so destitute of knowledge as not to have their schools of instruction and their philosophers.

The Druids (so called from *Dern*, a Celtic word which signifies *an oak*, still used in that sense in the Erse language<sup>5</sup>) are spoken of, by the ancient writers, as an order existing, in the remotest period, among all nations. Diogenes Laertius,<sup>6</sup> on the authority of Aristotle and Sotion, ranks the Druids of the Celtæ and Galatæ with the magi of the Persians, the Chaldeans of Babylonia, and the Gymnosophists of the Indians. In what Celtic nation this order was first instituted is uncertain;<sup>7</sup> but there can be no doubt, that before the time of Julius Cæsar, it was generally established in Britain, Gaul, and Germany. The office and character of the Gallic Druids, the causes of their authority, their manner of teaching, and other circumstances, are clearly explained in the Commentaries of Cæsar. The chief particulars of his account are the following:<sup>8</sup> “The Druids preside in religious concerns, direct the public and private sacrifices, and interpret the will of the gods. Young men are sent to them for education, by whom they are held in great honour. The decision of almost all controversies,

<sup>5</sup> Toland's Letters on the Druids.

<sup>6</sup> L. i. § 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cæs. Bel. G. l. vi. c. 14. Tacit. Agric. Vet. c. xi. Plin. Hist. N. l. xxx. c. l.

<sup>8</sup> Bell. Gall. l. vi. c. 13.

both public and private, is referred to them: and if any crime be committed, if any murder be perpetrated, or if any dispute arise concerning an inheritance, or the boundaries of lands, in all such cases they pronounce sentence, and decree rewards or punishments; and if any one, whether in a private or public station, refuse to submit to their decree, they interdict him the sacrifices, which is the severest penalty they can inflict. The Druids are under one elective chief: they never go to war, are exempted from taxes and military services, and enjoy every kind of immunity."

These particulars concerning the Druids prove, that, like the magi, and other priests of the East, they had great power in the state, and supported their influence and authority by the aid of superstition. They were divided into three classes: the Bards, who celebrated the praises of eminent men in songs accompanied with the lyre; the Eubages, who performed the rites of religion and divination; and the Druids, in the more limited sense of the appellation, who had in their hands the direction of public affairs, the administration of justice, and the education of youth.<sup>9</sup> They clothed their dogmas in an allegorical dress, and delivered them in verse, that they might be the more easily remembered. They instructed their disciples in retired groves, or in caverns, and forbade them, under the severest penalties, to divulge the secret doctrines which they were taught, or to commit them to writing.<sup>10</sup> Hence the doctrines of the Druids must have been very imperfectly known, except among those who were admitted into their interior mysteries. On this subject Lucan says:<sup>11</sup>

Solis nosse deos, et cœli numina vobis  
Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis  
Incolitis lucis.<sup>12</sup>

If this account of the Druids be compared with what

<sup>9</sup> Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 308. Strabo, l. iv. p. 302. Diog. Laert. i. c. 2. Ammian. Marcell. l. xv. c. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Laert. l. i. § 6. Pomp. Mela, l. iii. c. 2. <sup>11</sup> Pharsal. l. i. v. 427, &c.

<sup>12</sup> ——— Who haunt the lonely coverts of the grove;

To these, and these of all mankind alone,

The gods are sure reveal'd, or sure unknown.

Rowe.

has been already related concerning the wise men and priests of other ancient nations, it will be sufficiently manifest, that their mode of education was rather adapted to the support of fraud and imposture, than to the propagation of knowledge. How far they were from being humanized by cultivation, may be inferred from the barbarous rites which they practised. Ancient writers attest, that they offered human sacrifices to their gods: Thus Lucan:<sup>13</sup>

— Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro  
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus,  
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ora Dianæ.<sup>14</sup>

So offensive were their savage customs to the Romans, that Augustus prohibited the use of their religious ceremonies in Gaul, and Tiberius and Claudius issued edicts for the abolition of the Druidical order.<sup>15</sup>

The Germans, Danes, Swedes, and other northern nations derived from the Celtic stock, had customs similar to those of the Gauls and Britons, and, particularly, had among them Bards or Scaldi, and priests, whose character was the same with that of the Gallic and British Druids. Tacitus, in his account of the manners of the Germans, says:<sup>16</sup> “None but the priests are permitted to chastise delinquents, or to inflict bonds or stripes, that it may appear, not as a punishment inflicted by order of the chieftain, but as the consequence of a command from the Divinity, whom they suppose to be present with warriors. They conduct the public omens; and in assemblies of the people have authority to command silence.” Strabo and other writers confirm this account. We must therefore suppose, that Cæsar, who says <sup>17</sup> that the Germans had neither Druids nor sacrifices, was, in this instance, imposed upon by reports to which he had given too hasty credit.

<sup>13</sup> Pharsal. l. i. v. 444.

<sup>14</sup> And you, where Hesus' horrid altar stands,  
Where dire Teutates human blood demands;  
Where Taranis by wretches is obeyed,  
And vies in slaughter with the Scythian maid.      ROWE.

<sup>15</sup> Sueton. et Victor. in Claud. Seneca in Apocolocyntosi. Plin. Hist. N. l. xxx. c. 4.      <sup>16</sup> C. 7. 10. 11. Conf. Tac. Hist. l. iv. c. 54.

<sup>17</sup> Bell. Gall. l. vi. c. 21.

It was one of the offices of the Celtic priests, or Druids, to explain to their disciples the meaning of the fables under which their religious tenets were concealed. These fables, or allegories, were similar to those of the Asiatics, and were delivered in verse, after their manner: a circumstance which confirms the conjecture, that these nations arose from colonies which came out of the northern regions of Asia, and which brought with them the tenets, which, in the remotest periods, had prevailed among the Persians, Scythians, and other Asiatic nations. Indeed, it is probable, that the Celts and Sarmatians in Europe, and the Medes and Persians in Asia, were derived from one common stock—the Asiatic Scythians: for, on the one hand, it appears,<sup>18</sup> that the name of Scythians, which long remained in the northern parts of Asia, passed over with the Scythian colonies into Europe, where it was gradually lost in those of Sarmatians and Germans: and, on the other, authorities are not wanting to prove, that the Medes and Persians were descended from the Scythians.<sup>19</sup> The same religious tenets which the Persians had received from the Scythians, were probably also embraced by the Celts, and by them transmitted, in their migrations, through Germany, Gaul, and Spain.

An allegorical and poetical representation of the tenets of the ancient northern nations concerning God, the origin of the world, the condition of man after death, and other philosophical subjects, is contained in an ancient book, written in the Runic language, called the Edda, whence the Rhythmists of Iceland chiefly borrow their fictions. It was compiled from records or traditions, which were probably of Asiatic original,<sup>20</sup> by Saemundus Sigfusonius, an Icelander, about 1114; and is certainly the most ancient account, which is extant, of the mythology of the northern nations. This work becoming obscure from the neglect of the Runic language, and other causes, another Edda, or mythological collection, was made, in 1215, by Snorro, a

<sup>18</sup> Plin. Hist. N. l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>19</sup> Herodot. l. v. c. 9. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxxi. c. 3. Pelloutierrii Celtarum Hist. tom. i. p. 19. not. n.

<sup>20</sup> Arakiel. Relig. Gent. Cimbr. c. ii. § 13. Conf. Rudbeckius in Atlantide.

native of Iceland, and written in the language of the country. An edition of both these curious works, with a Latin translation, was published at Copenhagen in the year 1665.

From the imperfect accounts which remain of the opinions of the ancient Gauls, Germans, Britons, and other northern nations, it is extremely difficult to frame a tolerably distinct view of the Celtic philosophy.

With respect to religion, the Celts, like other ancient nations, had their public and vulgar, and their concealed and more philosophical doctrine. Their theology supposed the universe to be animated by a Divinity, portions of which reside in different parts of nature. This opinion seems to have been the ground of their worship of the sun and moon, and of the reverence which they expressed for groves, rocks, and caverns. That they imagined the magnificent and gloomy scenes of nature to be inhabited by demons, fully appears from the Edda. Nor can any other reason be assigned for the superstitious notion which prevailed among them, than that these scenes were frequently the seat of oracular communications.<sup>21</sup>

The practice of divination prevailed in all the Celtic nations. Many women, both in Gaul and Germany, obtained great credit and influence under the character of prophetesses, some of whom were known by the name of Samnitæ.<sup>22</sup> Of the Germans, Tacitus says, that no people were more addicted to the method of divining by omens and lots: he relates, that they supposed somewhat of peculiar sanctity and prescience to be inherent in the female sex, and therefore neither despised their counsels, nor disregarded their responses.<sup>23</sup> The savage manner in which the Cimbrian women performed their divinations is thus described by Strabo:<sup>24</sup> "The women who follow the Cimbri to war, are accompanied by grey-haired prophetesses in white vestments, with canvass mantles fastened by clasps, a brazen girdle, and naked feet. These go with drawn swords through the camp, and striking down the prisoners they meet, drag them to a brazen kettle. This has a kind of stage above it, on which the priestess ascending, cuts the throat of the victim; and from the man-

<sup>21</sup> Keysler, de Antiquit. Celt. p. 18—21. p. 297, &c.

<sup>22</sup> Keysler, l. c.

<sup>23</sup> De Mor. Germ. c. 8. 10.

<sup>24</sup> L. vii.

ner in which the blood flows into the vessel she judges of the future event. Others tear open the bodies of the captives thus butchered, and from inspection of the entrails presage victory to their own party." These and other similar superstitions doubtless arose from a general belief, that the divinities who resided in the groves, and among the rocks, communicated to the priests and priestesses the knowledge of future events. And this belief was confirmed by the doctrine, which universally prevailed in the Celtic nations, that all events arise according to the unalterable laws of destiny, known only to the gods, and to those favoured mortals, to whom they unfold the book of fate.

The Celtic nations had many divinities, which they supposed to preside over different parts of nature, and which they worshipped under various names, such as Odin, Thor, Tuisco, &c. No divinity was more generally worshipped, both among the Celts and Scythians, than *The Earth*. The account which Tacitus gives<sup>25</sup> of the worship of this goddess exhibits a beautiful picture of the simplicity of ancient manners. "The Reudigni, Aviones, Angli, Eudoses, Suardones, and Nithuones," says he, "unite in the worship of *Hertha*, or Mother Earth, and suppose her to interfere in the affairs of men, and visit the different nations. In an island<sup>26</sup> of the ocean stands a sacred and unviolated grove; in which is a consecrated chariot, covered with a veil; which the priest alone is permitted to touch. He perceives when the goddess enters this secret recess; and with profound veneration attends the vehicle, which is drawn by yoked cows. At this season all is joy, and every place which the goddess deigns to visit is a scene of festivity. No wars are undertaken; arms are untouched; and every hostile weapon is laid aside. Peace and repose are then only known, then only loved: till, at length, the same priest re-conducts the goddess, satisfied with mortal intercourse, to her temple. The chariot, with its covering, and, if we may believe it, the goddess herself, then undergo ablution in a secret lake. This office is performed by slaves, whom the lake instantly swallows up. Hence pro-

<sup>25</sup> Mor. Germ. c. 40.

<sup>26</sup> Supposed to be Heilegcland (Holy Island) near the mouth of the Elbe.

ceeds a mysterious horror, and a holy ignorance of what that can be, which is beheld only by those who are about to perish."—This memorable narrative not only shews that the earth was worshipped with mysterious reverence by the northern nations, but affords a striking example of the ingenuity with which their priests clothed the mysteries of religion, in order to guard them from the impertinent intrusion of vulgar curiosity. The rest of the Celtic divinities were worshipped with similar rites, in which there can be no doubt that human sacrifices were frequently introduced.<sup>27</sup>

Before the Celtic nations were visited by the Romans, they appear to have had no other gods, than those which they supposed resident in natural bodies. Cæsar expressly asserts, that in his time they reckoned those alone among the number of their gods, by whose attributes they were visibly benefited, as the sun, the moon, and fire. Afterwards, they received, at least nominally, several of the Roman divinities: but they continued to worship them with their ancient rites, in groves, or on open plains, and upon altars, composed of vast masses of stone, of which there are still many remains. "They conceive it," says Tacitus,<sup>28</sup> "to be unworthy of the grandeur of celestial beings, to confine them within walls, or to represent them under a human form: woods and groves are their temples, and they affix names of divinity to that secret power, which they behold with the eye of adoration alone:"—*deorum nominibus appellant Secretum illud, quod solâ reverentiâ vident*. Of the same kind is the account which this judicious historian gives of the Semnones, a German nation who inhabited the banks of the Oder. After relating some particulars of their religious ceremonies, and mentioning the reverence which they paid to the grove in which they were performed, he adds:<sup>29</sup> "The whole of their superstition has this import, that there is the God, who is supreme governor of all, and that every thing else is subject and subordinate to him:—*ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia*. The result of these accounts is, that the Celtic nations had an idea of a Supreme Deity, the fountain of all other divinities, and the animating and ruling principle of the universe. They seem

<sup>27</sup> Tac. Mor. Ger. c. 9. 39. Lucan. loc. cit. Cæsar. Bell. G. l. vi. c. 16.

<sup>28</sup> Germ. c. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Ib. c. 39.



to have worshipped him under the name of *Odin*,<sup>30</sup> whom they called the Father of all.

The *Edda*<sup>31</sup> contains many passages, from which it may be clearly inferred, that the northern nations had an idea of an eternal Deity, prior to the formation of the material world, and that by his energy on the chaotic mass, which they called the deep, the sun, moon, and stars, and all other material bodies, were produced.

Mane erat seculorum, cum Ymerus habitavit,  
Erat nec arena, nec mare, nec refrigerantes aurulæ;  
Terra reperta est nusquam, nec in alto cælum:  
Hiatus ingens erat spatii, et gramen nullibi.<sup>32</sup>

This ancient record also speaks of human nature under the name of *Mannus*, as the joint production of several subordinate divinities, and as formed male and female (*Askus* and *Emla*) before they were endued with the vital principle.

Askum et Emlam omni conatu destitutos  
Animam nec possidebant, rationem nec habebant,  
Nec sanguinem, nec sermonem, nec faciem venustam;  
Animam dedit Odinus, rationem indidit Hoenerus,  
Loedur sanguinem addidit et faciem venustam.<sup>33</sup>

Hence it appears, that these northern nations conceived of the human soul as of Divine original; rational and immortal. And that this was the universal doctrine of the Celts, whether Gauls, Britons, Germans, or other nations, is unanimously attested by the Greek and Roman writers.

<sup>30</sup> Pottoutier. p. 65, &c.

<sup>31</sup> Bartholin. Antiq. Dan. l. ii. c. 1. Solin. Polyhistor. c. 16.

<sup>32</sup> In the beginning, ere the world had birth,  
While yet nor sea, nor shore, nor cooling breeze,  
Nor the green earth, nor azure sky, was form'd,  
In the vast void, Ymerus liv'd alone.

<sup>33</sup> Without or breath, or reasoning pow'rs, or speech,  
Or vital blood, or the fair human face,  
Askus and Emla lay; till Odin bade  
Them live, Hoenerus kindled in their breast  
The lamp of mind, and Lædur through their veins  
Pour'd forth the purple stream; then man arose,  
Graceful in youth, an animated form.

and by the remains of northern antiquities. Cæsar relates,<sup>34</sup> that the first doctrine of the Gallic Druids was, that the soul of man is immortal: and Pomponius Mela,<sup>35</sup> that one of their doctrines which is divulged among the people in order to inspire them with martial courage, is, that the soul is immortal. This account is confirmed by Valerius Maximus,<sup>36</sup> Strabo,<sup>37</sup> and other historians.<sup>38</sup> And the fables every where received among the Celts, concerning a future state, leave no room to doubt, that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was generally received among them.<sup>39</sup>

Such was the actual effect which this doctrine had upon the minds of the Celts, that we find no people superior to them in the magnanimous contempt of death. Valerius Maximus extols the brave and hardy spirit of the Cimbrians and Celtiberians, who, in the midst of the hazards of battle, exulted in the expectation of going to a more glorious and happy life.<sup>40</sup> He also speaks of a Thracian people, with whom it was a custom to celebrate the birth of a man with tears, but his funeral with joy; because the end of life is better than the beginning. Of the Hipsani, who were a Celtic colony, Silius Italicus<sup>41</sup> says:

Prodiga gens animæ, et properare facillima mortem;  
Namque ubi transcendit florentes viribus annos,  
Impatiens ævi spernet novisse senectam,  
Et fati modus in dextra est,<sup>42</sup>

The history of all the northern nations abounds with facts, which prove their contempt of death to have originated from an expectation of immortality.

What kind of immortality these nations expected is not clearly ascertained. According to Cæsar<sup>43</sup> and Diodorus Siculus,<sup>44</sup> they thought that the soul, at death, passes from

<sup>34</sup> Bel. G. l. vi. c. 14.    <sup>35</sup> L. iii. c. 2.    <sup>36</sup> L. ii. c. 6.    <sup>37</sup> L. iv.

<sup>38</sup> Vid. Pelloutierii Hist. Celt.

<sup>39</sup> Keyser. Antiq. p. 129. Schuzius de Statu Anim. c. 2. p. 75.

<sup>40</sup> L. ii. c. 6.

<sup>41</sup> L. i.

<sup>42</sup> This hardy race, still lavish of their breath,  
The flow'r of youth once past, rush on to death;  
Scorning life's path with tott'ring steps to tread,  
With their own hand they cut the fatal thread,

<sup>43</sup> L. iv. c. 14.

<sup>44</sup> L. v.

one body to another. This doctrine of transmigration is also ascribed to them by Lucan :<sup>45</sup>

Vobis auctoribus, umbræ  
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi  
Pallida regna petunt : regit idem spiritus artus  
Orbe alio : longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ  
Mors media est.<sup>46</sup>

On the contrary Pomponius Mela<sup>47</sup> represents the Celts as expecting to pass, after death, into the invisible world. And this notion best agrees with the authorities already cited on this subject, and with the accounts which are given, by various writers, of the funeral ceremonies practised in the northern nations, particularly that of committing to the funeral pile, or to the sepulchre, whatever had been dear to the deceased.<sup>48</sup> It is also most consonant to the mythological language of the ancient Edda, which every where represents the future life, as an assembly of good or bad men, in a state of reward or punishment, and only speaks of a return to life for the purpose of re-uniting the soul and body, after the soul has passed through a necessary course of purification, previously to its admission into the regions of the happy. From this state of purgation none were to be excused, except those who had voluntarily exposed themselves to death in battle : and hence it was, that they who fell in war were deemed to have made a glorious and happy exit from life, whilst they who died by sickness were thought to have perished shamefully and wretchedly.<sup>49</sup> To those brave spirits, who died in battle, the gates of the palace of Odin were immediately opened ; and they were

<sup>45</sup> Phars. l. i. v. 454.

<sup>46</sup> If dying mortals doom they sing aright,  
No ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful night ;  
No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,  
Nor seek the dreary silent shades below :  
But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,  
And other bodies in new worlds they find :  
Thus life for ever runs its endless race,  
And, like a line, death but divides the space.      Rowz.

<sup>47</sup> Loc. cit.    <sup>48</sup> Cæsar Bell. G. l. ii. c. 6. Pomp. Mela, l. vi. c. 2. Herodot. l. iv. c. 93. Tacit. Germ. c. 27. Val. Max. loc. cit.

<sup>49</sup> Valer. Max. l. ii. c. § 11.

to live in his hall (Valhalla) in the full enjoyment of every thing which delighted them on earth. Others, who had lived a pious, just, and temperate life, and at last died by sickness, were to be admitted, after the necessary purification, into Gimle, a bright and happy mansion, where they should live for ever: whilst they who had, in this life, been guilty of great crimes (among which perjury, adultery, and assassination, were reckoned the most heinous) were to be consigned to Hela, where they should remain in punishment, till the *twilight of the gods*; a term by which is denoted a general restitution of all things, when after the burning of the world,<sup>50</sup> a new period of existence would commence.

The similarity of the Celtic doctrines to those of the eastern nations, already considered, favours the conjecture, that the northern mythology is derived from Oriental traditions, which accompanied the migrations of the Scythians towards the northern and western parts of Europe.

The ancient Celts were probably little acquainted with natural philosophy. Cæsar indeed says,<sup>51</sup> that the Gallic Druids philosophised concerning the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the world, and the nature of things. But we have no information respecting their observations or opinions on these subjects; except that they<sup>52</sup> “reckoned time by nights, not by days, and in the observance of birth-days, new moons, and the beginning of the year, commenced the celebration from the preceding night.” This circumstance is confirmed by ancient British monuments. If the Druids practised medicine, it was rather as an instrument of superstition, than as an art founded upon science, as sufficiently appears from the wonderful powers which they ascribed to the mistletoe.<sup>53</sup>

The sum of their moral doctrine, as given by Laertius,<sup>54</sup> is, to worship the gods, to do good, and to exercise fortitude. Perhaps little more was necessary among a people who were devoted to war. Their public and private virtues were, as we have seen, powerfully supported by the hope of immortality.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Strabo, l. iv. p. 302.

<sup>51</sup> Bell. G. l. vi. c. 13.

<sup>52</sup> C. 16.

<sup>53</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxx. § i. xvi. 44. xxiv. 4. xxxiv. 11.

<sup>54</sup> L. i. § 10.

<sup>55</sup> Vidend. Pézronius de Antiq. Celt. Pelloutier Lettres sur les Celts, Hague, 1740. Martin de la Relig. des Gaul. Keysler. Ant. Sept. et Celt.

## CHAP. XI.

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ETRURIANS AND ROMANS.

**ITALY**, in the most remote periods of its history, affords some traces of Barbaric philosophy among the Etrurians and Romans. The few particulars which remain, concerning the early philosophy of each, we shall distinctly examine.

The origin of the Tuscans, or Etrurians, is uncertain. Some writers, who abound in conjectures and idle dreams,<sup>1</sup> have maintained, that Noah colonized this country. It is more probable, that the Tuscans were a Celtic nation, who settled upon the banks of the river Po.<sup>2</sup> This very well agrees with what is known concerning the Celtic migrations, and will account for the prevalence of opinions before the arrival of the Egyptians and Pelasgians upon this coast, similar to those of the east.

Etruria, according to Diodorus Siculus,<sup>3</sup> was early distinguished by a diligent and successful study of nature: but he supports his assertion by no proofs; and the facts which are preserved by historians, respecting this ancient people, rather shew a disposition towards trivial superstitions; than an useful acquaintance with natural objects.<sup>4</sup> The Etrurians are said to have been the first inventors of augury, and to have boasted that they communicated this art to the Romans. Fabulous accounts are given of Tages,<sup>5</sup> who is mentioned as the first teacher of augury; to which Ovid alludes.<sup>6</sup>

G. Frickius de Druidis, Ulmæ, 1731. Selden. Analect. Anglo-Brit. v. ii; Toland on the Rel. of the Celts. Rowland. Ant. Isle of Anglesey. Burnet Arch. l. i. c. 2. Diss. de Poesi Scald. Upsal. 1717, Koeller de Scaldia, Gundling, Hist. Ph. Mor. c. 6. Moller in Isagog. ad Hist. Chers. Cimb, Beronius de Eddis Islandicis, Upsal, 1733. Rudbeck. Atlant. Ayrmann, Diss. de Cult. Idol. Orig. ap Vet. Germ. Bartholin Ant. Dan. Obrecht, de Phil. Celt. Puffend. de Druid. Banier Myth. t. v. l. vi. vii. Schubert, Hist. Ph. c. 2. Schuzius de Statu post Mortem sec. Celt.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Dickenson's Dissert. on the Journey of Noah into Italy, Oxon, 1655. Fabricii Codex Pseud. vol. i. p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Pelloutier. Hist. de Celtes, tom. ii. p. 101. <sup>3</sup> L. v.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. de Div. l. i. Senecæ Quæst. Nat. l. ii. c. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Ammian. Marcell. l. xxi. <sup>6</sup> Metam. l. xv. v. 558,

Indigenæ dixere Tagen, qui primus Etruscam  
Edocuit gentem casus aperire futuros.<sup>7</sup>

The superstitious character of the Etrurians is strongly marked, in the story related by Pliny,<sup>8</sup> of an embassy sent from Rome to a celebrated Tuscan augur, Olerius Calenus, concerning a human skull which was found on the Tarpeian hill. The knowledge of nature, attributed to the Etrurians, appears to have extended little farther than the skilful application of natural objects and appearances to the purposes of superstition and imposture.

It has, nevertheless, been asserted, that this people were possessed of the purest conceptions of religion. Seneca speaks of the Tuscan augurs, as employing the terrors of Jupiter's lightnings to keep in awe those who could only be restrained from wickedness by fear; and adds, that they believed the thunder of heaven to be in the hands, not of the Jupiter worshipped by the Romans in the Capitol, and other temples, but of a Supreme Intelligence, the guardian and governor of the universe, the maker and lord of this world. But he adds,<sup>9</sup> "To this deity agree the several names of Fate, Providence, Nature, or the universe sustaining itself by its own energy:" a doctrine which, as we shall afterwards see, was held by the Stoics. On what authority Seneca ascribed this doctrine to the Etrurians is uncertain. The truth probably is, that, with other western and northern nations of Celtic origin, they conceived of the Deity as the animating principle of the world, acting upon an eternal mass to produce the visible creation. The cosmogony of an anonymous Etrurian, preserved by Suidas,<sup>10</sup> confirms this opinion. It limits the duration of the universe to a period of twelve thousand years, six thousand of which passed in the production of the visible world, before the formation of man. Another doctrine, ascribed to the Etrurians, which agrees with the tenets of the Stoics, is the entire renovation of nature after a long period, or great year, when a similar succession of events

<sup>7</sup> The natives of the place him Tages name,

From whom the Tuscan arts of aug'ry came. SEWELL.

<sup>8</sup> L. xxviii. c. 2. <sup>9</sup> *Quest. Nat.* l. ii. c. 41. <sup>10</sup> *Verb. Tyrren.* p. 519.

would again commence.<sup>11</sup> Two ancient brazen tablets, which, from the figures and inscriptions appear to represent the Egyptian divinities, Isis and Osiris,<sup>12</sup> have been found in Tuscany. These afford some ground for conjecturing, that, at the time when Egypt sent out colonies westward, the knowledge of their theology passed into Etruria. In this manner, it is not improbable, that the Etrurians might acquire the same notions concerning God and the origin of things, which had been long before entertained in Egypt and the East.

The Romans, so illustrious in the annals of civil history, afford, at the early period of which we are now treating, few materials for the history of Barbaric philosophy. The only name which, at this period, has any pretension to be admitted into the list of philosophers, is that of Numa, the second king of Rome. His excellent institutions of civil policy, introduced in the infancy of a state which owed its existence to the force of arms, unquestionably prove him to have been a wise legislator. It has been strenuously maintained, that his wisdom was borrowed from the great founder of one of the Grecian schools of philosophy, Pythagoras. But the arguments urged in support of this opinion are drawn from resemblances between the institutions of Numa and those of Pythagoras, which are either merely imaginary, or may easily be supposed to have happened, without design, from a similarity of situation. Besides, there is little doubt, that Pythagoras the Samian lived more than a century after the time of Numa. And the supposition that Numa was instructed by another Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian, who distinguished himself at the Olympic games, in the sixteenth Olympiad, in the third year of which<sup>13</sup> Numa was chosen king of Rome, is a mere conjecture. It is therefore most reasonable to conclude, that, excepting the assistance he may be supposed to have derived from his countrymen, the Sabines, his plan of civilization, both with respect to religion and policy, was the product of his own abilities. Livy, on this subject, says,<sup>14</sup> "Numa possessed a mind deeply tinctured with virtue, and well fur-

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch. Vit. Syllæ.

<sup>12</sup> Montfaucon, tom. i. p. i. p. 163, tab. 53.

<sup>13</sup> Before Christ, 714.

<sup>14</sup> Hist. l. i. c. 8. 18.

nished with good principles, not so much from foreign instruction, as from the early habits of strict discipline, which he had acquired among the Sabines." It will be readily acknowledged, that Numa was a great man, and a wise legislator; perhaps, as Plutarch says, superior even to the Spartan Lycurgus. But practical wisdom is not to be confounded with philosophy. The form of government established by Numa was rather the work of natural good sense, directed by virtuous principle, than the result of philosophical speculation.<sup>15</sup>

The wise discipline which Numa introduced was ill-suited to the genius of the Roman people, who were more inclined to pursue the glory of conquest, than to cultivate the arts of peace. So prevalent, at this time, was the military character among them, that it rendered them averse to all improvements in science, and led them to discourage every approach of philosophy, as tending to enfeeble the spirit, and corrupt the manners, of their youth.<sup>16</sup>

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## CHAP. XII.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SCYTHIANS, INCLUDING  
THE THRACIANS AND GETÆ.

IN our inquiry into the state of Barbaric philosophy, the only country which now remains to be considered is Scythia; a general name, which formerly included all the northern parts of Asia and Europe; but which, after the Celts became a distinct people from the Scythians, was chiefly made use of to denote those northern regions which lie upon the eastern extremity of Europe, and the west of Asia. This is the country which now comes under notice.

<sup>15</sup> Plut. Vit. Numæ.

<sup>16</sup> Vidend. Lampredus de Phil. Ant. Etruscorum. Florenee, 1756. Dempster ad Rosin. Ant. Rom. l. iii. c. 8. Cudworth's Intell. Syst. c. iv. § 25. Spon. Mis. Ant. p. 89. Montfaucon, t. i. p. i. p. 105. Spanhem. de Vest. et Brytan. Græc. t. v. Thes. Græc. Herbert. Relig. Gent. c. x. Hist. Critiq. de la Phil. tom. iii. p. 7. J. Owen, Theol. l. jii. Burnet Arch. l. i. c. 2. Univers. Hist. Etrusc.



It is universally attested by the ancients, that the Scythians, though rude and illiterate, were honest and virtuous. "No crime," says an elegant Roman historian,<sup>1</sup> "is esteemed among the Scythians more heinous than theft; for if any indulgence were given to this crime among a people whose flocks and herds are necessarily left unguarded in the open fields, no one's property would be secure; they do not, like the rest of the world, covet gold and silver; they are contented to live upon milk and honey, and, notwithstanding the rigours of their climate, make use of no other clothing than the undressed skins of beasts." Other writers confirm this account of the Scythians.<sup>2</sup> The innocence of their manners can, however, only be ascribed to their want of the means of luxury and excess. Their virtues were the natural effects of their situation, and not the fruits of cultivation and philosophy. As the writer just quoted judiciously observes, "What the Greeks could not acquire by all the learning of their wise men, and all the precepts of philosophy, was given to these barbarians by nature: of so much more efficacy, among the latter, was the ignorance of vice, than among the former, the knowledge of virtue." They were not, however, free from the vices of savage life: they conducted their wars with great cruelty; and they admitted human sacrifices into their religious rites. But, whatever be thought of the manners of the Scythians, to give them the appellation of philosophers, would be to call a block of marble a statue.

The uncivilized state of this nation, and their roving manner of life, have permitted few particulars, either respecting their transactions or opinions, to pass down to posterity. But there can be little doubt, that, like the Celtic nations who migrated from them, they acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Divinity, and the immortality of the soul. Of the former, the conversation of Anacharsis, given by Plutarch,<sup>3</sup> is a sufficient proof. Of the latter, the emperor Julian, on the testimony of Trajan, gives the following account:<sup>4</sup> "The Getæ are a most warlike people, not only through their natural strength and courage, but

<sup>1</sup> Justin, l. ii. c. 2.<sup>2</sup> Herod. l. iv. Strabo, l. vii. Q. Curtius, l. vii.

c. 8. Arrian, l. iv. Lucian in Toxari.

<sup>3</sup> Vit. Solon.<sup>4</sup> In Cæsaribus.

through the influence of an opinion taught them by Zamolxis, that after death they shall be removed to other habitations. With this persuasion, they leave the world with as little concern as they would undertake a journey. Herodotus<sup>5</sup> relates, that they expected after death to go to Zamolxis. Pomponius Mela says,<sup>6</sup> "the Getæ are a hardy race, always ready to meet death; but this effect is produced by different opinions: some think that the souls of the dead return to life; others, that though they do not return, they are not extinct, but pass to a happier state; whilst others have no other opinion concerning death, than that it is better than life." Hence the contempt of death, and the funeral exultations which were common among the Thracians and Getæ.<sup>7</sup>

Several Greek writers take particular notice of the Scythian *Abaris*. Jamblichus, among other idle tales, with which his life of Pythagoras abounds, mentions<sup>8</sup> Abaris as a disciple of that philosopher, and relates many wonders which he performed by means of an arrow which he received from Apollo. He also gives the particulars of a conversation which he had with Pythagoras, whilst the latter was detained prisoner by Phalaris, the tyrant. But the narration is filled with so many marvellous circumstances, and chronological errors, that it deserves little credit. Of the latter we shall mention one example. It is said, that in the time of a general plague,<sup>9</sup> Abaris was sent from the Scythians on an embassy to the Athenians. This plague happened in the third<sup>10</sup> Olympiad.<sup>11</sup> Now, it appears, from a learned contest between Bentley on one side, and Boyle, Dodwell, and Wotton, on the other, that Phalaris (in whose presence Abaris is said to have disputed with Pythagoras) did not exercise his tyranny, at the most, longer than twenty-eight years, and that his death happened not earlier than the fourth year of the fifty-seventh Olympiad,<sup>12</sup> which is the opinion of Bentley, nor later than the first year of the sixty-ninth Olympiad,<sup>13</sup> which is the date fixed by Dodwell. Whence it is evident, that Abaris could not have lived, both at the time of the general plague men-

<sup>5</sup> L. iv. p. 280. <sup>6</sup> L. ii. c. 1. <sup>7</sup> Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6. <sup>8</sup> P. 116. 136. 148.

<sup>9</sup> Suidas et Harpocratio in Abarid. <sup>10</sup> B. C. 768. <sup>11</sup> Harpoc. et Suid. in *Περικλέας*. <sup>12</sup> B. C. 549. <sup>13</sup> B. C. 504.

tioned above, and during the tyranny of Phalaris.<sup>14</sup> The time when Abaris flourished, may, with some degree of probability, be fixed about the third Olympiad; and there seems little reason to doubt, that like Empedocles, Epimenides, Pythagoras, and others, he went from place to place, imposing upon the vulgar by false pretensions to supernatural powers. He passed through Greece, Italy, and many other countries, giving forth oracular predictions, pretending to heal diseases by incantation, and practising other arts of imposture.<sup>15</sup> Hence the fabulous tales concerning Abaris grew up into an entire history, written by Heraclides.<sup>16</sup> Some of the later platonists, in their zeal against Christianity, collected these and other fables, and exhibited them, not without large additions from their own fertile imaginations, in opposition to the miracles of Christ. On the whole, it may be confidently concluded concerning Abaris, that he has a better title to a place among impostors, than among philosophers.

Very different from this was the character of *Anacharsis*. He was of that race of Scythians, who, from their wandering life are called *Nomadici*. He was the brother of a Scythian prince. Having been early instructed by his mother, a native of Greece, in the Greek language, and preferring the pursuits of wisdom to those of ambition, he left his native country in the first year of the forty-seventh Olympiad, and visited Athens.<sup>17</sup> Here he met with Toxaris, his countryman, who conducted him to the house of Solon, the famous Athenian legislator. When he came to the house, he desired one of the attendants to inform his master, that Anacharsis, a Scythian, was at the door, and requested to be received into the house, as his guest and friend.<sup>18</sup> To this message, Solon's answer was, that, "friendships are best formed at home." To which Anacharsis replied, "Then let Solon, who is at home, make me his friend, and receive me into his house." Solon, struck with the smartness of the reply, admitted him as his guest, and finding him, on account of his good sense and probity, worthy of his confi-

<sup>14</sup> Conf. Bayle in Abarid. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. i. p. 405.

<sup>15</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. Apollon. Mirac. Hist. c. 4. Plato in Charmide. Bayle in Abar. <sup>16</sup> Plot. Aud. Post. <sup>17</sup> Laert. l. i. § 102. Suidas. Conf. Lucian. Anach. <sup>18</sup> Plutarch. Vit. Solon. init.

dence, allowed him to share in his friendship. Anacharsis, on his part, became such an admirer of Solon, that he constantly associated with him, till he made himself master of all the knowledge which that wise man possessed. During his residence in Athens, he was honoured with the privilege of citizenship, an honour never before conferred upon a barbarian.<sup>19</sup>

After the death of Solon, Anacharsis travelled through a great part of the world in search of wisdom, and at last returned into his own country, probably with the hope of communicating to his countrymen the wisdom he had acquired in Greece. But they were too much attached to their old opinions and customs, to endure with patience the bold attempts which he made, to introduce among them the institutions and manners of the Greeks. As he was one day hunting, an arrow, sent, as some say, from the hand of his brother, put an end to his life. He lamented, with his last breath, the jealousy and folly of his countrymen, who would not suffer one wiser than themselves to live among them.

Anacharsis was famous for a manly and nervous kind of language, which was called, from his country, Scythian eloquence. He is said to have invented the anchor and the potter's wheel; but these instruments were known before his time; perhaps he first introduced the use of them among the Scythians.<sup>20</sup> Among many other ingenious sayings, ascribed by Laertius to Anacharsis, are the following:—Being asked, by what means a man addicted to intemperance might be taught sobriety, he replied, by placing before his eyes a drunken man. The vine, he said, bears three kinds of fruit; the first, pleasure; the second, intoxication; the third, remorse. An Athenian of infamous character upbraiding him with being a Scythian, he said—"My country is indeed a disgrace to me, but you are a disgrace to your country." The epistles, which bear his name, were probably produced at a later period, in the school of the Sophists.

At the same time with Anacharsis flourished *Toxaris*, who, from an impatient thirst after knowledge, left his wife

<sup>19</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 308.

<sup>20</sup> Laert. Suidas. Anach. Strabo, l. vii. Senec. Ep. 90.

and children in Scythia, and went to reside at Athens. Here he became acquainted with Solon, and other wise men, and made himself master of all the learning which the times would afford. He studied the art of medicine, and for many years practised it with great reputation in Athens, where he ended his days. His desire of wisdom, his candid temper, and the sobriety of his manners, procured him general esteem. After his death, he was honoured with a sepulchral monument and statue; and superstition ascribed a healing virtue even to his tomb.<sup>21</sup>

But the most celebrated name among the Scythians was *Zamolxis*, whom many represent, not only as the father of wisdom with respect to the Scythians, but as the teacher of the doctrines of immortality and transmigration to the Celtic Druids, and to Pythagoras.<sup>22</sup> Others suppose him to have been a servant of Pythagoras, who, after having attended him into Egypt, obtained his manumission, and taught his master's doctrine among the Getæ. But there can be no doubt, that the doctrine of immortality was known to the northern nations long before the time of Pythagoras; and Herodotus, mentioning a common tradition, that *Zamolxis* was a Pythagorean, expressly says,<sup>23</sup> that he flourished at a much earlier period than Pythagoras. The whole story of the connexion of *Zamolxis* with Pythagoras seems to have been invented by the Pythagoreans, to advance the fame of their master. From the general testimony of the ancients, it appears, that *Zamolxis* was a Thracian, who in a very remote period taught the Scythians the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; whose name they, after his death, enrolled among the divinities, and with whom they assured themselves that they should dwell in the invisible world. Herodotus relates, that, on certain festal solemnities, they chose by lot several persons, who were to be sent as messengers to *Zamolxis*, and that they put them to death, by throwing them up into the air, and catching them, as they fell, upon the points of their spears; a story, which is the more credible, as it is well known that the prac-

<sup>21</sup> Lucian. in Toxari; Scyth. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. xiii. p. 438.

<sup>22</sup> Origen. Philos. c. xxv. p. 170. Suidas. *Zamolx*. Strabo, l. vii.

<sup>23</sup> L. iv. c. 95.

tice of offering human sacrifices prevailed among the Scythians and Thracians.<sup>24</sup>

These particulars concerning the Scythians are sufficient to prove, that their wisdom was rather practical than speculative, consistent with rude manners, and adapted to the military character.

From all that we have been able to collect concerning the state of knowledge in the several nations which have passed under our notice, we must conclude, that the Barbaric philosophy was very different, in its leading characters, from the philosophy afterwards studied and taught among the Greeks. It was indeed employed upon important subjects, both Divine and human; but, instead of investigating truth from clear principles, and by legitimate methods of reasoning, it relied chiefly upon tradition, and gave its simple and easy assent to doctrines and fables transmitted to posterity by the priests.

In the midst of every appearance of ignorance, superstition, and imposture, it is, however, an important fact, that the doctrines of a Supreme Deity, and the immortality of the soul, were universally received. "Who does not admire (says *Ælian*<sup>25</sup>) the wisdom of the Barbarians, none of whom ever fell into the atheistical absurdities of Eumerus, Diagoras, Epicurus, and other philosophers? No Indian, Celt, or Egyptian, ever questioned, whether there were gods, or whether they concerned themselves in the affairs of men."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 2. Julian in *Cæsaribus*. Jambl. Vit. Pyth. p. 146.

<sup>25</sup> Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 31.

<sup>26</sup> Vidend. Rudbeck in *Atlantid*. p. 62. Voss. de Sect. Phil. c. iii. § 1. Jornandes de *Rebus Geticis*. Cluverius Germ. Ant. l. i. c. 34. Burnet Arch. l. i. c. 2.

## BOOK II.

### OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEKS.

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#### CHAP. I.

##### OF THE FABULOUS PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEKS.

**FROM** the Barbaric nations, we now pass on to the Greeks; a people distinguished, almost from the infancy of their civilization, by the pursuit of wisdom and learning; among whom, after they had received the elements of knowledge from Barbarians, philosophy found a settled habitation.

Greece was first civilized by colonies from Egypt, Phœnicia, Thrace, and other countries. These were under the government of wise men, who not only subdued the ferocity of an ignorant populace by civil institutions, but cast about them the strong chain of religion, and the fear of the gods. Whatever dogmas they had been taught, in their respective countries, concerning things Divine and human, they delivered to these new-formed societies, with the design of bringing them under the restraint of virtuous discipline. Hence the aspect of sacred philosophy was very different in different parts of Greece. Phoroneus and Cecrops being Egyptians,<sup>1</sup> Cadmus a Phœnician, and Orpheus, a Thracian,<sup>2</sup> each of these would, of course, bring into Greece, with their several colonies, the religious and philosophical tenets of their respective nations, and thus lay the foundation of diversity of opinion.

The practice of delivering the doctrines of religion to the people under the disguise of fable, which universally prevailed in Egypt, and was not unknown to the Phœnicians,

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gent. p. 28. Herod. l. ii. Pausanias in Arcad. Euseb in Chron.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph. in Ranis. Eurip. in Rhæso. Nonni Collect. i. ad calc. Nazianz.

Thracians, and other barbarous nations, was introduced among the Greeks by the first founders of their states. They had seen the effect of this mode of instruction in countries already settled, and they judged it particularly suitable to their design of bringing new-formed states under the yoke of authority. "It was not possible," says Strabo,<sup>3</sup> "to lead a promiscuous multitude to religion and virtue, by philosophical harangues; this could only be effected by the aid of superstition, by prodigies and fables. The thunder-bolt, the ægis, the trident, the spear, torches and snakes, were the instruments made use of by the founders of states to terrify the ignorant vulgar into subjection."

That the first authors of the Grecian fables meant them as vehicles of instruction, cannot be doubted.<sup>4</sup> But it is now become exceedingly difficult, if not impracticable, to decipher their meaning. And it will be easily perceived, that this must be the case, by any one who recollects how imperfectly we are acquainted with the history, opinions, manners, and other circumstances of the times when the Grecian mythology was formed, and from what a variety of sources it was derived.<sup>5</sup> Of these the two principal were the custom<sup>6</sup> of ranking public benefactors, after their death, among the gods; and the practice<sup>7</sup> of applying allegories and fables to natural objects and appearances. The origin of the world, and the production of natural bodies, were very early clothed in fable, in the cosmogonies of the Egyptians, Phenicians, Thracians, and other nations: and these were afterwards imitated by the Greeks.

Another custom which has very much contributed to cast a veil of obscurity over the fabulous philosophy of the Greeks, is that, which in early times prevailed among them, of giving their mythological doctrines a poetical dress. These were commonly chosen as subjects of verse, and every poet enlarged and moulded the ancient fables, according to the fertility or luxuriance of his own fancy; so that they were not only increased from time to time without limit, but so altered, that their original features could scarcely be perceived.

<sup>3</sup> L. i.<sup>4</sup> Verulam. de Sap. Vet. Pref.<sup>5</sup> Vid. Bocharti Geogr. Sac. Clerici. Not. ad Hesiodam.<sup>6</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. ii. c. 17.<sup>7</sup> Dionys. Halic. Antiq. l. i.



The fabulous philosophy of the Greeks being from these and other causes involved in great obscurity, we shall pass with all possible expedition through this dark and unprofitable region; leaving the solution of those mythological enigmas, which have so long amused the learned, to more fertile imaginations.

The first of the Greeks, who is said to have taught philosophy and the arts, is *Prometheus*. It is unnecessary to repeat his well-known story.<sup>8</sup> Various conjectures have been framed concerning it. Some have imagined, that in the person and fable of Prometheus they have found the history of Adam; others have applied them to Noah; others to Moses:<sup>9</sup> they might, with as much appearance of probability, have applied them to the Chinese Fohi. Perhaps the truth is, that Prometheus was an Egyptian, or a Scythian, who instructed the Greeks in several necessary arts, particularly in the use of fire, for the purpose of melting metals, and who afterwards suffering captivity was rescued by Hercules.<sup>10</sup> This account of the fable is at least as probable as those philosophical explanations, which suppose a kind of refinement, unknown at the early period when this fable was first received.

*Linus*, who lived before the time of Homer, is celebrated among the first authors of Grecian verse, and is said to have invented Lyric poetry. He wrote a cosmogony, the beginning of which is preserved by Laertius.<sup>11</sup> He was an eminent master of music and verse, and is said to have instructed Hercules, Thamyris, and Orpheus.

*Orpheus*, the most celebrated of all the Greeks in the fabulous ages, distinguished himself as a teacher of religion and philosophy. His name is as illustrious among the Greeks, as that of Zoroaster among the Persians, of Buddas among the Indians, or of Thoth or Hermes, among the Egyptians. But we cannot rely with certainty upon the remaining re-

<sup>8</sup> Hesiod. Oper. v. 46. Theog. v. 520. Ovid. Met. l. i. Natalis Comes Mythol. l. iv. c. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Hueti Dem. Ev. pr. iv. c. 8. § 7. Bochart. Geog. l. i. c. 2. Fabricii Cod. Ps. t. i. 261.

<sup>10</sup> Conf. Æschyli Prometh. vinct. Natalis Comes, p. 328. Herod.

<sup>11</sup> L. i. § 4. Sextus Emp. adv. Math. l. i. § 204. Died. Sic. l. iii. p. 140. Suidas. Pausan. in Boeoticis, p. 767.

cords of his life and opinions. For it has happened to Orpheus, as to many other wise men of antiquity, that spurious writings have been ascribed to him, and modern tenets have been obtruded upon the world under the sanction of his name.<sup>12</sup> It has even been questioned, whether Orpheus ever existed. Cicero asserts,<sup>13</sup> on the authority of Aristotle, that there was no such person as the poet Orpheus. But no passage of this kind is at present to be found in the works of Aristotle; and the opinion is contradicted by the general testimony of the ancients, who relate, that Orpheus was a native of Thrace, who flourished before the Trojan war, and passed the greater part of his life in Greece.<sup>14</sup>

Diodorus Siculus relates,<sup>15</sup> that, “having been instructed in the religious tenets and ceremonies of his own country, he travelled into Egypt, where he acquired a knowledge of the mysteries of religion, and became an eminent master of philosophy, poetry, and music.” Thus qualified, he came among the Greeks, who were at that time a rude and unenlightened people; and by the united powers of poetry, religion, and philosophy, civilized their manners. Such were the wonderful effects produced by his genius and wisdom, that, in the language of fable, his music is said to have captivated the attention of birds and beasts, and even to have commanded rocks, woods, and rivers :

Quem Deum, cujus recinet jocosa  
 Nomen imago,  
 Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris,  
 Aut super Pindo, gelidove in Hæmo,  
 Unde vocalem temere insecutæ  
 Orphea silvæ,  
 Arte materna rapidos morantem  
 Fluminum cursus, celeresque ventos,  
 Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris  
 Ducere quercus.<sup>16</sup> \*

<sup>12</sup> Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 110.

<sup>13</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. i.

<sup>14</sup> Diod. Sic. l. iv. c. 25. Plato de Rep. l. x.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Hor. Carm. l. i. Od. xii.

\* ——— What God, whose hallowed name  
 The sportive image of the voice

Orpheus is said to have improved the lyre, by increasing the number of its strings from four to seven. To him also is ascribed the invention of hexameter verse.<sup>17</sup> He, doubtless, excelled in poetry of various kinds, but it is justly questioned whether he committed any of his verses to writing. He possessed great skill in the art of medicine. Perhaps this circumstance may serve to explain the fable of his recalling his wife Eurydice from hell.<sup>18</sup> The particulars of his death are variously related by different writers; but it is generally agreed, that he died by violent means.<sup>19</sup> After his death he was ranked among the divinities.

The instruments which Orpheus made use of, in governing and instructing the ignorant Greeks, were poetry, music, medicine, magic, and astrology, which he had learned in Egypt.<sup>20</sup> Having been accustomed, both here and in his own country, to the allegorical mode of instruction, he communicated to them the doctrines of religion in a mythological form. He was probably the author of the Eleusinian and Panathænean mysteries, and other religious institutions. It seems to have been owing to the circumstance of his being a Thracian, that the Grecian rites of religion were called *ἑρπικία*.<sup>21</sup>

There were many ancient poems which bore the name of Orpheus, but it is much disputed whether they were really his. Aristotle<sup>22</sup> speaks doubtingly of these poems, as *commonly ascribed* to Orpheus. Hesiod and Homer are called by Herodotus the oldest Greek poets. Cicero and some other writers expressly ascribe them to some philosophers

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Shall through the shades of Helicon resound,  
On Pindus, or on Hæmus ever cool,  
From whence the forests, in confusion wild,  
To vocal Orpheus urg'd their way;  
Who by his mother's art, harmonious muse,  
With soft delay could stop the falling streams,  
And winged winds, with strings of concert sweet,  
Powerful the list'ning oaks to lead.

FRANCIS.

<sup>17</sup> Antipat. Sidonii Anthol. l. iii. p. 388. Pausan. Eliac. p. 505. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxv. c. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Virg. Georg. iv.

<sup>19</sup> Pausan. in Bæotic. p. 586. Eliac. l. c. Ovid. Metam. l. x. v. 83. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 130.

<sup>20</sup> Lucian Astrol.

<sup>21</sup> Suidas. Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 567. Casaubon. Exerc. Antibar. xvi. p. 391. Burnet Archæol. Phil. o. ix.

<sup>22</sup> De anima.

of the Pythagorean school.<sup>22</sup> On the other side, Plato<sup>24</sup> cites verses from Orpheus, and even Cicero<sup>25</sup> speaks of Orpheus as one of the ancient poets. Diodorus Siculus<sup>26</sup> affirms Orpheus to have been the author of an excellent poem; and several Christian fathers mention a work, called *Ἱερὸς λόγος*, or the Sacred Word, which was written by some follower of Pythagoras, and founded upon traditionary doctrines of Orpheus. All that can be concluded with probability is,<sup>27</sup> that before the time of Herodotus there were verses which were ascribed to Orpheus, but which were probably not written by himself, but collected after his time from traditionary remains of his doctrine and poems. Of these ancient Orphic verses we have several fragments preserved in the writings of Eusebius,<sup>28</sup> Cedrenus,<sup>29</sup> Clemens Alexandrinus,<sup>30</sup> Proclus,<sup>31</sup> and Apuleius;<sup>32</sup> besides which there are others, which bear evident marks of forgery. The Orphic fragments have been collected by Eschenbach, in a treatise entitled *De Poesi Orphica*.<sup>33</sup> As these fragments are almost the only sources of our information concerning the doctrine of Orpheus, we shall quote the following specimens:

Τοῦνεκα σὺν τῷ παντὶ Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη,  
 Αἰθέρος ἐδρείης ἥδ' οὐρανὸν ἀγλαὸν ἔψος,  
 Πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτου, γαίης τ' ἑρικυδέος ἔβρη'  
 Ὀκεανὸς τε μέγας, καὶ νείατα Τάρταρα γαίης,  
 Καὶ ποταμὸς, καὶ πόντος ἀπείρετος ἀλλά τε πάντα,  
 Πάντες τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοὶ, ἥδε θάιναι  
 Ὅσσα τ' ἔην γεγαῶτα, καὶ ὕστερον ὀππος' ἐμελλεν  
 Ἐγένετο· Ζηνὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σύρρα πεφύκει.<sup>34</sup>

"Wherefore, belonging to the universe, were, within Jupiter, the glorious height of the spacious ethereal heaven; the wide extent of the unsubdued sea and magnificent earth; the vast ocean, the profound Tartarus, the rivers and fountains, and all other things, together with the happy immortals, both male and female: whatever has been or will be, is produced within Jupiter."

<sup>22</sup> Nat. D. l. i. Suidas.<sup>24</sup> De Legibus, l. viii.<sup>25</sup> Ib. l. ii.<sup>26</sup> L. iii. c. 25.<sup>27</sup> Fab. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 120.<sup>28</sup> Prep. l. iii. c. 9. xiii. 12. et Chron.<sup>29</sup> Chronogr. p. 46.<sup>30</sup> Strom. l. v. p. 549.<sup>31</sup> In Timæum, p. 95.<sup>32</sup> De Mundo.<sup>33</sup> Traject, 1689. 120.<sup>34</sup> Proclus in Timæum, p. 95.

In the book *De Mundo*, translated by Apuleius we have these lines :

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένητο, Ζεὺς ὠστατος ἀρχικέραυνος,  
 Ζεὺς κεφαλῇ, Ζεὺς μέσσα· Διὸς δ' ἐκ παντα τετυκται·  
 Ζεὺς ἄρσιν γένητο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·  
 Ζεὺς πόθμην γαίης τα καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστεροεντος·  
 Ζεὺς πνοίη παντῶν ; Ζεὺς ἀκαματα πυρὸς ὁρμη·  
 Ζεὺς πόντου ρίζα· Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἡδὲ σελήνη  
 Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς· Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγενέθλος·  
 'Εν κράτος εἰς Δαίμων γενετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων  
 Πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς ταδε σώματι κεῖται.

“ Jupiter, the lofty thunderer, is the first, and the last, and the middle ; all things proceed from him : the immortal Jupiter is both male and female : the spacious earth and starry heavens are Jupiter : Jupiter is the breath of all things, the irresistible energy of fire, and the source of the sea : Jupiter is king ; he is the parent of all : there is one power, one divinity, one ruler of all ; for all things are contained within the vast body of Jupiter.”

Again,

Πάντα ταδε κρύψας, αὐθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθές  
 Μέλλεν ἀπὸ κραδῆς προφέρειν, πολυθέσκελα ρέζων.<sup>35</sup>

“ Hiding all things within himself, he at length sent forth Divine productions from his bosom into the cheerful light.”

From these and other fragments of Orpheus, the following summary of the Orphic doctrine concerning God and nature may be deduced.

God, from all eternity, contained within himself the unformed principles of the material world, and consisted of a compound nature, active and passive.<sup>36</sup> By the energy of the active principle, he sent forth from himself, at the commencement of a certain finite period, all material and spiritual beings, which partake, in different degrees, of the Divine nature. All beings, proceeding originally from God, will, after certain purgations, return to him. The universe itself will be destroyed by fire, and afterwards renewed.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Proclus in Timæum, p. 95.

<sup>36</sup> Ἀρσενόθυη.

<sup>37</sup> Plut. Defect. Orac. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. 549. Proclus in Tim. l. ii. p. 49.

An Orphic fragment is preserved by Athenagoras,<sup>38</sup> in which the formation of the world is represented under the emblem of an egg; formed by the union of Night, or Chaos, and Ether, which at length burst, and disclosed the forms of nature. The meaning of this allegory probably is, that by the energy of the Divine active principle upon the eternal mass of passive matter, the visible world was produced.<sup>39</sup>

Some writers have ascribed to Orpheus the doctrine since maintained by Spinoza, which confounds the Deity with the universe, making him the *Τὸ Πάν*.<sup>40</sup> But the doctrine of emanation, which supposes that the principles of all things were originally in God, and at length flowed from him, is consonant to the general tenor of the Orphic fragments, and is the more likely to have been the real doctrine of Orpheus, as it prevailed, in the most remote times, through the East, and passed thence, as we have already shewn, to the North.

The human soul, Orpheus, after the Thracians and Egyptians, from whom he derived his philosophy, held to be immortal. Diodorus Siculus relates,<sup>41</sup> that he was the first who taught (that is among the Greeks) the doctrine of the future punishment of the wicked, and the future happiness of the good. That this doctrine was commonly received among the followers of Orpheus appears from the following anecdote:—A priest of Orpheus, who was exceedingly poor and wretched, boasting to Philip of Macedon, that all who were admitted into the Orphic mysteries would be happy after death, Philip said to him, “Why then do you not immediately die, and put an end to your poverty and misery?” The planets and the moon Orpheus conceived to be habitable worlds, and the stars to be fiery bodies like the sun: he taught that they are animated by divinities; an opinion, which had been commonly received in the East, and which was afterwards adopted by the Pythagoreans, and other Grecian philosophers.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Legat. pro Christ. p. 18. ed Par.

<sup>39</sup> Plut. Quest. Conv. l. ii.

<sup>40</sup> See Cudworth's Intell. Syst. b. iv. c. 17.

<sup>41</sup> L. i. p. 86.

<sup>42</sup> Plut. Placit. Phil. l. ii. c. 13. Procl. in Tim. l. iv. p. 283. Suidas

Among the disciples of Orpheus, the most celebrated is *Musæus*,<sup>43</sup> an Athenian philosopher and poet. He continued and improved the mysterious rites of religion which Orpheus had introduced, and wrote poems concerning the gods and nature; of which, however, there are no remains. Laertius says,<sup>44</sup> that he made the first sphere; but he was probably misled by the title of a poem said to have been written by Musæus, *de Sphæra*. The doctrine which he taught was, that all things are produced from one, and shall be resolved into the same; an Orphic doctrine, which is the first principle of the system of emanation, and the foundation of all the ancient theogonies. Musæus died at Phaleræ; and the Athenians honoured him with a sepulchral monument. His son *Eumolpus*, following his steps, wrote concerning the mysteries of Ceres. *Thamyris* and *Amphion* were, at this period, famous for their skill in music and poetry.<sup>45</sup> The latter, after the example of Orpheus, employed the united powers of music and philosophy in civilizing the Thebans:

Silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum  
Cædibus et victu fædo deterruit Orpheus;  
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones:  
Dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor arcis,  
Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda  
Ducere quo vellet. Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,  
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis;  
Concubitu prohibere vago; dare jura maritis;  
Oppida moliri; leges incidere ligno;  
Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque  
Carminibus venit.<sup>46</sup>

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in Orph. Stobæus, l. i. p. 54. ed Cant. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 132. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 549.

<sup>43</sup> Suidas.

<sup>44</sup> L. i. § 3.

<sup>45</sup> Hor. Carm. xi. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Hors. Ars. Poet. v. 391.

The wood-born race of men when Orpheus tam'd,  
From acorns and from mutual blood reclaim'd,  
This priest divine was fabled to assuage  
The tiger's fierceness, and the lion's rage.  
Thus rose the Theban wall; Amphion's lyre,  
And soothing voice, the list'ning stones inspire.

Not inferior to Amphion in fame was *Melampus*,<sup>47</sup> an Argive, who flourished before the Trojan war. Having learned from the Phenicians and Egyptians, who were settled in Greece, their religious tenets and mysteries, he taught them to his countrymen. He instructed them in augury, and other arts of divination. He was also famous for his medical skill; and in the practice of this art, after the usual manner of the ancients, made use of magical incantations. After his death, his memory was honoured with an annual festival.<sup>48</sup>

Besides the writers already enumerated, who have treated of the origin of the world, and of the nature and genealogy of the gods, there are several others, whose works are now lost. Of the ancient theogonies which remain, the most celebrated is that of Hesiod.<sup>49</sup> This poem treats of the origin and descent of the gods; or rather, under the allegorical dress of theogony, represents the formation of the world, and the history of eminent men. The plan of this work is intricate and confused. The writer seems to have made use of several different theogonies, and to have blended them together with little regard to consistency. He also frequently adds, for the sake of poetical ornament, fictions of his own, which have no relation to the origin and history of the world. Aristophanes, in his comedy of *The Birds*,<sup>50</sup> has introduced a description of the formation of the world, which he doubtless borrowed from the ancient theogonies; but it is too defective, and applied to too ludicrous a purpose, to deserve much attention.

All the theogonies make an eternal chaos the origin of all things.

Ante mare, et terras, et quod tegit omnia cælum,  
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,

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Poetic wisdom mark'd, with happy mean,  
Public and private, sacred and profane;  
The wand'ring joys of lawless love suppress'd;  
With equal rites the bond of Hymen bless'd;  
Plann'd future towns, and instituted laws;

So verse became divine, and poets gain'd applause.

FRANCIS.

<sup>47</sup> Suidas. Herodot. l. ii. c. 49. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 98.

<sup>48</sup> Pausan. l. i. in fin. viii. p. 253. Cic. de Leg. l. ii.

<sup>49</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 36.

<sup>50</sup> Ver. 694, &c.



Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles,  
 Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners, congestaque eodem  
 Non bene juncturam discordia semina rerum.<sup>51</sup> \*

By Chaos some writers<sup>52</sup> understand water, and make this the first material principle; but this must not be understood of one of the four elements, but of an heterogeneous mass, containing all the seeds of nature. The idea of Chaos and Night, divested of poetical imagery, is simply that of unformed matter, eternally existing as the passive principle whence all forms are produced. Whether, besides this chaotic mass, the ancient theogonies suppose an infinite, active, intelligent Principle, who from the first matter formed the universe, is a question which has occasioned much debate. It is evident, upon the most cursory review of all the ancient theogonies, that God, the great Creator of all things, is not expressly introduced; but it is doubted, whether the writers meant to exclude him from their system, or indirectly to suppose his existence, and the exertion of his power in giving motion to matter.

The question admits of various suppositions; which, in order to arrive at the solution, must be carefully distinguished. It is to be considered, whether the theogonists supposed God to have existed before Chaos; and to have created it from nothing; or thought him to have sprung from a pre-existing chaos; or conceived God and matter to have been two co-existing and independent principles; whether they imagined God to have been the soul of nature, informing the eternal mass of matter; or were of opinion, that God sent forth matter as an emanation from himself; if the latter, whether this emanation was the effect of necessity, or of a free act of volition; whether it was from all eternity, or began at some limited period of duration. It must also be inquired, whether, according to the doctrine of the theogonies, a Divine mind interposed in the formation of the world, or the effect was produced by the neces-

<sup>51</sup> Ovid. Met. l. i. v. 6.

\* Ere sea and earth, and heav'n's high canopy  
 Were form'd, great Nature's face was one;  
 A lifeless, rude, and undigested mass  
 Of jarring seeds in one wild chaos lay.

<sup>52</sup> Cudworth, c. 1. § 22.

sary laws of motion acting upon homogeneous and heterogeneous portions of matter. If the latter of these was their doctrine, it is to be farther considered, whether it necessarily follows, that they denied the existence of God, or whether it may not be supposed, that, neglecting all consideration of Deity, they only endeavoured to explain the physical formation of the world, by laws originally impressed upon matter by the Author of nature.

The theogonies certainly do not suppose God to have been prior in the order of time to matter: they speak of Chaos as eternal, and seem to have been wholly unacquainted with the doctrine of creation from nothing. But, on the other hand, they never suppose the Deity to be derived from Chaos: for Jupiter is not to be confounded with the Supreme Being, but merely to be considered as the chief of those inferior divinities, who, according to the Grecian theology, were either portions of the Divinity, inhabiting and animating parts of nature, or departed spirits of heroes and illustrious men, exalted to Divine honours. There is no sufficient proof that Orpheus, Hesiod, or any other Grecian cosmogonist, supposed two independent principles in nature: for, though they ascribe the origin of evil to Chaos, they might, nevertheless, be of opinion, as we shall find to have been the case with many later philosophers, that matter is derived from God.

Some have supposed,<sup>53</sup> that by love, Hesiod, and the other theogonists, meant the soul or animating principle in the universe. But it is a sufficient refutation of this opinion to remark, that they suppose this divinity derived from Chaos, in common with others. By love, they probably understood that attractive principle in nature, by which homogeneous bodies are united. To this principle they poetically ascribed the attributes of reason and wisdom, to intimate, that in the formation of the world all things were constituted by harmonious laws.

There were, perhaps, different opinions among the ancient cosmogonists, concerning the first cause of nature. Some might, possibly, ascribe the origin of all things to a generating force, destitute of thought, which they conceived

<sup>53</sup> Cudworth, book i. c. 3. § 18.

to be inherent in matter, without looking to any higher principle. But it is probable, that the general opinion among them was that which had prevailed among the Egyptians and in the East, and was communicated by tradition to the Greeks, that matter, or chaos, existed eternally with God, and that by the Divine energy of emanation, material forms were sent forth from him, and the visible world arose into existence. This principle being admitted, the whole system of the ancient theogonies appears consistent, and a satisfactory explanation may be given of most of the Grecian fables. Upon this supposition, the sum of the doctrine of the theogonies, divested of allegory and poetry, will be as follows:

The first matter, containing the seeds of all future being, existed from eternity with God. At length, the Divine energy upon matter produced a motion among its parts, by which those of the same kind were brought together, and those of a different kind were separated, and by which, according to certain wise laws, the various forms of the material world were produced. The same energy of emanation gave existence to animals and men, and to gods who inhabit the heavenly bodies, and various other parts of nature. Among men, those who possess a larger portion of the Divine nature than others, are hereby impelled to great and beneficent actions, and afford illustrious proofs of their Divine original, on account of which, they are, after death, raised to a place among the gods, and become objects of religious worship.

Upon the basis of these notions, it is easy to conceive, that the whole mythological system, and all the religious rites and mysteries of the Greeks, might be founded.

Before we take our leave of the writers of Greek fables, we must add a few words concerning Epimenides and Homer.

*Epimenides* was a Cretan,<sup>54</sup> of whom many marvellous fables are related. It is said, that going, by his father's order, in search of a sheep, he laid himself down in a cave, where he fell asleep, and slept for fifty years. Another idle story told of this Cretan is, that he had a power

<sup>54</sup> Laert. l. i. § 109. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 13. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 52. Suidas.

of sending his soul out of his body, and recalling it at pleasure. It is added, that he had familiar intercourse with the gods, and possessed the powers of prophecy. During a plague in Attica, the Athenians sent for him to perform a sacred lustration, in consequence of which it is said, that the gods were appeased, and the plague ceased. He is reported to have lived, after his return to Crete, to the age of one hundred and fifty-seven years.<sup>55</sup> We probably owe most of these tales to the Cretans, who were, to a proverb, famous for their powers of invention.<sup>56</sup> All that is credible concerning Epimenides is, that he was a man of superior talents, who pretended to intercourse with the gods; and to support his pretensions, lived in retirement upon the spontaneous productions of the earth, and practised various arts of imposture. Perhaps, in his hours of pretended inspiration, he had the art of appearing totally insensible and entranced, which would easily be mistaken, by ignorant spectators, for a power of dismissing and recalling his spirit. Solon, in whose time the lustration above mentioned was performed, seems to have been no stranger to the true character of Epimenides; for we find, that he greatly disapproved of the conduct of the Athenians in employing him to perform this ceremony. Divine honours were paid him, after his death, by the superstitious Cretans. He has no other claim to be mentioned among philosophers, except that he wrote a theogony, and other poems concerning religious mysteries.<sup>57</sup>

The immortal HOMER flourished before any other poet, whose writings are now extant. The time of his birth, after all that has been written to ascertain it, is still disputed. It is probable that he lived about nine hundred years before the Christian era.<sup>58</sup> Many cities and countries have contended for the honour of having given birth to this illustrious genius, which Varro has brought together into the following verse:

Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamin, Chius, Argus,  
Athenæ.

<sup>55</sup> Plut. Solon. et an seni, &c. Pausanias in Att. p. 35. Plato de Leg. l. ii. p. 642. Strabo, l. x. 479. <sup>56</sup> Titus i. 12.

<sup>57</sup> Plut. Conv. Sept. Aristot. Rhet. l. iii. c. 17.

<sup>58</sup> Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 11. xvii. 21. Suidas. Clem. Alex. Str. i. p. 327.

Homer passed a wandering life, reciting his verses at public and private festivals. His writings are come down to the present time entire. His *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the eternal monuments of his fame. Besides these, the *Batrachomyomachia*, or Battles of the Frogs and Mice, and several hymns, are commonly ascribed to him.<sup>59</sup> It was customary among the Greeks, for certain persons, who, from their employment, were called Rhapsodists, to recite verses, chiefly those of Homer, at festivals, and in the public theatres, holding in their hand a branch of laurel.<sup>60</sup> These recitations were not intended merely for amusement, but for the purpose of disseminating principles of wisdom and virtue. It was for this reason that the celebrated legislators, *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, encouraged these public recitals, and that, in many cities, statues of Homer were erected, and Divine honours were paid to his memory.

Without detailing the extravagant encomiums passed upon Homer by some of his panegyrists, who have supposed him a perfect master of sciences and arts, and called him the prince of philosophers; and without adopting the fanciful notion of *Justin Martyr*, who supposed that Homer borrowed many things from *Moses*, and found, in his poems, the creation of the world, the tower of *Babel*, and the devils cast out of heaven, it must be allowed, that he possessed as much knowledge as was to be expected from an individual at the period in which he lived. But his works were written merely as a display of poetical genius, without any design of delivering precepts of religion, philosophy, or the arts, farther than as they incidentally arose from his subject. Nothing therefore can be more absurd, than the attempts of some critics, who have possessed more learning and science than taste, to rest the merit of Homer upon the extent of his knowledge. An ancient encomiast<sup>61</sup> upon Homer, proves him to have possessed a perfect knowledge of nature, and to have been the author of the doctrine of *Thales* and *Xenophanes*, that water is the first principle of all things, from his having called *Oceanus* the parent of

<sup>59</sup> Fabr. Bibl. Gr. vol. i. p. 253. Kuster. Hist. Hom. Francf. 1696.

<sup>60</sup> Suidas. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 12. c. 48. Cuperi Diss. Hom. Amst. 1683.

<sup>61</sup> Galæi Opusc. Mythol. p. 283.

nature; and infers, that he was acquainted with Empedocles' doctrine of friendship and discord, from the visit which Juno pays to Oceanus and Thetis to settle their dispute: because Homer represents Neptune as shaking the earth, he concludes him to have been well acquainted with the causes of earthquakes; and because he speaks of the Great Bear as never touching the horizon, he makes him an eminent astronomer.

The truth is, the knowledge of nature, which poetry describes, is very different from that which belongs to the philosopher. It would be easy to prove, from the beautiful similes of Homer, that he was an accurate observer of natural appearances; and to shew from his delineation of characters, that he was intimately acquainted with human nature. But he is not, on this account, to be ranked with natural philosophers or moralists. Much pains have been taken to prove, that Homer expresses just and sublime conceptions of the Divine Nature. And it will be acknowledged, that in some passages, he speaks of Jupiter in language which may not improperly be applied to the Supreme Deity. But, if the whole fable of Jupiter, as it is represented in Homer, be fairly examined, it will be very evident, either that he had not just conceptions of the Divine Nature, or that he did not mean to express them in the portrait which he has drawn of the son of Saturn, the husband of Juno, and the president of the council of Olympus. It would surely have been too great a monopoly of perfection, if the first poet in the world had also been the first philosopher.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Vidend. Barnet. Arch. l. i. c. 9. Cudworth, c. iv. § 14. Budd. Ann. Phil. Diss. ii. Eschenbach, in Epigeni de Poesi Orph. H. Steph. Poes. Phil. Fragm. Huet. Dem. p. iv. c. 8. Nat. Com. l. iv. c. 6. Rhodigen. Lect. vii. Steuchus Eugbin. de Peren. Phil. l. ix. Bochart. G. Sac. p. i. l. i. c. 2. Buddæi Obs. Hal. t. vi. Obs. 29. Borrich. de Poet. Diss. Lambecc. Prod. p. 168. Naudæi Apolog. c. 9. Pötter. Arch. Gr. l. ii. p. 246. Malala Hist. Chron. p. 88. Basnage Hist. des Juifs. t. iv. c. 4. Warb. Div. Leg. l. ii. § 4. Petit. Obs. Misc. c. xii. Clerici Hist. Med. p. i. l. ii. Cuper, de Consecr. Homeri, Amst. 1683. Kuster. Hom. Hist. Cr. 1696. Dodwel de Cyclis Græc. Diss. 3. Le Clerc. Bib. Chois. t. xxii. p. 244. Stollj Diss. de Hom. Rechenberg de Theol. Hom. Lips. 1679.

## CHAP. II.

## OF THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEKS.

**I**N what manner poetry, music, and fable, were employed for the purposes of civilization, at the period when Greece was first peopled, has been already shewn.

One principal end of the religious rites and mysteries, which the first founders of the Grecian states introduced, was, unquestionably, the support of civil authority : and the management of the affairs of religion, and of those of government, were, at first, in the same hands. But afterwards, in the more settled state of society, religion was so far separated from policy, that its doctrines and ceremonies were committed to the charge of priests; and the institution of laws, and the regulation of manners, were entrusted to men whose superior wisdom and public spirit qualified them for the offices of legislation and magistracy. Those who, at this period, took the charge of public affairs, served their country not only by instituting wise and salutary laws, but by exhibiting an example of virtuous manners, and by inculcating, in their daily conversation, useful maxims and precepts of morals. On these accounts they obtained the appellation of Wise Men. In treating of the philosophy of this period, which may properly be called the Political Philosophy of Greece, we are, then, to consider, not the refined speculations of contemplative minds, but the practical wisdom of men employed in active life.

Among the numerous legislators of *Greece*, (under which appellation is included, on account of the Grecian colonies that settled there, the eastern side of Italy, since called *Magna Grecia*) one of those, who first distinguished themselves by their wisdom and authority, was *Zaleucus*, the founder of the Locrian state. He was of obscure birth, and, in his youth, lived in servitude, in the capacity of a shepherd. But his extraordinary abilities and merit obtained him his freedom, and at length raised him to the government. The laws which he framed were severe; but they were so well adapted to the situation and manners of the Locrians, that their constitution was, for several ages,

highly celebrated.<sup>1</sup> So rigorous was the discipline of Zaleucus, that he prohibited the use of wine, except in cases where it was prescribed as a medicine, and ordained, that adulterers should be punished with the loss of their eyes.<sup>2</sup> When his own son had subjected himself to this penalty, in order at the same time to preserve the authority of the laws, and shew some degree of paternal lenity, he shared the punishment with the offender, and that he might only be deprived of one eye, submitted to lose one of his own.<sup>3</sup>

The first legislator of Athens, was *Triptolemus*, who pretended to have received his laws from *Ceres*. These becoming obsolete, or being found insufficient for the regulation of the state, *Draco*, about the thirty-ninth Olympiad, instituted a new code of laws, so exceedingly rigorous, that they were said to have been written with blood.<sup>4</sup> The severity of this discipline was afterwards, in some measure, relaxed by *Solon*, who, in the forty-sixth Olympiad, on the basis of the Egyptian and Cretan laws, framed an entirely new constitution, to which Athens was principally indebted for its subsequent glory.<sup>5</sup>

The republic of Sparta was established, about the beginning of the Olympiads, by the celebrated legislator *Lycurgus*. His institutions were chiefly adapted to cherish those hardy virtues, which form the military character. He committed no laws to writing, but issued them forth, as the edicts of Apollo, from the oracle at Delphos, to be committed to memory, and to be carried into execution by the regal power; a device, which not only served to establish their authority, but gave the magistrate an easy opportunity of making such future alterations or additions, as the state of public affairs might require. The laws of *Lycurgus* were delivered in verse, accompanied with music, by *Thales* the Cretan, *Tyrtæus*, *Terpander*, and others.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 309. Suidas. Valer. Max. l. ii. et vi. 259. Diod. Sic. l. xii. p. 84. Laert. l. viii. § 16. Senec. Ep. 90. Strabo, l. vi. p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus, l. x. p. 429. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. c. 24. Stobæi Serm. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Porphy. de Abst. l. iv. p. 431. Plutarch in Solon. Aristot. Polit. l. ii. c. 10. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. et Laert. Solon. Fabr. B. Gr. v. i. p. 528.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. Lycurg. Strabo, l. x. p. 480. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 48. Liba-



Both Solon and Lycurgus derived great assistance, in their political institutions, from the laws of Crete, which were instituted by Rhadamanthus and Minos, two illustrious legislators, who pretended to have received their laws from Jupiter. Near the chief city of Crete were the caverns of Ida, sacred to Jove and other divinities, where the Cretan lawgivers and priests were supposed to receive instructions from the gods.<sup>7</sup>

Next to the early legislators of Greece, the praise of civil and moral wisdom is ascribed to several eminent men, commonly known by the name of the *Seven Wise Men* of Greece. Their history, which was, probably, at first, plain and simple, has been rendered obscure and uncertain by traditionary reports. The incident which first gave occasion to the appellation, is thus related:

In the third year of the forty-ninth Olympiad, it happened that certain youths of Ionia, purchasing from a fisherman of Miletus a large draught of fish, which he had brought to shore, found in the net a golden tripod of great value. Upon this, a dispute arose between the fisherman and the purchasers; the former maintaining, that he had only sold them the capture of fish, the latter asserting that they had bought the chance of the draught, whatever it might be. The question was referred to the citizens of Miletus, who were of opinion, that on so extraordinary an affair the Delphic oracle should be consulted. The answer of the oracle was, *To the wisest*. In obedience to this answer, the Milesians unanimously adjudged the tripod to Thales. Thales modestly declined the honour intended him by his fellow citizens, and sent the tripod to Bias, a wise man of Priene: from him it was passed on through several hands till it came to Solon, the Athenian legislator, who, judging that the character of *the wisest* could not properly belong to any human being, sent the prize of wisdom to Delphos, to be dedicated to Apollo.<sup>8</sup>

An air of fable hangs upon this story; and its circum-

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nus, t. ii. p. 497. Polyæn. Strat. l. i. p. 16. Herod. l. vi. c. 57. Plato de Leg. l. i. Arist. Pol. l. ii. c. 7. Just. ex Trog. l. iii. c. 2. Bayle.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, l. x. p. 467.

<sup>8</sup> Lact. l. i. § 22—29. Val. Max. l. i. § 28. viii. § 1. Athæn. l. ii. p. 37. Plut. in Solon.

stances are differently related by different writers. It is more probable, that, in some public assembly, a tripod was proposed as an honorary prize to the man who should recite, in verse,<sup>9</sup> the most excellent maxims of political and moral wisdom, and that the sages, who engaged in this generous contest, afterwards agreed to dedicate the prize to Apollo. This conjecture is confirmed by a passage in Plato's *Protagoras*, which relates, that the wise men of this period, who employed themselves in framing concise precepts and maxims for the conduct of life, sometimes met together, and agreed to send such sentences as were thought most valuable to Delphos, to be inscribed in the temple. It was perhaps owing to this circumstance, that Apollo is said by the ancients to have been the author of the precept, *Know thyself*.

— E cælo descendit, Γνωθὶ σεαυτὸν.<sup>10</sup> \*

Trivial as the kind of merit, upon which the immortal fame of these sages has been raised, may at present appear, it is easy to conceive, that in the infancy of civilization, when there were few writings and little knowledge, and when the reasonings of systematic philosophy were scarcely known, just observations on life and manners, useful precepts of morals, smart repartees, and ingenious solutions of perplexing questions, expressed in concise language, and often in verse, might become real grounds of celebrity. Plain good sense, and practical wisdom, had not then been taught to give way to useless subtleties.<sup>11</sup>

The names, commonly included under the appellation of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, are, Thales, Solon, Chilo, Pittacus, Bias, Cleobulus, and Periander. Thales, having attempted to unite speculative science with practical wisdom, will be entitled to particular notice, as one of the fathers of the Grecian philosophy, in our subsequent history of the Ionic sect. Of the rest, we shall here relate the most interesting particulars which remain, as far as respects the subject of philosophy.

\* Laert. l. i. § 35. 61. 68. Athæn. l. xv. p. 678. Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Juv. l. xi. v. 27.

\* From heav'n the precept, Know thyself, was sent.

<sup>11</sup> Cic. de Amic. c. 3. Laert. l. i. § 40.

Solon<sup>12</sup> was born at Salamis, of Athenian parents, who were descended from Codrus. His father, leaving little patrimony, he had recourse to merchandize for his subsistence. He had, however, a greater thirst after knowledge and fame, than after riches, and made his mercantile voyages subservient to the increase of his intellectual treasures. He very early cultivated the art of poetry, and applied himself to the study of moral and civil wisdom. When the Athenians, tired out with a long and troublesome war with the Megarensians for the recovery of the isle of Salamis, prohibited any one, under pain of death, to propose the renewal of their claim to that island, Solon, thinking the prohibition dishonourable to the state, and finding many of the younger citizens desirous to revive the war, feigned himself mad, and took care to have the report of his insanity spread through the city. In the mean time, he composed an elegy, adapted to the state of public affairs, which he committed to memory. Every thing being thus prepared, he sallied forth into the market place, with the kind of cap on his head which was commonly worn by sick persons, and, ascending the herald's stand, he delivered, to a numerous crowd, his lamentation for the desertion of Salamis. The verses were heard with general applause; and Pisistratus seconded his advice, and urged the people to renew the war. The decree was immediately repealed; the claim to Salamis was resumed; and the conduct of the war was committed to Solon and Pisistratus, who, by means of a stratagem, defeated the Megarensians, and recovered Salamis.

The popularity which Solon acquired by this transaction at Athens, was afterwards extended through Greece, in consequence of a successful alliance which he formed among the states, in defence of the temple at Delphos, against the Cirrhæans.

At length, when dissensions in Athens between the rich creditors and their poor debtors had risen to a dangerous height, and seemed to threaten general confusion, so that it became necessary to intrust some man of approved integrity and ability with full authority to attempt the cure

<sup>12</sup> Plut. in Solon. Laert. l. i. § 45, &c. Max. Tyr. Diss. 39. Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 12. Pausan. Att. c. 16. *Ælian*, l. xiii. c. 16.

of these public disorders, Solon was, by unanimous consent, honoured with this important charge, and, in the third year of the forty-sixth Olympiad,<sup>13</sup> was created archon, with the united powers of supreme legislator and magistrate. He executed his commission with so much wisdom and firmness, that he not only restored harmony between the rich and the poor, but brought the state, which had relaxed from its ancient discipline, under the restriction of new institutions. He cancelled the debts which had proved the occasion of so much oppression; and ordained that, in future, no creditor should be allowed to seize the body of the debtor for his security. He made a new distribution of the people, instituted new courts of judicature, and framed a judicious code of laws, which afterwards became the basis of the laws of the twelve tables in Rome.<sup>14</sup> The fame, which Solon acquired by this establishment, reached the most distant parts of the world, and, as we have seen, brought Anacharsis and Toxaris from Scythia to become acquainted with his wisdom.

At the opening of this new plan of government, Solon was every day visited by persons, who were desirous, either to propose questions concerning the meaning and application of his laws, or to suggest farther corrections and improvements. Finding these importunities troublesome, he determined to make his escape from the difficult situation in which he was placed, and to leave his laws to their own natural operation. For this purpose he obtained permission from the state to travel. His first voyage was to Egypt. Here he became acquainted with several of the more eminent priests of Heliopolis and Sais, by whom he was instructed in the Egyptian philosophy. One of his preceptors, boasting of the antiquity of the Egyptian wisdom, said to him, "Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children; you have not an old man among you." From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, where he formed an intimate friendship with Philocyprus, one of the princes of the island, and assisted him in founding a new city.

It is also related, that he visited Croesus, king of Lydia, and that, during the interview, the following interesting

<sup>13</sup> B. C. 594.

<sup>14</sup> Liv. l. iii. c. 31.

conversation passed between them. Croesus, after entertaining his guest with great splendour, and making an ostentatious display of the magnificence of his palace, desirous to extort from Solon expressions of admiration which he did not seem inclined to bestow, asked him, whom, of all mankind, he esteemed most happy? Solon answered, "Tellus, the Athenian." Croesus, surprised that Solon should name any other man in preference to himself, requested to be informed of the grounds of this judgment. "Tellus," replied Solon, "was descended from worthy parents, was the father of virtuous children, whom every one respected, and, at last, fell in an engagement in which, before he expired, he saw his country victorious." Croesus, flattering himself that he should at least obtain the second place, in Solon's judgment, among the fortunate, inquired, whom, next to Tellus, he thought most happy? Solon, in return, said, two youths of Argos, Cleobis and Biton, who while they lived were universally admired for their paternal affection to each other, and for their dutiful behaviour to their mother; and who, after they had given an illustrious example of filial piety, expired without sorrow or pain. Croesus, mortified to find the condition of a private citizen of Athens or Argos preferred to his own, could no longer refrain from asking Solon, whether he meant wholly to exclude him from the number of the happy? Solon's reply is a memorable proof of his wisdom: "The events of future life are uncertain; he who has hitherto been prosperous may be unfortunate to-morrow: let no man therefore be pronounced happy before his death." This observation made so deep an impression upon the mind of Croesus, that when afterwards, experiencing a reverse of fortune, he became a prisoner to Cyrus, and was brought forth to be put to death, he cried out, "O Solon! Solon!" Cyrus inquiring into the meaning of the exclamation, Croesus informed him of what had formerly passed between himself and Solon. The consequence was, that Cyrus, struck with the wisdom of Solon's remark, set Croesus at liberty, and treated him with all the respect due to his former greatness.—The story is attended with some chronological difficulties; but it is so consonant to the character of Solon, and so admirable an example of the moral

wisdom of these times, that we could not persuade ourselves to reject it.

Solon died in the island of Cyprus, about the eightieth year of his age. Statues were erected to his memory, both at Athens and Salamis. His thirst after knowledge continued to the last: "I grow old," said he, "learning many things." Among the apophthegms and precepts, which have been ascribed to Solon, are the following:

Laws are like cobwebs, that entangle the weak, but are broken through by the strong. He who has learned to obey, will know how to command. In all things let reason be your guide. Diligently contemplate excellent things. In every thing that you do, *consider the end.*<sup>15</sup>

*Chilo*, one of the Lacedemonian Ephori, was celebrated both for his probity and his penetration. He executed the offices of magistracy with so much uprightness, that in his old age, he said, that he recollected nothing in his public conduct which gave him regret, except that, in one instance, he had endeavoured to screen a friend from punishment. That kind of sagacity, which enables a man, from the contemplation of present circumstances and events, to predict what will happen in future, he esteemed the highest attainment of wisdom. He lived to a great age, and, at last, expired, through excess of joy, in the arms of his son, when he returned victorious from the Olympic games. The most valuable of his precepts and maxims are these:

Three things are difficult; to keep a secret, to bear an injury patiently, and to spend leisure well. Visit your friend in misfortune, rather than in prosperity. Never ridicule the unfortunate. Think before you speak. Do not desire impossibilities. Gold is tried by the touchstone, and men are tried by gold. Honest loss is preferable to shameful gain; for, by the one a man is a sufferer but once; by the other, always. In conversation make use of no violent motion of the hands; in walking, do not appear to be always upon business of life or death; for rapid movements indicate a kind of frenzy. If you are great, be condescend-

<sup>15</sup> Plutarch in Solon. Laert. l. i. § 45. Val. Max. l. viii. c. i. Demosthen. de falsa Leg. Pausan. Attic. Ælian. l. vii. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 12. Herod. l. i. c. 86.

ing; for it is better to be loved than to be feared. Speak no evil of the dead. Reverence the aged. *Know thyself.*<sup>16</sup> Chilo, according to Laertius, was an old man in the fifty-second Olympiad.<sup>17</sup>

*Pittacus*, of Mytelene in Lesbos, was born in the thirty-second Olympiad.<sup>18</sup> Having obtained popularity among his countrymen, by successfully opposing the tyrant Melancher, he was entrusted with the command of a fleet, in a war with the Athenians, concerning some territory which they had seized in the island. In the course of this war, he challenged the Athenian commander, Phryno, a man of uncommon size and strength, to single combat. Providing himself with a net, which he concealed under his buckler, he took the first opportunity, during the encounter, to throw it over the head of his antagonist, and by this means gained an easy victory. From that time he was held in high esteem among the Mytelenians, and entrusted with supreme power in the state. Among other valuable presents, his countrymen offered him as much of the lands, which had been recovered from the Athenians, as he chose; but he only accepted of so much as he could measure by a single cast of a javelin: and one half of this small portion he afterwards dedicated to Apollo, saying concerning the remainder, that the half was better than the whole.<sup>19</sup> He shewed great moderation in his treatment of his enemies, among whom one of the most violent was the poet Alcæus, who frequently made Pittacus the object of his satire. Finding it necessary to lay severe restrictions upon drunkenness, to which the Lesbians were particularly addicted, Pittacus passed a law which subjected offenders of this class to double punishment for any crime committed in a state of intoxication. When he had established such regulations in the island, as promised to secure its peace and prosperity, he voluntarily resigned his power, and retired into private life. The following maxims and precepts are ascribed to Pittacus:

The first office of prudence is to foresee threatening misfortunes, and prevent them. Power discovers the man.

<sup>16</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 68—74. Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 3. Herodot. l. i. p. 44. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vii. § 32.

<sup>17</sup> B. C. 570.

<sup>18</sup> B. C. 650.

<sup>19</sup> Hesiod. Op. v. 40.

Never talk of your schemes before they are executed; lest, if you fail to accomplish them, you be exposed to the double mortification of disappointment and ridicule. Whatever you do, do it well. Do not that to your neighbour, which you would take ill from him. *Be watchful for opportunities.*<sup>20</sup>

Bias, of Priene in Ionia, acquired the name and honour of a wise man, chiefly by his generosity and public spirit, which endeared him to his countrymen. Several young female captives from Messene having been brought to Priene, Bias redeemed them, and educated them as his own daughters; after which he restored them, with a dowry to their parents. He set a much greater value upon the treasures of the mind, than upon the gifts of fortune. During an invasion, whilst every man about him was collecting his most valuable effects, and preparing for flight, one of his friends, observing with surprise that he took no pains to preserve any thing, asked him the reason: Bias replied, "I carry all my treasures with me." The following are some of the remains of his sententious wisdom:

It is a proof of a weak and disordered mind to desire impossibilities. The greatest infelicity is, not to be able to endure misfortunes patiently. Great minds alone can support a sudden reverse of fortune. The most pleasant state is, to be always gaining. Be not unmindful of the miseries of others. If you are handsome, do handsome things; if deformed, supply the defects of nature by your virtues. Be slow in undertaking, but resolute in executing. Praise not a worthless man for the sake of his wealth. Whatever good you do, ascribe it to the gods. Lay in wisdom as the store for your journey from youth to old age, for it is the most certain possession. Many men are dishonest; therefore *love your friend with caution, for he may hereafter become your enemy.*<sup>21</sup>

Cleobulus, of Lindus in Rhodes, excelled all his con-

<sup>20</sup> Laert. l. i. § 74—8. Herod. l. v. Plut. Conviv. Sap. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 599. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 5. L. iv. c. i. Ælian, l. vii. c. 4. Suidas. Stobæus. Ser. iii.

<sup>21</sup> Laert. l. i. 82. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 3. vii. 2. Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 11. Cie. de Amicit. c. 60. Plut. Conv. vii. Aristot. Rhet. l. ii. c. 13. Stobæus. Sermon. 28.



temporaries in bodily strength and beauty. He visited Egypt in pursuit of wisdom. Here he acquired great skill in the solution of enigmas and obscure questions; and it was for this that he was chiefly famous. His prudential maxims were:

Be kind to your friends, that they may continue such; and to your enemies, that they may become your friends. Happy is the family, where the master is more loved than feared. When you go abroad, consider what you have to do; when you return home, what you have done. Marry among your equals, that you may not become a slave to your wife's relations. Be more desirous to hear than to speak. *Avoid excess.*<sup>22</sup>

Of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, the last which remains to be mentioned is *Periander* of Corinth. He gave great offence to his indolent and luxurious countrymen by the rigour of his discipline, and rendered himself obnoxious to the other Greek states by changing the form of government in Corinth from an aristocracy to a tyranny, or monarchy. Hence there is reason to suspect the accounts which are given of this prince by Greek writers, of exaggeration and falsehood. It is acknowledged even by those who have most severely censured him, that his political institutions were just and useful, and that he was fond of the society of wise and good men. The inscription upon his tomb at Corinth, preserved by Laertius, proves that his countrymen, after his death, honoured him as a wise and able ruler. Although he had, probably, no share in the contest for the tripod which was to be given to *The wisest*, there seems then no reason for excluding him from the place, which has been allotted him by tradition among the wise men of Greece. His political and moral wisdom, and his poetical talents, were sufficient, at that time, to entitle him to this honourable distinction. Among the moral sentences ascribed to Periander are the following:

Let the prince, who would reign securely, trust rather to the affection of his subjects, than to the force of arms. Pleasure is precarious, but virtue is immortal. Conceal your misfortunes. Study to be worthy of your parents.

<sup>22</sup> Laert. l. i. § 89. Athen. l. x. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iv. p. 543.

*There is nothing which prudence cannot accomplish.*<sup>23</sup> Perriander died in the fourth year of the forty-eighth Olympiad<sup>24</sup> aged eighty years.

Although historians have generally agreed to give these sages the appellation of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, we are not to suppose that there were not at this period many others, equal in merit, and perhaps not inferior in fame. Among these we must not omit to mention a sage,

*Et pueris notum, et qui nondum ære lavantur.*<sup>25</sup>

Esop, the celebrated fabulist, was probably by birth a Phrygian. It is related, that he was brought as a slave to Athens, where, under his master Dimarchus, he cultivated his genius, as far as the disadvantages of his servile condition would permit; that he afterwards passed into the possession of Rhodope, a celebrated courtesan, who gave him his liberty; that, upon this, he revisited Athens, and travelled from Greece into Egypt and Asia; and that, being sent by Croesus to Delphos, with a magnificent present of gold to Apollo, the Delphians quarrelled with him, and put him to death.<sup>26</sup> But these relations are obscured by so many chronological inconsistencies, that they deserve little credit. Even Herodotus speaks of idle stories, which had in his time been circulated concerning Esop. It is probable that the particulars, which Plutarch relates of him, were gathered up from vague rumour, and were inserted in his *Conversation of the Seven Wise Men of Greece*, to fill up an amusing narrative, without a strict regard to historical truth or the laws of probability. In the fourteenth century, a monk named Palanudes, wrote a life of Esop; but his relation is unsupported by authorities, and has every internal mark of fiction. We can therefore assert nothing farther concerning Esop, than that he was the author of many moral apologues, which were the foundation of that collection of fables, which, under his name has,

<sup>23</sup> Laert. i. § 98. Ælian. l. xii. c. 35. Plut. Conviv. Herodot. l. i. p. 3. l. i. p. 202. Plato in Protagoram, Heraclides de Politis, p. 17. Stobæi Sermon. xxviii.

<sup>24</sup> B. C. 585. <sup>25</sup> Well known to boys, and all the infant train.

<sup>26</sup> Herodot. l. i. c. 134. Max. Tyr. Diss. 20. 28. Plutarch. Conviv. Sept. et De Sera Num. Vind. Ælian. l. x. c. 5. xi. 5. Phædr. Fab. l. iii. Prolog. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 390. x. 533.

for so many ages, afforded entertainment and instruction to children.

Besides the teachers of moral wisdom already enumerated, there were not wanting, at this period, others who employed the art of poetry in the service of wisdom and virtue. To this class may be referred most of the Greek poets of these early times, and especially the tragedians, who every where inculcate the purest principles of morality, and the preceptive poets, *Theognis* of Megara, and *Phocylides* of Miletus, whose works, if the verses which now bear their name be in any part genuine, have certainly undergone much corruption and interpolation.<sup>27</sup> Both *Phocylides* and *Theognis* flourished about the fifty-eighth Olympiad.<sup>28</sup>

### CHAP. III.

#### OF THE IONIC SECT.

**H**ITHERTO we have seen philosophy in its state of infancy and childhood. We are now to observe its progress in that more advanced age, in which it passed from traditional opinion, and sententious wisdom, to more accurate speculations and reasonings.

The Greeks, always an ingenious and penetrating people, very early discovered a fondness for systematic philosophy. Two eminent philosophers arose among them, about the same period, who may be considered as the fountains from which philosophy flowed, not only through Greece, but through all other countries in which the Greek language was spoken. These gave rise to distinct classes of philosophers, who, because they *followed* the tenets, and the method of philosophising, which had been received

<sup>27</sup> Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 432. 439. Suidas.

<sup>28</sup> Vidend: Dufresne Epist. de Effig. Charond. Par. 1658. Spanhem de Usu Numism. t. i. Diss. 7. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 494. Jonsius de Script. Hist. Phil. l. i. c. 8. 16. Voss. de Poet. Gr. c. 3. Budd. Sap. Vet. Meurs. in Solon. Potter. Arch. Gr. l. i. c. 4. Vavasor Exerc. de Diction. Ludic. Op. p. 4. Mezeriaci Vit. Esop. Burgis, 1630. Apud Mem. de Lit. t. i. p. 90. et apud Esopi Fab. Oxon. 1716. Bayle.

by some one master, and rejected all others, have been usually denominated *Sects*. One of these fathers of the *Sectarian Philosophy* was *Thales*, whom we have already ranked among the Seven Wise Men of Greece. He began to philosophise at Miletus in Ionia; and from his school sprung not only the Ionic sect, but Socrates and his disciples, from whom arose the several sects of *Academica*, *Cynics*, *Stoics*, *Pythagorians*, *Eristics*, *Peripatetics*, *Cynics*, and *Stoics*. The other was *Pythagoras* the Samian, who not only founded the Pythagorean school in Magna Grecia, but gave occasion to the institution of several other sects, particularly the *Eleatic*, the *Heraclitic*, the *Epicurean*, and the *Pyrrhonian*. The sect founded by *Thales*, with all its branches, is called the *Ionic School*: the sects immediately or more remotely derived from *Pythagoras* are called the *Italic School*.<sup>1</sup> In treating of the *Sectarian Philosophy* of Greece, we shall trace the rise and progress of each of these schools, beginning with the *Ionic*.

The ancients are generally agreed, in ascribing the first introduction of a scientific method of philosophising among the Greeks to *Thales*.<sup>2</sup>

*Thales* was born at Miletus, in the first year of the thirty-fifth Olympiad. He was descended from Phœnician parents, who had left their country, and settled at Miletus.<sup>3</sup> The wealth which he inherited, and his own superior abilities, raised him to distinction among his countrymen, so that he was early employed in public affairs. He chose to continue in a state of celibacy, that he might avoid parental anxieties, and that he might be the more at liberty to apply himself to the study of philosophy. So great was his love of science, that he very soon resigned every other occupation, and devoted himself to learning. He travelled to Crete, and afterwards to Egypt, in search of wisdom. Several writers affirm, that he was indebted for all his knowledge of philosophy and mathematics to the priests of Memphis. But it is probable that he was more indebted to his own ingenuity than to their instructions; for,

<sup>1</sup> Laert. l. i. § 13.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. de Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 3. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 635. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 10. Apul. Florid. l. iv. p. 368. ed. Scriv.

<sup>3</sup> Laert. l. i. § 21, &c.

whilst he was among them, he taught them, to their great astonishment, how to measure the height of their pyramids.<sup>4</sup> It cannot be supposed that Thales could acquire much mathematical knowledge from a people unable to solve this easy problem. Returning to Miletus with a high degree of reputation for wisdom and learning, Thales became an object of general attention among his countrymen, and his acquaintance was solicited by all who were desirous of improving in knowledge, or ambitious of being ranked among philosophers. These engagements did not, however, hinder him from prosecuting his mathematical, astronomical, and metaphysical studies. And, though his attainments may be thought inconsiderable when they are compared with those of later times, it should be remembered, that the first truths in science are the most important; and that great praise is due to those who discovered them. With so much ardour did Thales devote himself to science, that in order to become free from every avocation, he gave up the care of his estate to his nephew. His close attention to his studies, and his acquaintance with nature, have given occasion to several tales which deserve little credit, among which may be reckoned the story of his falling into a pit while he was gazing at the stars. He lived to the great age of ninety years, and died, through mere infirmity, whilst he was attending the Olympic games.<sup>5</sup>

Thales was not only famous for his knowledge of nature and his mathematical learning, but for his moral and political wisdom. Many ingenious aphorisms and precepts are ascribed to him, of which the following are a specimen.

Neither the crimes, nor the thoughts, of bad men are concealed from the gods. Health of body, a competent fortune, and a cultivated mind, are the chief sources of happiness. Parents may expect from their children that obedience, which they themselves paid to their parents. Take more pains to correct the blemishes of the mind, than those of the face. Stop the mouth of slander by prudence.

<sup>4</sup> Laert. Plut. l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Laert. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 3. et Solon. Platon. Theat. Pausanias in Phocicis, c. 5. Arist. Pol. l. i. c. 11. Plin. Hist. N. xviii. 20. Cyll; contr. Jul. l. i. p. 15.

It is careful not to do that yourself which you blame in another.

Neither Thales, nor any of his successors in the first Ionic school, have left any written records of their doctrine. For information upon this subject, we are, therefore, obliged to have recourse to later philosophers. Our best authorities are Plato and Aristotle: but the former distorted the systems of his predecessors, in order to bend them to his own; and the latter gave an imperfect and obscure account of ancient opinions, that those which he himself taught might appear the more valuable and original. The accounts given of this school by Laertius, Plutarch, and other later writers,<sup>1</sup> are too modern to deserve implicit credit. We cannot therefore presume to speak with certainty concerning the opinions of Thales. The following account of his doctrine, is the result of a diligent comparison of the representations given by various ancient writers.

Thales held, that the first principle of natural bodies, or the first simple substance from which all things in this world are formed, is water.<sup>2</sup> By this he could not mean to assert, that water is the efficient cause of the formation of bodies, but merely, that this is the element from which they are produced. It is probable, that by the term *water*, Thales meant to express the same idea which the cosmogonists expressed by the word *Chaos*, the notion annexed to which was, as we have shewn, a turbid and muddy mass, from which all things were produced. Concerning the grounds of his opinion, we have no satisfactory information. The reasons which have been given, such as that all animals and plants are produced and supported by moisture, and the sun and other celestial fires are nourished by vapours,<sup>3</sup> are mere conjectures which were perhaps never thought of by Thales.

It has been a subject of much debate, whether Thales,

<sup>1</sup> Laert. Stoici Serm. 208. Anson. p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Burnet. Arch. Ph. l. i. c. 10. Morhoff. Polyh. l. ii. c. 20. Scipio Aquilianus de Plac. Phys. Vet. Phil. ante Arist. Venet. 1620. 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Arist. Met. l. i. c. 3. Laert. l. i. § 27. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 7. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Laert. Plut. Arist. l. c. Senec. Quest. Nat. l. vi. c. 6.

besides the passive principle in nature, which he called Water, admitted an intelligent, efficient cause. They who have maintained the affirmative, have rested their opinion upon sundry aphorisms concerning God, which are ascribed by ancient writers to this philosopher, particularly the following:<sup>10</sup> that God is the most ancient being, who has neither beginning nor end; that all things are full of God; and that the world is the beautiful work of God. They also lay great stress upon the testimony of Cicero,<sup>11</sup> who says, that Thales taught, that water is the first principle of all things, and that God is that mind which formed all things out of water. They who are of the contrary opinion<sup>12</sup> urge, that the ancients (and among these Cicero himself, though not very consistently) ascribe to Anaxagoras the honour of having first represented God as the intelligent cause of the universe; and add, that the evidence in favour of Thales rests only upon traditional testimony, which may be opposed by other authorities.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the truth is this, that Thales, though he did not expressly maintain an independent mind as the efficient cause of nature, admitted the ancient doctrine concerning God, as the animating principle or soul of the world. This supposition perfectly agrees with the language ascribed to him concerning the Deity, particularly that the world is animated, *ἐμψυχον*;<sup>14</sup> and that all things are full of God. And this is not inconsistent with the notion, that water is the first principle in nature, if by the term *principle* we understand, not the agency which framed the world, but the first matter, from which it was produced.<sup>15</sup> A principle of motion, wherever it exists, is, according to Thales, mind. Hence he taught, that the magnet, and amber, are endued with a soul, which is the cause of their attracting powers. The soul, in all beings (as Aristotle represents his doctrine) is a moving power, having the cause of motion within itself, and is always in action.<sup>16</sup> It

<sup>10</sup> Laert. l. i. § 35. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Nat. Deor. l. c.

<sup>12</sup> J. Thomas's Obs. Hal. Lat. t. ii. Obs. 21. Bayle.

<sup>13</sup> Clem. Al. Strom. l. ii. p. 364. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. viii. c. 2. Euseb. Prep. Ev. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Laert. l. i. § 27.

<sup>15</sup> Conf. Arist. de Anima, l. i. c. 5. Plut. Plat. Ph. l. i. c. 7, 8. Stobæi. Ecl. Phys. c. 1. Euseb. Prep. Ev. l. xiv. c. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Arist. ib. c. 2. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 2. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. xl.

with one of his tenets, that all nature is full of demons, or intelligences, proceeding from God. It is easy to conceive, that these opinions might have been derived from the notion, that the Deity is the soul of the world, and the source of all motion and intelligence.

Concerning the material world, Thales taught, that night existed before day; a doctrine which he probably borrowed from the Grecian theogonies, which placed Night, or Chaos, among the first divinities. He held, that the stars are fiery bodies; that the moon is an opaque body illuminated by the sun; and that the earth is a spherical body placed in the middle of the universe.

In mathematics, Thales is said to have invented several fundamental propositions, which were afterwards incorporated into the elements of Euclid; particularly the following theorems; that a circle is bisected by its diameter; that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal; that the vertical angles of two intersecting lines are equal; that, if two angles and one side of one triangle, be equal to two angles and one side of another triangle; the remaining angles and sides are respectively equal; and that the angle in a semicircle is a right angle.<sup>17</sup> Of his knowledge of the principles of mensuration, and consequently of the doctrine of proportion, his instructions to the Egyptian priests (already mentioned) for finding the height of their pyramids, are a sufficient proof. His method was this:—At the termination of the shadow of the pyramid, he erected a staff perpendicular to the surface of the earth; and thus obtained two right-angled triangles, which enabled him to infer the ratio of the height of the pyramid to the length of its shadow; from the ratio of the height of the staff, to the length of its shadow.<sup>18</sup>

Astronomical, as well as mathematical science, seems to have received considerable improvements from Thales. He was so well acquainted with the celestial motions, as to be able to predict an eclipse; though probably with no great degree of accuracy with respect to time; for Herodotus, who relates this fact, only says, that he foretold the

<sup>17</sup> Laert. l. i. § 24, 25. Proclus in Euclid. l. i.

<sup>18</sup> Laert. l. i. § 27. Plut. l. c. Plin. Hist. N. l. xxxviii. c. 17. Proclus in Euclid. l. i. def. 4.



year in which it would happen.<sup>19</sup> He taught the Greeks the division of the heavens into five zones, and the solstitial and equinoctial points, and approached so near to the knowledge of the true length of the solar revolution, that he corrected their calendar, and made their year contain 365 days.<sup>20</sup>

These few particulars, respecting the scientific discoveries and improvements of Thales, give us no unfavourable idea of the abilities and attainments of this father of the Grecian philosophy.

The seeds of natural science, which Thales had sown, were successfully cherished in their growth by *Anaximander*, who first taught philosophy in a public school, and is therefore often spoken of as the founder of the Ionic sect. He was born in the third year of the forty-second Olympiad.<sup>21</sup> Cicero calls him the friend and companion of Thales; whence it is probable, that he was a native of Miletus. That he was employed in instructing youth, may be inferred from an anecdote related concerning him; that, being laughed at for singing (that is, probably, reciting his verses) ill, he said, "We must endeavour to sing better, for the sake of the boys." Anaximander was the first who laid aside the defective method of oral tradition, and committed the principles of natural science to writing. It is related of him, that he predicted an earthquake: but, that he should have been able, in the infancy of knowledge, to do what is, at this day, beyond the reach of philosophy, is incredible. He lived sixty-four years.<sup>22</sup>

The general doctrine of Anaximander, concerning nature and the origin of things, was, that infinity, *τὸ ἀπείρον*, is the first principle of all things; that the universe, though variable in its parts, as one whole is immutable; and that all things are produced from infinity, and terminate in it. What this philosopher meant by infinity, has been a subject of much controversy; and the dispute has produced

<sup>19</sup> Herod. l. i. p. 19. Laert. l. i. § 23—35. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 12. 24. Apul. Fl. l. iv. Plin. Hist. N. f. ii. c. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Plut. Laert. l. c. Newton's Chronology, p. 86. Shuckford's Con-  
nect. vol. ii. p. 5. Comp. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 806. <sup>21</sup> B. C. 610.

<sup>22</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 1. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 37. Themistii Orat. 20. Plin. Hist. N. l. ii. c. 79.

many ingenious conjectures, which are, however, too feebly supported to merit particular notice. The most material question is, whether Anaximander understood by infinity, the material subject, or the efficient cause of nature. Plutarch asserts,<sup>23</sup> the infinity of Anaximander to be nothing but matter. Aristotle explains it in the same manner;<sup>24</sup> and several modern writers adopt the same idea.<sup>25</sup> But neither Aristotle nor Plutarch could have any better ground for their opinion than conjecture. It is more probable, that Anaximander, who was a disciple of Thales, would attempt to improve, than that he would entirely reject, the doctrine of his master. If, therefore, the explanation, given above, of the system of Thales be admitted, there will appear some ground for supposing, that Anaximander made use of the term infinity to denote the humid mass of Thales, whence all things arose, together with the Divine principle by which he supposed it to be animated. This opinion is supported by the authority of Hermias, who asserts,<sup>26</sup> that Anaximander supposed an eternal mover or first cause of motion, prior to the humid mass, or *τὸ ὑπὸν*, of Thales. And Aristotle himself speaks of the infinity of Anaximander, as comprehending and directing all things. After all, however, it must be confessed, that the doctrine of this philosopher, concerning the origin of nature, is so obscurely and variously related, that nothing can be determined, with certainty, upon this subject.

There can be little doubt, that mathematics and astronomy were indebted to Anaximander. He framed a connected series of geometrical truths, and wrote a summary of his doctrine. He was the first who undertook to delineate the surface of the earth, and mark the divisions of land and water upon an artificial globe.<sup>27</sup> The invention of the sun-dial is ascribed to him; but it is not likely that mankind had remained, till this time, unacquainted with so useful an instrument, especially considering how much attention had, in many countries, been paid to astronomy,

<sup>23</sup> Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Phys. Auscult. l. i. c. 5. l. iii. c. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Cudworth, c. iii. § 21. Le Clerc. Biblioth. Choisée, tom. ii. art. 1.

<sup>26</sup> In Iris. Gent. § 10. ap Tatian.

<sup>27</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 3. Strabo, l. i. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Suidas. Euseb. Prep. Ev. l. x. c. ult.

and how early we read of the division of time into hours. Herodotus, with much greater probability, ascribes this invention to the Babylonians.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps he made use of a gnomon in ascertaining, more correctly than Thales had done, the meridian line, and the points of the solstices. Pliny says,<sup>29</sup> that he first observed the obliquity of the ecliptic; but this cannot be true, if Thales was acquainted with the method of predicting eclipses, which supposes the knowledge of this obliquity.

Other opinions ascribed to Anaximander are, that the stars are globular collections of air and fire, borne about in the spheres in which they are placed; that they are gods, that is, inhabited and animated by portions of the Divinity; that the sun has the highest place in the heavens, the moon the next, and the planets and fixed stars the lowest; that the earth is a globe placed in the middle of the universe, and remains in its place; and that the sun is twenty-eight times larger than the earth.<sup>30</sup>

*Anaximenes*, a Milesian, who was born about the fifty-sixth Olympiad,<sup>31</sup> was a hearer and companion of Anaximander. He followed the footsteps of his master, in his inquiries into the nature and origin of things, but not without attempting to cast new light upon the system. He taught, that the first principle of all things is Air, which he held to be infinite, or immense. Anaximenes, says Simplicius,<sup>32</sup> taught the unity and immensity of matter, but under a more definite term than Anaximander, calling it air. He held air to be God, because it is diffused through all nature, and is perpetually active.<sup>33</sup> The air of Anaximenes is, then, a subtle ether, animated with a Divine principle, whence it becomes the origin of all beings. In this sense Lactantius<sup>34</sup> understood his doctrine; for speaking of Cleanthes as adopting the doctrine of Anaximenes, he adds, the poet assents to it, when he sings:

Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbris æther,<sup>35</sup> &c.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>28</sup> L. ii. c. 32.

<sup>29</sup> L. ii. c. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Plut. Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 7. ii. 15. 20. 22. iii. 10. Laert. Stobæus Ecl. Ph. c. 25. Origen. Philos. c. vi. p. 58. 60.

<sup>31</sup> B. C. 556.

<sup>32</sup> Ad. Physic. l. i. c. 2. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 3. Cic. Nat. D. i. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Stobæi Ecl. Phys.

<sup>34</sup> L. i. c. 5.

<sup>35</sup> Virg. Georg. ii. 324.

<sup>36</sup> Almighty Jove descends in fruitful show'rs, &c.

If, in the midst of the great obscurity which hangs upon the tenets of the first Ionic sect, there be any ground for a probable opinion, we may ascribe to Anaximenes the continuation of the doctrine of Thales and Anaximander, concerning the first principle of nature, with this difference only, that he supposed the Divine energy to be resident in air, or ether. Chiefly attentive, however, to material causes, he was silent concerning the nature of the Divine mind.

Anaximenes is also said to have taught, that all minds are air; that fire, water, and earth, proceed from it, by rarefaction or condensation; that the sun and moon are fiery bodies, whose form is that of a circular plate; that the stars, which also are fiery substances, are fixed in the heavens, as nails in a chrystalline plane; and that the earth is a plane tablet resting upon the air.<sup>37</sup>

*Anaxagoras*, of Clazomene, born in the first year of the seventieth Olympiad,<sup>38</sup> was a disciple of Anaximenes. He inherited, from his parents, a patrimony, which might have secured him independance and distinction at home; but, such was his thirst after knowledge, that about the twentieth year of his age, he left his country, without taking proper precautions concerning his estate, and went to reside at Athens. Here he diligently applied himself to the study of eloquence and poetry, and was particularly conversant with the works of Homer, whom he admired as the best preceptor, not only in writing, but in morals. Engaging, afterwards, in speculations concerning nature, the fame of the Milesian school induced him to leave Athens, that he might attend upon the public instructions of Anaximenes. Under him he became acquainted with his doctrines, and those of his predecessors, concerning natural bodies and the origin of things. So ardently did he engage in these inquiries, that he said concerning himself, that he was born to contemplate the heavens. Visiting his native city, he found that, whilst he had been busy in the pursuit of knowledge, his estate had run to waste; upon which he remarked, that to this ruin he owed his prosperity. One of his fellow citizens complaining that he, who was so well qualified, both by rank and ability, for public offices, had shewn so

<sup>37</sup> Plut. Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 7. ii. 11. iii. 10. Cic. Nat. D. i. 10. Ac. Quest. l. iv. Suidas. August. de Civ. Dei. l. viii. c. 2. <sup>38</sup> B. C. 500.

little regard for his country, he replied—My first care is for *my* country, pointing to heaven. After remaining for some years at Miletus, he returned to Athens, and there taught philosophy in private. Among his pupils were several eminent men, particularly the tragedian Euripides, and the orator and statesman Pericles; to whom some add Socrates and Themistocles.

The high degree of reputation which he had acquired, at length excited the jealousy and envy of his contemporaries, and brought upon him a cruel persecution. It is generally agreed, that he was thrown into prison, and condemned to death; and that it was with difficulty that Pericles obtained from his judges the milder sentence of fine and banishment; but the nature of the charge alleged against him is variously represented. The most probable account of the matter is, that his offence was, the propagation of new opinions concerning the gods, and, particularly, teaching that the sun is an inanimate fiery substance, and consequently not a proper object of worship. There can be no doubt, that Anaxagoras, who was indefatigable in his researches into nature, ventured, on many occasions, to contradict and oppose the vulgar opinions and superstitions. It is related that he ridiculed the Athenian priests for predicting an unfortunate event from the unusual appearance of a ram which had but one horn; and that, to convince the people that there was nothing in the affair which was not perfectly natural, he opened the head of the animal, and shewed them, that it was so constructed, as necessarily to prevent the growth of the other horn. Such offensive freedoms as these were probably the cause of his persecution.

After his banishment, Anaxagoras passed the remainder of his days at Lampsacus, where he employed himself in instructing youth, and obtained great respect and influence among the magistrates and citizens. Through his whole life he appears to have supported the character of a true philosopher. Superior to motives of avarice and ambition, he devoted himself to the pursuits of science; and, in the midst of the vicissitudes of fortune, preserved an equal mind. When one of his friends expressed regret on account of his banishment from Athens, he said, It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have

lost me. Being asked, just before his death, whether he wished to be carried for interment to Clazomene, his native city, he said, It is unnecessary; the way to the regions below is every where alike open. In reply to a message sent him, at that time, by the senate of Lampsacus, requesting him to inform them in what manner they might most acceptably express their respect for his memory after his decease, he said, By ordaining that the day of my death be annually kept as a holiday in all the schools of Lampsacus. His request was complied with, and the custom remained for many centuries. He died about the age of seventy-two years. The inhabitants of Lampsacus expressed their high opinion of his wisdom, by erecting a tomb, on which they inscribed this epitaph:

Ενθάδε πλείστον ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τερμα περησας  
Οὐρανίου κοσμοῦ κείται Ἀναξαγόρας.<sup>39</sup>

It is also said, that two altars were raised in honour of his memory, one dedicated to TRUTH, the other to MIND, an appellation which was given him on account of the doctrine he taught concerning the origin and formation of nature.<sup>40</sup>

The material world was conceived by Anaxagoras to have originated from a confused mass, consisting of different kinds of particles. Having learned in the Ionic school, that bodies are composed of minute parts, and having observed in different bodies different, and frequently contrary, forms and qualities, he concluded, that the primary particles, of which bodies consist, are of different kinds; and that the peculiar form and properties of each body depend upon the nature of that class of particles, of which it is chiefly composed. A bone, for instance, he conceived to be composed of a great number of bony particles—a piece of gold, of golden particles; and thus he supposed bodies of every kind to be generated from similar particles, *ὁμοιομεπεῖται*, and to assume the character of those

<sup>39</sup> This tomb great *Anaxagoras* confines  
Whose mind explored the paths of heav'nly truth.

<sup>40</sup> Laert. l. ii, c. 6, &c. Suidas. Plato in Hippias Maj. Plut. in Pericle. Cic. Nat. D. l. i. c. 11. Tusc. Q. iii. 24. v. 39. De Orat. l. iii. c. 15. Brut. c. 2. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 2. l. viii. c. 7. Arist. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23, Joseph. cont. App. l. ii.

particles. This system is thus exhibited, in the language of poetry, by Lucretius :<sup>41</sup>

— Principium rerum quam dicit Homæomeriam ;  
 Ossa videlicet è pauxillis atque minutis  
 Ossibus ; sic et de pauxillis atque minutis  
 Visceribus viscus gigni ; sanguenque creari  
 Sanguinis inter se multis coëuntibus guttis ;  
 Ex auriq̃ue putat micis consistere posse  
 Aurum ; et de terris terram concreescere parvis ;  
 Ignibus ex ignem ; humorem ex humoribus esse,  
 Cætera consimili fingit ratione, putatq̃ue.<sup>42</sup>

Notwithstanding the difficulties and absurdities which obviously attend this system, the invention of it was a proof of the author's ingenuity, who doubtless had recourse to the notion of similar particles, in hopes of obviating the objections which lay against the doctrine of Atoms, as he had received it from Anaximenes.

But the most important improvement which Anaxagoras made upon the doctrine of his predecessors, was that of separating, in his system, the active principle in nature from the material mass upon which it acts, and thus introducing a distinct intelligent cause of all things.<sup>43</sup> The similar particles of matter, which he supposed to be the basis of nature, being without life or motion, he concluded that there must have been, from eternity, an intelligent principle, or infinite mind, existing separately from matter, which, having a power of motion within itself, first communicated motion to the material mass, and, by uniting homogeneous particles, produced the various forms of nature.

That Anaxagoras maintained an infinite mind to be the Author of all motion and life, is attested by many ancient authorities. Plato expressly asserts, that Anaxagoras taught the existence of " a disposing Mind, the cause of

<sup>41</sup> L. i. v. 830, &c.

<sup>42</sup> With Anaxagoras, great Nature's law  
 Is similarity ; and every compound form  
 Consists of parts minute, each like the whole ;  
 And bone is made of bone, and flesh of flesh ;  
 And blood, and fire, and earth, and massy gold,  
 Are, in their smallest portions, still the same.

<sup>43</sup> Arist. Metaph. l. i. c. 4.

all things," Νοῦς ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἰτίας. Aristotle gives it as his doctrine, that mind is the first principle of all things, pure, simple, and unmixed; that it possesses within itself the united powers of thought and motion; and that it gives motion to the universe, and is the cause of whatever is fair and good.<sup>44</sup> Plutarch confirms this account of the doctrine of Anaxagoras, and shews wherein it differed from that of his predecessors. "The Ionic philosophers," says he,<sup>45</sup> "who appeared before Anaxagoras, made fortune, or blind necessity, that is, the fortuitous or necessary motion of the particles of matter, the first principle in nature; but Anaxagoras affirmed that a pure mind, perfectly free from all material concretions, governs the universe." From these and other concurrent testimonies<sup>46</sup> it clearly appears, that Anaxagoras was the first among the Greeks who conceived mind as detached from matter, and as acting upon it with intelligence and design in the formation of the universe. The infinite Mind, or Deity, which his predecessors had confounded with matter, making them one universe, Anaxagoras conceived to have a separate and independent existence, and to be simple, pure intelligence, capable of forming the eternal mass of matter according to his pleasure. Thus he assigned an adequate cause for the existence of the visible world.

Several doctrines are ascribed to Anaxagoras, which might seem to indicate no inconsiderable knowledge of nature: such as, that the wind is produced by the rarefaction of the air; that the rainbow is the effect of the reflection of the solar rays from a thick cloud, placed opposite to it like a mirror; that the moon is an opaque body, enlightened by the sun, and an habitable region, divided into hills, vales, and waters; that the comets are wandering stars; and that the fixed stars are in a region exterior to those of the sun and moon. But the writers who report these particulars have mixed with them such strange absurdities, as weaken the credit of their whole relation. When we are told that Anaxagoras thought the sun to be a flat circular mass of hot iron, somewhat bigger than the

<sup>44</sup> Arist. de Anima, l. i. c. 2. Phys. Ausc. l. viii. c. 1. <sup>45</sup> In Pericle.

<sup>46</sup> Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 11. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. viii. c. 12. Lactant. i. 5.



Peloponnesus; and the stars to have been formed from stones whirled from the earth by violent circumvolution of its surrounding ether; we cannot but suspect that, in the course of traditionary report, his opinions must have been ignorantly misconceived, or designedly misrepresented.<sup>47</sup>

In the Ionic school, Anaxagoras was succeeded by *Diogenes Apolloniates*, a disciple of Anaximenes. Following the steps of his master, he devoted himself to the contemplation of nature; not however without mingling with the severer pursuits of philosophy the study of eloquence. This qualified him to execute the office of preceptor with great reputation, both at Miletus and at Athens. But his success, and perhaps his opinions, excited so much jealousy and aversion among the Athenians, that, like Anaxagoras, he was obliged to provide for his safety by flight. What befel him afterwards, or what was the exact time of his birth or death is unknown. With Anaximenes he taught, that air, or a subtle ether, is the first material principle in nature, but that it partakes of a Divine intelligence, without which nothing could be produced.<sup>48</sup> From comparing the imperfect accounts of his doctrine which remain, with the opinions of his predecessors, it appears probable, that he conceived the infinite ether to be animated by a Divine mind, and all things to be formed from this compound principle.<sup>49</sup>

*Archelaus*, of Miletus, was a disciple of Anaxagoras, and publicly taught at Athens his doctrines concerning natural bodies, whence he obtained the appellation of the natural philosopher. Among the tenets ascribed to him are the following: that the two principles of things are air and infinity; that the universe is unlimited; that heat is the cause of motion, and cold of rest; that the earth was at the beginning a muddy mass, whence living animals were produced and nourished; and that animals have souls, which differ in their powers, according to the structure of

<sup>47</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 8, 9. Pseudo-Orig. c. viii. p. 69. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. ii. c. 8. 13. 16. 25. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 13. § 33.

<sup>48</sup> Plut. Plac. l. iv. c. 5. 20. August. de Civ. Dei. l. viii. c. 2. Arist. de Anima, l. i. c. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 14. Laert. l. ix. § 57, 58. Clem. Al. Protrept. p. 42.

the bodies in which they reside.<sup>50</sup> It cannot be certainly determined, whether with Anaxagoras, he admitted a distinct and independent Deity, the Author of Nature, or whether, with the former philosophers, he supposed one compound principle, consisting of infinite matter animated by a Divine spirit. Concerning morals, he is said to have taught, that the distinction between right and wrong is not founded in nature, but in arbitrary law; a doctrine which, if it was really his, obtained little credit at that time, and was never afterwards resumed, till Scepticism, at a much later period, erected its standard against common sense.

The high reputation which Archelaus acquired, procured him many disciples of great distinction, among whom is commonly reckoned Socrates. Under this great man, philosophy assumed a new character; so that Archelaus may properly be considered as the last preceptor in the original Ionic school.<sup>51</sup>

## CHAP. IV.

## OF THE SOCRATIC SCHOOL.

**WHILST** the philosophers of the Ionic school were, as we have seen, industriously employed in investigating the

<sup>50</sup> Laert. I. ii. § 17. Cic. Tusc. Q. I. v. c. 4. Suidas. Orig. Philos. c. ix. p. 78. Plutarch. de Plac. Ph. I. i. c. 3. Stobæus Ecl. Phys. I. i. c. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Vidend. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 16. v. iii. p. 165. 173. Burnet. Arch. c. x. Cudworth. Int. Syst. c. i. § 22. c. iv. § 20. cum Not. Moshem. Voss. de Soient. Math. c. 13. 32, 33. Meurs. in Cureta, I. iv. Cyril. cont. Julian. I. i. p. 15. Valesii Phil. Sac. c. 31. August. de Civit. Dei, I. viii. c. 2. 11. Jos. Scaliger. Ep. 306. Themistii Orat. 26. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. c. 20. Lipsii Phys. I. ii. Diss. 8. Thomastii Observ. Hal. t. ii. Ob. 18. 21. Mullerus de aqua principio rerum ex mente Thaletis, Altdorf. 1718. Buddæus de Phil. Mor. Thalet. § 10. Otium Vindel. Exerc. ii. Slevogtii. Diss. Phil. p. 386. Amoenit. Lit. t. iii. Brucker Hist. de Ideis. sect. I. Grotius de Verit. I. i. Oporinus de Immort. Mortalium. Voss. de Hist. Gr. I. i. c. 6. Dickenson Phys. c. iv. § 10. Thomas Hist. Ath. c. iv. § 3. Le Clerc. Bibl. Choisée, t. ii. art. 1. Parker de Deo. Disp. i. § 6. Scipio. Aquilianus de Plac. Phil. ante Aristot. c. 21. Schmidius de Vit. Anaximenis. Cl. Berigard. in Circul. Pisan. p. i. p. 10. Gerdilius alb. stadio della Religione, c. 2. Ploucquet. Diss. de Thalet. et Anaxag. Hygin. Astron. I. ii. c. 2. Weidler. Astron. c. 5. Bayle in Thal. &c.

nature and origin of things, they paid little attention to those subjects, in which the happiness of human life is immediately concerned. Too deeply engaged in profound speculations to attend to useful truths, they contented themselves with admiring virtue, and extolling virtuous actions, without taking the pains to establish the principles, and inculcate the precepts, of sound morality. The merit of correcting this error, and introducing a method of philosophising, which was happily calculated to improve the human mind, and to cherish the virtues of social life, is solely to be ascribed to Socrates; a man, whose penetrating judgment, exalted views, and liberal spirit, united with exemplary integrity, and purity of manners, have justly entitled him to that distinction, which by the unanimous suffrage of antiquity he has obtained the first place among philosophers.

SOCRATES was born at Alopece, a village near Athens, in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad.<sup>1</sup> \* His parents were of low rank. His father Sophroniscus, was a statuary: his mother Phænareta, a midwife.<sup>3</sup> Sophroniscus brought up his son, contrary to his inclination, in his own manual employment; in which Socrates, though his mind was continually aspiring after higher objects, was not unsuccessful. Whilst he was a young man, he is said to have formed statues, of the habited graces, which were allowed a place in the citadel of Athens.<sup>4</sup> Upon the death of his father, he was left with no other inheritance than the small sum of eighty *minæ*,<sup>5</sup> which through the dishonesty of a relation, to whom Sophroniscus left the charge of his affairs, he soon lost.<sup>6</sup> This laid him under the necessity of supporting himself by labour; and he continued to practise the art of statuary in Athens; at the same time, however, devoting all the leisure he could command to the study of philosophy.

Crito, a wealthy Athenian, remarking the strong propensity towards study which this young man discovered, and admiring his ingenious disposition and distinguished

<sup>1</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 18. Suidas. Arund. Marbles.

\* B. C. 469.

<sup>3</sup> Plato. Alcib. i. Theatet. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 4. Athæn. Deipn. l. v. p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> Laert. Pausan. l. i. c. 22. l. ix. c. 35.

<sup>5</sup> About 300L.

<sup>6</sup> Libanius Apol. t. i. p. 640. Laert.

abilities, generously<sup>7</sup> took him under his patronage, and entrusted him with the instruction of his children. The opportunities, which Socrates by this means enjoyed, of attending the public lectures of the most eminent philosophers, so far increased his thirst after wisdom, that he determined to relinquish his occupation, and every prospect of emolument which that might afford, in order to devote himself entirely to his favourite pursuits.<sup>8</sup> His first preceptor in philosophy was Anaxagoras. After this eminent master in the Ionic school left Athens, Socrates attached himself to Archelaus. Under these instructors he diligently prosecuted the study of nature, in the usual manner of the philosophers of the age, and became well acquainted with their doctrines. Prodicus, the sophist, was his preceptor in eloquence, Evenus in poetry, Theodorus in geometry, and Damo in music.<sup>9</sup> Aspasia, a woman no less celebrated for her intellectual than her personal accomplishments, whose house was frequented by the most celebrated characters, had also some share in the education of Socrates.<sup>10</sup>

Thus furnished with preceptors of every kind, Socrates acquired that knowledge at home, which the Greeks had hitherto sought in foreign countries, but for which, after all, they were more indebted to their own ingenuity and industry, than to the instructions of the Oriental or Egyptian priests. It cannot be reasonably doubted that, with such advantages, he became master of every kind of learning, which the age in which he lived could afford.<sup>11</sup>

With these uncommon endowments, both natural and acquired, Socrates appeared in Athens, under the respectable characters of a good citizen and a true philosopher. Being called upon by his country to take arms in the long and severe struggle between Athens and Sparta, he signaled himself at the siege of Potidæ,<sup>12</sup> both by his valour and by the hardiness with which he endured fatigue. During the severity of a Thracian winter, whilst others

<sup>7</sup> Laert. Suidas. in Critone. Max. Tyr. Diss. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Liban. ib. Ælian. Hist. l. ii. c. 43.

<sup>9</sup> Laert. Suid. Plato. in Menone. Theatet.

<sup>10</sup> Plato in Menexeno. Plut. in Pericle.

<sup>11</sup> Xen. Mem. l. iv. p. 814. Plut. Apol. Laert.

<sup>12</sup> Laert. Thucyd. l. i. p. 39.

were clad in furs, he wore only his usual clothing, and walked barefoot upon the ice.<sup>13</sup> In an engagement in which he saw Alcibiades (a young man of noble rank whom he accompanied during this expedition) falling down wounded, he advanced to defend him, and saved both him and his arms: and though the prize of valour was, on this occasion, unquestionably due to Socrates, he generously gave his vote that it might be bestowed upon Alcibiades, to encourage his rising merit.<sup>14</sup> Several years afterwards, Socrates voluntarily entered upon a military expedition against the Boeotians, during which in an unsuccessful engagement at Delium, he retired with great coolness from the field; when, observing Xenophon lying wounded upon the ground, he took him upon his shoulders, and bore him out of the reach of the enemy. Soon afterwards he went out a third time, in a military capacity, in the expedition, for the purpose of reducing Amphipolis; but this proving unsuccessful, he returned to Athens, and remained there till his death.

It was not till Socrates was upwards of sixty years of age, that he undertook to serve his country in any civil office. At that age, he was chosen to represent his own district, in the *senate of five hundred*.<sup>15</sup> In this office, though he, at first, exposed himself to some degree of ridicule from the want of experience in the forms of business, he soon convinced his colleagues, that he was superior to them all in wisdom and integrity. Whilst they, intimidated by the clamours of the populace, passed an unjust sentence of condemnation upon the commanders, who, after the engagement at the Arginusian islands, had been prevented by a storm from paying funeral honours to the dead, Socrates stood forth singly in their defence, and, to the last, refused to give his suffrage against them, declaring, that no force should compel him to act contrary to justice and the laws.<sup>16</sup> Under the subsequent tyranny, he never ceased to condemn the oppressive and cruel proceedings of the thirty tyrants; and when his boldness provoked their resentment, so that his life was in hazard, fearing neither treachery nor

<sup>13</sup> Plat. Conviv. et Phæd Plut. in. Alcib. Laert. Strabo, l. ix.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Plato. Apolog. p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Laert. ii. § 24. Xen. Mem. l. i. Hist. Græc. l. i.

violence he still continued to support, with undaunted firmness, the rights of his fellow citizens. The tyrants, probably that they might create some new ground of complaint against Socrates, sent an order to him, with several other persons, to apprehend a wealthy citizen of Salamis: the rest executed the commission; but Socrates refused, saying, that he would rather himself suffer death, than be instrumental in inflicting it unjustly upon another.<sup>17</sup>

These proofs of public virtue, both in a military and civil capacity, are sufficient to entitle the name of Socrates to a distinguished place in the catalogue of good citizens. But his first honours arise from the manner in which he supported the character of a philosopher, and discharged the duties of a moral preceptor.

Observing with regret, how much the opinions of the Athenian youth were misled, and their principles and taste corrupted, by philosophers, who spent all their time in refined speculations upon nature and the origin of things, and by sophists, who taught in their schools the arts of false eloquence and deceitful reasoning; Socrates formed the wise and generous design, of instituting a new and more useful method of instruction. He justly conceived the true end of philosophy to be, not to make an ostentatious display of superior learning and ability in subtle disputations or ingenious conjectures, but to free mankind from the dominion of pernicious prejudices; to correct their vices; to inspire them with the love of virtue, and thus conduct them in the path of wisdom to a true felicity. He therefore assumed the character of a moral philosopher; and, looking upon the whole city of Athens as his school, and all who were disposed to lend him their attention as his pupils, he seized every occasion of communicating moral wisdom to his fellow citizens. He passed his time chiefly in public. It was his custom, in the morning to visit the places made use of for walking and public exercises; at noon, to appear among the crowds in the markets or courts; and to spend the rest of the day in those parts of the city which were most frequented.<sup>18</sup> Sometimes he collected an

<sup>17</sup> Plat. Apol.

<sup>18</sup> Xen. Mem. l. i. Laert. ii. Plut. *Utrum seni gorennda resp.*

audience about him in the Lyceum, (a pleasant meadow on the border of the river Ilyssus) where he delivered a discourse from the chair, whilst his auditors were seated on benches around him. At other times he conversed, in a less formal way, with any of his fellow citizens in places of common resort, or with his friends at meals, or in their hours of amusement; thus making every place to which he came a school of virtue. Not only did young men of rank and fortune attend upon his lectures, but he sought for disciples even among mechanics and labourers.

The method of instruction, which Socrates chiefly made use of, was, to propose a series of questions to the person with whom he conversed, in order to lead him to some unforeseen conclusion. He first gained the consent of his respondent to some obvious truths, and then obliged him to admit others, from their relation, or resemblance, to those to which they had already assented. Without making use of any direct argument or persuasion, he chose to lead the person he meant to instruct, to deduce the truths of which he wished to convince him, as a necessary consequence from his own concessions.<sup>19</sup> He commonly conducted these conferences with such address, as to conceal his design, till the respondent had advanced too far to recede. On some occasions, he made use of ironical language, that vain men might be caught in their own replies, and be obliged to confess their ignorance. He never assumed the air of a morose and rigid preceptor, but communicated useful instruction with all the ease and pleasantry of polite conversation.

Socrates was not less distinguished by his modesty than by his wisdom. His discourses betray no marks of arrogance or vanity. He professed "to know only this, that he knew nothing."<sup>20</sup> In this declaration which he frequently repeated, he had no other intention, than to convince his hearers of the narrow limits of the human understanding. Nothing was farther from his thoughts, than to encourage universal scepticism: on moral subjects he always expressed himself with confidence and decision; but he was desirous of exposing to contempt the arrogance of those

<sup>19</sup> Cic. Acad. Q. I. iv. c. 5. De Invent. I. i. c. 31. De Orat. I. ii. c. 67. Quintil. Inst. I. ix. c. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Cic. Acad. Q. I. i. c. 4.

pretenders to science, who would acknowledge themselves ignorant of nothing. The truth was, that Socrates, though eminently furnished, as we have already seen, with every kind of learning, preferred moral to speculative wisdom. Convinced that philosophy is valuable, not as it furnishes questions for the schools, but as it provides men with a law of life, he censured his predecessors for spending all their time in abstruse researches into nature, and taking no pains to render themselves useful to mankind. His favourite maxim was;<sup>21</sup> whatever is above us doth not concern us. He estimated the value of knowledge by its utility, and recommended the study of geometry, astronomy, and other sciences, only so far as they admit of a practical application to the purposes of human life. His great object, in all his conferences and discourses, was to lead men into an acquaintance with themselves; to convince them of their follies and vices; to inspire them with the love of virtue; and to furnish them with useful moral instructions. Cicero might, therefore, very justly say of Socrates, that he was the first who called down philosophy from heaven to earth, and introduced her into the public walks and domestic retirements of men, that she might instruct them concerning life and manners.<sup>22</sup>

The moral lessons which Socrates taught, he himself diligently practised; whence he excelled other philosophers in personal merit, no less than in his method of instruction: His conduct was uniformly such as became a teacher of moral wisdom.

Through his whole life, this good man discovered a mind superior to the attractions of wealth and power. Contrary to the general practice of the preceptors of his time, he instructed his pupils without receiving from them any gratuity. He frequently refused rich presents, which were offered him by Alcibiades and others, though importunately urged to accept them by his wife. The chief men of Athens were his stewards: they sent him in provisions, as they apprehended he wanted them; he took what his present wants required, and returned the rest. Observing the numerous articles of luxury, which were exposed to sale in Athens,

<sup>21</sup> Xen. Mem. l. iv.

<sup>22</sup> Tusc. Disp. l. iv. Acad. Q. l. i.



he exclaimed, "How many things are there, which I do not want!" With Socrates, moderation supplied the place of wealth. In his clothing and food, he consulted only the demands of nature. He commonly appeared in a neat but plain cloak, with his feet uncovered. Though his table was only supplied with simple fare, he did not scruple to invite men of superior rank to partake of his meals. When his wife, upon some such occasion, expressed her dissatisfaction on being no better provided, he desired her to give herself no concern; for if his guests were wise men, they would be contented with whatever they found at his table; if otherwise, they were unworthy of notice. Whilst others, says he, live to eat, wise men eat to live. He found by experience, that temperance is the parent of health. It was owing to his perfect regularity in this respect, that he escaped infection in the midst of the plague, which proved so fatal to his fellow citizens.<sup>23</sup>

Socrates was a great admirer of a fair external form, as the index of a mind possessed, or at least capable of moral beauty, and conversed freely with young persons of both sexes, in order to assist their progress in wisdom and virtue: but his enemies have never been able to fix upon him the stain of incontinence. Modern calumnies, which impute to this great man vices with which he was never charged by his contemporaries, ought to be treated with universal contempt.<sup>24</sup> \*

<sup>23</sup> Xen. Mem. I. iv. Laert. I. ii. § 25—28. Cic. Tusc. Quest. I. iii. 32. v. Ælian. I. ix. c. 29. I. xiii. c. 27. 32. Senec. de Benef. I. v. c. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Max. Tyr. Diss. vii. ix. Quintil. Inst. I. viii. c. 4. Athen. I. v. 209. xiii. p. 666.

\* It is surprising that calumnies, which carry their own refutation along with them, should still be repeated as facts, "of which there is no room to doubt." A late writer (see Observer, No. 77.) speaks in this confident manner of the tales, which that literary scavenger Athæneus has swept up from the sewers of antiquity, for the purpose of besmearing characters, which mankind have for ages beheld with admiration. The writer whom Athæneus quotes in support of the infamous stories which this Essayist has retailed is Herodicus; of whom we know little but from Athæneus himself, and who appears to have been not so much an historian, as a collector of humorous tales.† Aristoxenus, from whom Diogenes Laertius (an industrious compiler, rather than a judicious biographer) borrowed one of the anecdotes told in this essay, is said by the writer to have been "a

† Vossius de Hist. Græc. I. i. c. 21.

Though Socrates was exceedingly unfortunate in his domestic connexion, he converted this infelicity into an occasion of exercising his virtues. Xantippe, concerning whose ill-humour ancient writers relate many amusing tales,<sup>25</sup> was certainly a woman of a high and unmanageable spirit. But Socrates, whilst he endeavoured to curb the violence of her temper, improved his own. When Alcibiades expressed his surprise, that his friend could bear to live in the same house with so perverse and quarrelsome a companion, Socrates replied, that being daily inured to ill-humour at home, he was the better prepared to encounter perverseness and injury abroad. After all, however, it is probable, that the infirmities of this good woman have been exaggerated, and that calumny has had some hand in finishing her picture; for Socrates himself, in a dialogue with his son Lamprocles, allows her many domestic virtues, and we find her afterwards expressing great affection for her husband, during his imprisonment.<sup>26</sup> She must have been as deficient in understanding, as she was froward in disposition, if she had

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man of the most candid character, whose credit stands high with all true critics." Of this *candid* historian Aulus Gellius † relates, that he was so highly displeased that Aristotle chose Theophrastus to succeed him in the Peripatetic chair, that he loaded the memory of his master with foul reproaches. Such obscure and doubtful authorities (to which by the way no references are made), placed in opposition to the testimony of Xenophon and Plato, and to the general voice of antiquity, will certainly have little effect in changing the established opinion concerning the character of Socrates.—We must not take our leave of this Essayist without remarking, that he has even gone beyond his author in slander, by finishing the story of the dialogue between Socrates and Critobulus in a manner, for which it will not be easy to produce any authority; and that, whilst he charges Ælian with blackening the character of Aristophanes, by accusing him of intemperance, he conceals a circumstance, related by Athæneus in his story of Socrates' debauch, that the Comic Poet was of the party. Athæneus says, § that Socrates sat up carousing with Agatho and Aristophanes; the Essayist, to save the credit of his favourite poet, says, that Socrates sat up all night carousing with Agatho and others.—After these proofs of this writer's fairness and candour, the public will judge, what right he has to hold up both Socrates and his admirers to ridicule, by calling him "decidedly the hero of all the Ciceros and declaimers upon morality."

† Noct. Att. l. iv. c. 11.

§ Deipnosoph. l. v. c. 6.

\* Laert. l. ii. Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 17. Senec. de Ira, l. iii. c. 11. Ælian. l. xi. c. 12. ix. 7. Plut. de Ira. Athen. l. v. p. 219.      \* Xen. Mem. l. ii.

not profited by the daily lessons which for twenty years she received from such a master.

In the midst of domestic vexations and public disorders, Socrates retained such an unruffled serenity, that he was never seen either to leave his own house, or to return home, with a disturbed countenance.<sup>27</sup> If, upon any occasion, he felt a propensity towards anger, he checked the rising storm by lowering the tone of his voice, and resolutely assuming a more than usual gentleness of aspect and manner. He not only refrained from acts of revenge, but triumphed over his adversaries, by despising the insults and injuries which they offered him. In all situations, as will more fully appear in the sequel, he exercised that self-command, which is founded on virtuous principles, and strengthened by reflection and habit.

In acquiring this entire dominion over his passions and appetites, Socrates had the greater merit, as it was not effected without a violent struggle against his natural propensities. Zopyrus, an eminent physiognomist, declared that he discovered, in the features of the philosopher, evident traces of many vicious inclinations. The friends of Socrates, who were present, ridiculed the ignorance of this pretender to extraordinary sagacity. But Socrates himself ingenuously acknowledged his penetration, and confessed that he was, in his natural disposition, prone to vice, but that he had subdued his inclinations by the power of reason and philosophy.<sup>28</sup>

Through the whole course of his life, Socrates gave himself up to the direction of the divine power of reason. And this is, perhaps, all that we are to understand by the genius, or demon, which is said to have from time to time given him instruction: though his disciples, who admitted the ancient doctrine of the existence of demons, or spirits of a middle order between God and man, probably from obscure or figurative expressions which he had made use of, imagined that there was, in this matter, something supernatural:<sup>29</sup> a notion which they would the more easily

<sup>27</sup> *Ælian*. l. ix. c. 7. 29. *Laert.*

<sup>28</sup> *Cic. Tusc. Q. l. v.*

<sup>29</sup> *Plut. de Genio Soc.* *Xen. Mem. l. i.* *Plato in Eutyhr.* *Apulejus de Genio Soc.* *Olearius de Genio Soc. ap. Stanley.* *Simon Crit. Hist. V. T. l. i. c. 14.*

admit, and be the more ready to propagate, as they would naturally conceive it to reflect great honour upon the memory of their master. It is possible, indeed, that Socrates himself might, in some degree, be influenced by superstitious credulity concerning this demon; for it is expressly attested, by Xenophon,<sup>30</sup> that he believed that the gods sometimes communicate to men the knowledge of future events, and that, on this principle, he encouraged the practice of divination.<sup>31</sup>

It was one of the maxims of Socrates,<sup>32</sup> "that a wise man will worship the gods according to the institutions of the state to which he belongs." He taught, however, a doctrine concerning religion much more pure and rational than that which was delivered to the people by the priests, and he reprobated the popular fables concerning the gods. Convinced of the weakness of the human understanding, and perceiving that the pride of philosophy had led his predecessors into futile speculations on the nature and origin of things, he judged it most consistent with true wisdom to speak with caution and reverence concerning the Divine nature. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt

<sup>30</sup> Mem. l. i.

<sup>31</sup> Our author seems loth to give any decisive opinion on this affair: "I had rather," says he, "suspend my judgment, than by conjecturing transgress the bounds of truth and probability; thinking it, in ancient history, of great use to perceive what those things are which cannot be known." A late writer advances a notion on this subject, which appears to merit attention. Socrates, he remarks, believed in the gods of his country, and was not free from the superstition connected with that belief; whence it may be inferred, that in the expressions usually understood to refer to his demon, he alludes only to some species of *divination*, perfectly analogous to the omens of his age and country. He called the sign, whatever it was, by means of which he supposed intimations to be communicated to him, a demon or divinity. This explanation of the matter is favoured by a passage in Plutarch's Essay on the Demon of Socrates: "How am I guilty of introducing new deities, when I say that the voice of the *Divinity* gives me notice what I shall do? All men, as well as myself, are of opinion, that the Deity foresees the future, and signifies it to whom he pleases: but the difference between us is this; they name the omens as the foretellers of what is to come; I call the same thing the Divinity, and herein speak more truly and respectfully than they who attribute to birds the power which belongs to the gods."—See Nare's Essay on the Demon of Socrates, 8vo. 1782.

<sup>32</sup> Xen. Mem. l. i.

that, whilst he did not deny the existence of inferior divinities, he acknowledged the being and providence of one Supreme Deity, and paid homage, with a pious mind, to the Sovereign Power.<sup>33</sup>

In fine, Socrates, both on account of his abilities as a moral preceptor, and on account of his personal merit, unquestionably deserves to be ranked in the first order of human beings. "The man," says Xenophon,<sup>34</sup> "whose memoirs I have written, was so pious, that he undertook nothing without asking counsel of the gods; so just, that he never did the smallest injury to any one, but rendered essential services to many; so temperate, that he never preferred pleasure to virtue; and so wise, that he was able, even in the most difficult cases, without advice, to judge what was expedient and right. He was eminently qualified to assist others by his counsel; to penetrate into men's characters; to reprehend them for their vices; and to excite them to the practice of virtue. Having found all these excellences in Socrates, I have ever esteemed him the most virtuous, and the happiest of men."

The wisdom and the virtues of this great man, whilst they procured him many followers, also created him many enemies. There were, at this time, in Athens a large body of professional preceptors of eloquence, distinguished by the appellation of Sophists. By the mere pomp of words, these men made a magnificent display of wisdom, upon a slight foundation of real knowledge: and they taught an artificial structure of language, and a false method of reasoning, by means of which they were able, in argument, to make the worse appear the better cause.<sup>35</sup> At the same time that they arrogantly assumed to themselves the merit of every kind of learning, they publicly practised the art of disputing with plausibility on either side of any question, and professed to teach this art to the Athenian youth. By these imposing pretensions, they collected, in their schools, a numerous train of young men, who followed them in hope of acquiring those talents which would give them weight and authority in popular assemblies. In such high repute were these Sophists, that they were liberally

<sup>33</sup> Xen. Mem. l. i. iv.

<sup>34</sup> Ib. l. iv. fin.

<sup>35</sup> Cic. de Orator, c. 12.

supported, not only by contributions from their pupils, but by a regular salary from the state, and were, in many instances, distinguished by public honours, and employed in offices of magistracy.<sup>36</sup>

That such systematical provision should be made for corrupting the principles and taste of the Athenian youth, was much lamented by all honest men, and particularly by Socrates,<sup>37</sup> whose good sense revolted against every idle abuse of language and pernicious perversion of reason, and whose public spirit would not suffer him to remain an inactive spectator of this growing evil. In order to dissipate the fascination which these pretenders to wisdom had spread over the minds of youth, Socrates daily employed himself, after his peculiar manner, in perplexing them with questions which were ingeniously contrived to expose their ignorance, and convince the public of their dishonesty. The result was, that the Sophists began to be deserted, and the Athenian youth to return to the love and pursuit of true wisdom. The contest, though salutary to Athens, proved, in the issue, fatal to Socrates.

The Sophists, finding their reputation and emoluments daily declining, became inveterate in their enmity against this bold reformer, and eagerly seized every occasion of exposing him to public ridicule or censure. Whilst Socrates was prosecuting his design of instructing the Athenian youth with increasing reputation and success, his enemies devised an expedient, by means of which they hoped to check the current of his popularity. They engaged Aristophanes,<sup>38</sup> the first buffoon of the age, to write a comedy, in which Socrates should be the principal character. Aristophanes, pleased with so promising an occasion of displaying his low and malignant wit, undertook the task, and produced the comedy of *The Clouds*, still extant in his works. In this piece, Socrates is introduced hanging in a basket in the air, and thence pouring forth absurdity and profaneness. The philosopher, though he seldom visited the theatre, except when the tragedies of Euripides were performed, attended the representation of

<sup>36</sup> Kriek. Diss. de Soph. Jan. 1702. Walchii Diss. Acad. p. 104. Menag. ad Laert. l. i. § 12.

<sup>37</sup> Cic. Brut. c. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Aristoph. Nubes. Ælian. Hist. Var. l. ii. c. 13. Plut. de Puer. Educ.

this play, at a time when the house was crowded with strangers, who happened to be at Athens during the celebration of a Bacchanalian festival. When the performer, who represented Socrates, appeared upon the stage, a general whisper passed along the benches on which the strangers sat, to inquire who the person was whom the poet meant to satirize. Socrates, who had taken his station in one of the most public parts of the theatre, observed this circumstance, and immediately, with great coolness, rose up to gratify the curiosity of the audience, and continued standing during the remainder of the representation. One of the spectators, astonished at the magnanimity which this action discovered, asked him whether he did not feel himself much chagrined to be thus held up to public derision. "By no means," replied Socrates; "I am only a host at a public festival, where I provide a large company with entertainment."

The Athenians, who had always a strong propensity to jealousy and detraction, foolishly suffered themselves to be amused by this infamous libel upon the first character in their city. But the seasonable confidence which Socrates discovered in his own innocence and merit, and the uniform consistency and dignity of his conduct, screened him, for the present, from the assaults of envy and malice. When Aristophanes attempted the year following to renew the piece with alterations and additions, the representation was so much discouraged, that he was obliged to discontinue it. The consequence was, that the Sophists, and other opponents of Socrates, who appear to have made use of the expedient of the theatrical representation in order to sound the inclinations of the public, chose to postpone the farther prosecution of their malignant intention to a more favourable opportunity.<sup>39</sup>

From this time, Socrates continued, for many years, to pursue without interruption his laudable design of instructing and reforming his fellow citizens. At length, however, when the inflexible integrity with which he had discharged the duty of a senator, and the firmness with which he had opposed every kind of political corruption and oppression,

<sup>39</sup> Conf. Schol. in Aristoph. Vie de Soc. par. M. Charpentier; and Stanley's Life of Soc.

both under the democracy and the oligarchy had greatly increased the number of his enemies, the conspiracy, which had long been concerted against his life, was resumed. After the dissolution of the tyranny, clandestine arts were employed to raise a general prejudice against him. The people were industriously reminded, that Critias, who had been one of the most cruel of the Thirty Tyrants, and Alcibiades, who had insulted religion by defacing the public statues of Meroury,<sup>40</sup> and performing a mock representation of the Eleusinian mysteries, had, in their youth, been disciples of Socrates.

The minds of the people being thus artfully prepared for the sequel, the enemies of Socrates preferred a direct accusation against him before the supreme court of judicature. His accusers were Anytus, a leather-dresser, who had long entertained a personal enmity against Socrates, for reprehending his avarice, in depriving his sons of the benefits of learning, that they might pursue the gains of trade; Melitus, a young rhetorician, who was capable of undertaking any thing for the sake of gain; and Lycon, who was glad of any opportunity of displaying his talents. The accusation, which was delivered to the senate under the name of Melitus, was this: "Melitus, son of Melitus, of the tribe of Pythos, accuseth Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, of the tribe of Alopece. Socrates violates the laws in not acknowledging the gods which the state acknowledges, and by introducing new divinities. He also violates the laws by corrupting the youth. Be his punishment death."<sup>41</sup>

This charge was delivered upon oath to the senate, and Crito, a friend of Socrates, became surety for his appearance on the day of trial. Anytus, soon afterwards, sent a private message to Socrates, assuring him, that if he would desist from censuring his conduct, he would withdraw his accusation. But Socrates refused to comply with so degrading a condition; and, with his usual spirit, replied, "Whilst I live I will never disguise the truth, nor speak otherwise than my duty requires." The interval between the accusation and the trial he spent in philosophical con-

<sup>40</sup> Laert. Plut. in Alcib.

<sup>41</sup> Laert. Plato in Apologia. Xen. Apol. Mem. l. iv.



versation with his friends, choosing to discourse upon any other subject rather than his own situation. Hermogenes, one of his friends, was much struck with this circumstance, and asked him, why he did not employ his time in preparing his defence: "Because," replied Socrates, "I have never in my life done any thing unjust." The eminent orator Lysias<sup>42</sup> composed an apology, in the name of his master, which he requested him to adopt; but Socrates excused himself, by saying, that, though it was eloquently written, it would not suit his character.

When the day of trial arrived, his accusers appeared in the senate, and attempted to support their charge in three distinct speeches, which strongly marked their respective character. Plato, who was a young man, and a zealous follower of Socrates, then rose up to address the judges in defence of his master: but, whilst he was attempting to apologise for his youth, he was abruptly commanded by the court to sit down. Socrates, however, needed no advocate. Ascending the chair with all the serenity of conscious innocence, and with all the dignity of superior merit, he delivered, in a firm and manly tone, an unpremeditated defence of himself, which silenced his opponents, and ought to have convinced his judges. After tracing the progress of the conspiracy which had been raised against him to its true source, the jealousy and resentment of men whose ignorance he had exposed, and whose vices he had ridiculed and reproved, he distinctly replied to the several charges brought against him by Melitus. To prove that he had not been guilty of impiety towards the gods of his country, he appealed to his frequent practice of attending the public religious festivals. The crime of introducing new divinities, with which he was charged, chiefly, as it seems, on the ground of the admonitions which he professed to have received from an invisible power, he disclaimed, that it was no new thing for men to consult the gods, and receive instructions from them. To refute the charge of his having been a corrupter of youth, he urged the example which he had uniformly exhibited of justice, moderation, and temperance, the moral spirit and tendency

<sup>42</sup> Cic. de Orat. l. i. c. 54.

of his discourses, and the effect which had actually been produced by his doctrine upon the manners of the young. Then, disdaining to solicit the mercy of his judges, he called upon them for that justice which their office and their oath obliged them to administer, and professing his faith and confidence in God, resigned himself to their pleasure.

The judges, whose prejudices would not suffer them to pay due attention to this apology, or to examine with impartiality the merits of the cause, immediately declared him guilty of the crimes of which he stood accused. Socrates, in this stage of the trial, had a right to enter his plea against the punishment which the accusers demanded, and instead of the sentence of death, to propose some pecuniary amercement. But he, at first, peremptorily refused to make any proposal of this kind; imagining that it might be construed into an acknowledgment of guilt; and asserted, that his conduct merited, from the state, reward rather than punishment. At length, however, he was prevailed upon by his friends to offer, upon their credit, a fine of thirty *minæ*. The judges, notwithstanding, still remained inexorable: they proceeded, without farther delay, to pronounce sentence upon him; and he was condemned to be put to death by the poison of hemlock. Socrates received the sentence with perfect composure, and by a smile testified his contempt both for his accusers and his judges. Then, turning to his friends, he expressed his entire satisfaction in the recollection of his past life, and declared himself firmly persuaded, that posterity would do so much justice to his memory as to believe, that he had never injured or corrupted any one, but had spent his days in serving his fellow citizens, by communicating to them, without reward, the precepts of wisdom. Conversing in this manner, he was conducted from the court to the prison, which he entered with a serene countenance and a lofty mind, amidst the lamentations of his friends.<sup>43</sup>

On the day of his condemnation, it happened that the ship which was employed to carry a customary annual offering to the island of Delos, set sail. It was contrary

<sup>43</sup> Senecæ Consol. ad Helv. c. 14.

to the law of Athens that, during this voyage, any capital punishment should be inflicted within the city. This circumstance delayed the execution of the sentence against Socrates for thirty days. So long an interval of painful expectation, however, only served to afford farther scope for the display of his constancy. When his friends were with him, he conversed with his usual cheerfulness. In their absence he amused himself with writing verses. He composed a hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and versified a fable of Æsop. His friends, still anxious to save so valuable a life, urged him to attempt his escape, or at least to permit them to convey him away; and Crito went so far as to assure him that, by his interest with the jailer, it might be easily accomplished, and to offer him a retreat in Thessaly; but Socrates rejected the proposal as a criminal violation of the laws; and asked them whether there was any place out of Attica which death could not reach.

News being, at length, brought of the return of the ship from Delos, the officers, to whose care he was committed, delivered to Socrates, early in the morning, the final order for his execution, and immediately, according to the law, set him at liberty from his bonds. His friends, who came thus early to the prison, that they might have an opportunity of conversing with their master through the day, found his wife sitting by him with a child in her arms. As soon as Xantippe saw them, she burst into tears, and said, "O Socrates, this is the last time your friends will ever speak to you, or you to them." Socrates, that the tranquillity of his last moments might not be disturbed by her unavailing lamentations, requested that she might be conducted home. With the most frantic expressions of grief, she left the prison. An interesting conversation then passed between Socrates and his friends, which chiefly turned upon the immortality of the soul. In the course of this conversation Socrates expressed his disapprobation of the practice of suicide, and assured his friends, that his chief support in his present situation was an expectation, though not unmingled with doubts, of a happy existence after death. "It would be inexcusable in me," said he, "to despise death, if I were not persuaded that it will conduct me into

the presence of the gods, who are the most righteous governors, and into the society of just and good men: but I derive confidence from the hope, that something of man remains after death, and that the condition of good men will then be much better than that of the bad." Crito afterwards asking him, in what manner he wished to be buried, Socrates replied, with a smile, "As you please, provided I do not escape out of your hands." Then, turning to the rest of his friends, he said, "Is it not strange, after all that I have said to convince you that I am going to the society of the happy, that Crito still thinks this body, which will soon be a lifeless corpse, to be Socrates? Let him dispose of my body as he pleases; but let him not, at its interment, mourn over it, as if it were Socrates."

Towards the close of the day, Socrates retired into an adjoining apartment to bathe; his friends, in the mean time, expressing to one another their grief, at the prospect of losing so excellent a father, and being left to pass the rest of their days in the solitary state of orphans. After a short interval, during which he gave some necessary instructions to his domestics, and took his last leave of his children, the attendant of the prison informed him, that the time for drinking the poison was come. The executioner, though accustomed to such scenes, shed tears as he presented the fatal cup. Socrates received it without change of countenance, or the least appearance of perturbation: then, offering up a prayer to the gods, that they would grant him a prosperous passage into the invisible world, with perfect composure he swallowed the poisonous draught. His friends around him burst into tears. Socrates alone remained unmoved. He upbraided their pusillanimity, and intreated them to exercise a manly constancy, worthy of the friends of virtue. He continued walking, till the chilling operation of the hemlock obliged him to lie down upon his bed. After remaining, for a short time, silent, he requested Crito (probably in order to refute a calumny which might prove injurious to his friends after his decease) not to neglect the offering of a cock which he had vowed to Esculapius. Then, covering himself with his cloak, he expired.\* Such

\* Vid. Xenophont. Apolog. Memor. l. iv. Platon. Apol. Critp. Phædo. Eutyphron. Laert. l. ii. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 13.

was the fate of the virtuous Socrates! A story, says Cicero, which I never read without tears.<sup>45</sup>

The friends and disciples of this illustrious teacher of wisdom were deeply afflicted by his death, and attended his funeral with every expression of grief.<sup>46</sup> Apprehensive, however, for their own safety, they, soon afterwards, privately withdrew from the city, and took up their residence in distant places. Several of them visited the philosopher Euclid, of Megara, by whom they were kindly received.<sup>47</sup>

No sooner was the unjust condemnation of Socrates known through Greece, than a general indignation was kindled in the minds of good men, who universally regretted that so distinguished an advocate for virtue should have fallen a sacrifice to jealousy and envy. The Athenians themselves, so remarkable for their caprice, who never knew the value of their great men till after their death, soon became sensible of the folly, as well as criminality, of putting to death the man who had been the chief ornament of their city, and of the age, and turned their indignation against his accusers. Melitus was condemned to death, and Anytus, to escape a similar fate, went into voluntary exile. To give a farther proof of the sincerity of their regret, the Athenians, for a while, interrupted public business; decreed a general mourning; recalled the exiled friends of Socrates; and erected a statue to his memory, in one of the most frequented parts of the city.<sup>48</sup> His death happened in the first year of the ninety-sixth<sup>49</sup> Olympiad, and in the seventieth year of his age.

Socrates left behind him nothing in writing;<sup>50</sup> but his illustrious pupils, Xenophon and Plato, have, in some measure, supplied this defect. The Memoirs of Socrates, written by Xenophon, afford, however, a much more accurate idea of the opinions of Socrates, and of his manner of teaching, than the Dialogues of Plato, who every where mixes his own conceptions and diction, and, as we shall afterwards see, those of other philosophers, with the ideas and language of his master. It is related, that when Socrates heard Plato recite his *Lysis*, he said, "How much

<sup>45</sup> Nat. D. l. iii. c. 33.

<sup>46</sup> Plut. Vit. Isocr. Suidas.

<sup>47</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 43. Plut. de Invid.

<sup>48</sup> Laert.

<sup>49</sup> B. C. 396.

<sup>50</sup> Cic. de Orat. l. iii. Plut. de Fort. Alex. Laert. l. i. § 16.

does this young man make me say, which I never conceived!" Xenophon denies that Socrates ever taught natural philosophy, or any mathematical science, and charges with misrepresentation and falsehood, those who had ascribed to him dissertations of this kind; probably referring to Plato, in whose works Socrates is introduced as discoursing upon these subjects. The truth appears to be, that the distinguishing character of Socrates was that of a moral philosopher.<sup>51</sup>

The doctrine of Socrates, concerning God and religion, was rather practical than speculative. But he did not neglect to build the structure of religious faith upon the firm foundation of an appeal to natural appearances. He taught, that the Supreme Being, though invisible, is clearly seen in his works, which at once demonstrate his existence, and his wise and benevolent providence. This point is established, with great perspicuity and force of reasoning, in his conferences with Aristodemus, and with Euthydemus. "Reflect," says he, "that your own mind directs your body by its volitions, and you must be convinced that the intelligence of the universe disposes all things according to his pleasure. Can you imagine, that your eye is capable of discerning distant objects, and that the eye of God cannot, at the same instant, see all things; or that, whilst your mind contemplates the affairs of different countries, the understanding of God cannot attend, at once, to all the affairs of the universe? Such is the nature of the Divinity, that he sees all things, hears all things, is every where present, and constantly superintends all things."<sup>52</sup> Again—"He who disposes and directs the universe, who is the source of all that is fair and good, who, amidst successive changes, preserves the course of nature unimpaired, and to whose laws all beings are subject, this Supreme Deity, though himself invisible, is manifestly seen in his magnificent operations.—Learn, then, from the things which are produced, to infer the existence of an invisible power, and to reverence the Divinity."<sup>53</sup>

Besides the one Supreme Deity, Socrates admitted the

<sup>51</sup> Cic. Tusc. Q. l. i. c. 5. Xen. Mem. l. iv. A. Gell. Noct. Att. l. xiv. c. 3. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. § 8. <sup>52</sup> Xen. Mem. l. i.

<sup>53</sup> Ib. l. iv. Cic. de Nat. D. l. ii. Plut. Plac. l. i. c. 3.

existence of beings who possess a middle station between God and man, to whose immediate agency he ascribed the ordinary *phenomena* of nature, and whom he supposed to be particularly concerned in the management of human affairs.<sup>54</sup> Hence, speaking of the gods, who take care of men, he says, "Let it suffice you, whilst you observe their works; to revere and honour the gods: and be persuaded, that this is the way in which they make themselves known; for, among all the gods, who bestow blessings upon men, there are none, who, in the distribution of their favours make themselves visible to mortals." Hence, he spoke of thunder, wind, and other agents in nature, as servants of God, and encouraged the practice of divination, under the notion, that the gods sometimes discover future events to good men.

If these opinions concerning the Supreme Being, and the subordinate divinities, be compared, there will be no difficulty in perceiving the grounds upon which Socrates, though an advocate for the existence of one sovereign power, admitted the worship of inferior divinities. Hence he declared it to be the duty of every one, in the performance of religious rites, to follow the customs of his country. At the same time he taught, that the merit of all religious offerings depends upon the character of the worshipper, and that the gods take pleasure in the sacrifices of none but the truly pious. "The man," says he, "who honours the gods according to his ability, ought to be cheerful, and hope for the greatest blessings: for, from whom may we reasonably entertain higher expectations, than from those who are most able to serve us? or how can we secure their kindness, but by pleasing them? or, how please them better, than by obedience?"<sup>55</sup>

Concerning the human soul, the opinion of Socrates, according to Xenophon, was, that it is allied to the Divine Being, not by a participation of essence, but by a similarity of nature,<sup>56</sup> that man excels all other animals in the faculty of reason, and that the existence of good men will be continued after death, in a state in which they will receive the reward of their virtue.<sup>57</sup> Although it appears that, on this latter topic, Socrates was not wholly free from uncertainty,

<sup>54</sup> Xen. Mem. l. iv.<sup>55</sup> Mem. l. iv.<sup>56</sup> Ibid.<sup>57</sup> Xen. Mem. l. i.

the consolation which he professed to derive from this source in the immediate prospect of death, leaves little room to doubt, that he entertained a real belief and expectation of immortality. The doctrine which Cicero ascribes to Socrates, on this head, is, that the human soul is a Divine principle, which, when it passes out of the body, returns to heaven; and that this passage is most easy to those who have, in this life, made the greatest progress in virtue.<sup>58</sup>

The system of morality, which Socrates made it the business of his life to teach, was raised upon the firm basis of religion. The first principles of virtuous conduct, which are common to all mankind, are, according to this excellent moralist, laws of God: and the conclusive argument by which he supports this opinion is, that no man departs from these principles with impunity. "It is frequently possible," says he, "for men to screen themselves from the penalty of human laws, but no man can be unjust, or ungrateful, without suffering for his crime: hence, I conclude, that these laws must have proceeded from a more excellent legislator than man."<sup>59</sup> Socrates taught, that true felicity is not to be derived from external possessions, but from wisdom, which consists in the knowledge and practice of virtue; that the cultivation of virtuous manners is necessarily attended with pleasure as well as profit; that the honest man alone is happy; and that it is absurd to attempt to separate things, which are in nature so closely united as virtue and interest.

But it is impossible, in detached sentences, to give the reader any tolerable idea of the moral doctrine of Socrates. We must therefore refer him, on this head, to that valuable treasure of ancient wisdom, *The Memorabilia of Socrates*; a work in which he will find his original conversations on many interesting topics, related with that beautiful simplicity, which distinguishes the writings of Xenophon.<sup>60</sup>

The followers of Socrates may be divided into three classes. The First Class consists of such as were neither philosophers by profession, nor addicted to the study of

<sup>58</sup> Lelius, c. iv.

<sup>59</sup> Mem. l. iv.

<sup>60</sup> Conf. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 417. l. iii. p. 478. l. v. p. 594. Cic. Off. l. i. c. 3. Max. Tyr. Diss. xi. Stob. Sermon. 1. 3. 28, &c. Ant. et Max. Sermon. 53, &c.



philosophy, but attended upon Socrates as a moral preceptor, for the purpose of correcting and improving their manners. Among these were several young men of the first rank in Athens, particularly Alcibiades and Critias.<sup>61</sup> In this class may also be placed the poets, Euenes and Euripides, and the orators, Lysias and Isocrates. The Second Class included all those who, after his death, became founders of particular sects; and, though they differed from each other greatly, were united under the general appellation of Socratic philosophers. These were Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaic sect; Phædo, of the Eliac; Euclid of the Megaric; Plato, of the Academic; and Antisthenes, of the Cynic; whose history will be distinctly related in the sequel of this work. The Third Class comprehends those disciples of Socrates, who, though their names are found in the catalogue of philosophers, did not institute any new sect. Among these, Xenophon, Æschines, Simon, and Cebes, have sufficient celebrity to claim some notice in the history of the Socratic School.

*Xenophon*,<sup>62</sup> an Athenian, born in the third year of the eighty-second Olympiad,<sup>63</sup> was unquestionably one of the most respectable characters among the disciples of Socrates. He strictly adhered to the principles of his master in action as well as opinion, and employed philosophy, not to furnish him with the means of ostentation, but to qualify him for the offices of public and private life. Whilst he was a youth, Socrates, struck with his external appearance, (for he regarded a fair form as a probable indication of a well-proportioned mind) determined to admit him into the number of his pupils. Meeting him by accident in a narrow passage, the philosopher put forth his staff across the path, and, stopping him, asked, where those things were to be purchased, which are necessary to human life? Xenophon appearing at a loss for a reply to this unexpected salutation, Socrates proceeded to ask him, where honest and good men were to be found? Xenophon still hesitating, Socrates said to him, "Follow me, and learn." From that time Xenophon became a disciple of Socrates,

<sup>61</sup> Xen. Mem. i. i.

<sup>62</sup> Laert. i. ii. § 49, &c. Suidas.

<sup>63</sup> B. C. 450.

and made a rapid progress in that moral wisdom, for which his master was so eminent.

Xenophon accompanied Socrates in the Peloponnesian war, and fought courageously in defence of his country.<sup>64</sup> He afterwards entered into the army of Cyrus, as a private volunteer, in his expedition against his brother. This enterprize proving unfortunate, Xenophon, after the death of Cyrus, advised his fellow soldiers, rather to trust to their own bravery, than surrender themselves to the victor, and to attempt a retreat into their own country. They listened to his advice; and, having had many proofs of his wisdom as well as courage, they gave him the command of the army, in the room of Proxenus, who had fallen in battle. In this command he acquired great glory by the prudence and firmness with which he conducted them back, through the midst of innumerable dangers, into their own country. The particulars of this memorable adventure are related by Xenophon himself, in his *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*.<sup>65</sup> After his return into Greece, he joined Agesilaus, king of Sparta, and fought with him against the Thebans in the celebrated battle of Chæronea.<sup>66</sup> The Athenians, displeased at this alliance, brought a public accusation against him, for his former conduct in engaging in the service of Cyrus, and condemned him to exile. The Spartans, upon this, took Xenophon, as an injured man, under their protection, and provided him a comfortable retreat at Scilluntes in Elea. Here, with his wife and two children, he remained several years, and passed his time in the society of his friends, and in writing those historical works which have rendered his name immortal. A war at length arose between the Spartans and Eleans; and Xenophon was obliged to retire to Lepreus, where his eldest son had settled. He afterwards removed, with his whole family, to Corinth, where, in the first year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad,<sup>67</sup> he finished his days.<sup>68</sup>

The integrity, the piety, the moderation of Xenophon, rendered him an ornament to the Socratic school, and proved how much he had profited by the precepts of his

<sup>64</sup> Strabo. l. x. p. 402.

<sup>65</sup> Cyri. Expositio, passim.

<sup>66</sup> C. Nepos in Ages. c. 1. Plut. in Ages. Xen. in Ages. Strabo, l. viii. p. 387. Laert.

<sup>67</sup> B. C. 360.

<sup>68</sup> Laert.

master. His whole military conduct discovered an admirable union of wisdom and valour. And his writings, at the same time they have afforded, to all succeeding ages, one of the most perfect models of purity, simplicity and harmony of language,<sup>69</sup> abound with sentiments truly Socratic. By his wife Phitesia Xenophon had two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus; the former of whom fell with glory in the battle of Mantinea. The news of his death arriving whilst his father was offering sacrifice, he took off the crown from his head, saying, with a sigh, "I knew that my son was mortal;" but when he was told that he had fought bravely, and died with honour, he again put on the crown, and finished the sacrifice.<sup>70</sup> His works are, *Memoirs of Socrates*; *Apology for Socrates*; *Of the Affairs of Greece*; *The Expedition of Cyrus*; *The Institution of Cyrus*; *The Banquet*; *Of Oeconomics*; *Of Tyranny*; *Praise of Agesilaus*; *Of the Republic of Athens*; *Of the Republic and Laws of Sparta*; *Of Taxes*; *Of the Office of Master of Horse*; *Of Hunting*.<sup>71</sup> *Æschines*, an Athenian of low birth, discovered an early thirst after knowledge; and, though oppressed by poverty, devoted himself to the pursuit of wisdom under the tuition of Socrates.<sup>72</sup> When he first became his disciple, he told Socrates, that the only thing with which it was in his power to present him, in acknowledgment of his kindness in instructing him, was himself. Socrates replied, that he accepted, and valued the present, but that he hoped to render it more valuable by culture. He adhered to his master with unalterable fidelity and perseverance, and enjoyed his particular friendship.

Having spent many years in Athens, without being able to rise above the poverty of his birth, he determined, after the example of Plato, and others, to visit the court of Dionysius,<sup>73</sup> the tyrant of Sicily, who was at this time, either through vanity or jealousy, a general patron of philosophers. Upon his arrival in Syracuse, though slighted, on account of his poverty, by Plato, he was introduced to the prince by Aristippus, and was liberally rewarded for his Socratic dia-

<sup>69</sup> Cic. Orat. c. 19.

<sup>70</sup> Ælian. Hist. V. l. iii. c. 7. Aul. Gell. l. xiv. c. 3. Athen. l. xi. p. 504.

<sup>71</sup> Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 72.

<sup>72</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 60. Sen. de Benef. l. i. c. 8.

<sup>73</sup> Plut. de exil. l. i. c. 14.

logues. He remained in Sicily till the expulsion of the tyrant, and then returned to Athens. Here, not daring to become a public rival of Plato or Aristippus, he taught philosophy in private, and received payment for his instructions. Afterwards, in order to provide himself with a more plentiful subsistence, he appeared as a public orator; and Demosthenes, probably because he was jealous of his abilities (for he excelled in eloquence) became his opponent. Besides orations and epistles, Æschines wrote seven Socratic dialogues in the true spirit of his master, on temperance, moderation, humanity, integrity, and other virtues. Of these only three are extant.<sup>74</sup>

*Simon*, another disciple of Socrates, was by occupation a leather-dresser in Athens. His shop being frequently visited by Socrates and his friends, he wrote down many conversations which passed in his hearing, and afterwards made them public. He is said to have been the first who published Socratic dialogues; but none of his pieces are extant. So much value did this man set upon freedom of inquiry, that when Pericles invited him to reside with him; under the promise of an ample recompense, he refused, saying, that he would not sell the liberty of speaking his mind at any price.<sup>75</sup>

The name of *Cebes*, a Theban, deserves to be mentioned, on account of his beautiful allegory, entitled, *A Picture of Human Life*. This piece, which is still extant, in its moral spirit and character is truly Socratic, but contains some sentiments, which appear to have been borrowed from the Pythagorean school.<sup>76</sup>

About this time flourished *Timon of Athens*, so famous for the whimsical severity of his temper, and his hatred of mankind.<sup>77</sup> His character has given birth to many humorous pieces.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Ed. Clerici Amstelod. 1711. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 785.

<sup>75</sup> Laert. l. ii. §. 122. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 734.

<sup>76</sup> Laert. ii. §. 125. Suidas. Plato in Phæd.

<sup>77</sup> Laert. l. ix. §. 112. Suidas. Plut. in Anton. et Alcib. Cic. Tusq. Q. l. iv. c. 2. Plin. Hist. N. l. vii. c. 19. Lucian in Timon.

<sup>78</sup> Widdend. Jons. de Script. Hist. Ph. l. i. c. 2. 14. 18. Clerici Sylva Phil. c. 3. Boerner Menzer Diss. de Socrate. La Vie de Socr. par M. Charpentier. Cooper's Life of Socrates. Fraquier. Diss. de Socr. ap. Mem. Acad. Inscript. t. vi. Potter's Arch. l. i. c. 9. Petav. Rat. Temp.

## CHAP. V.

## OF THE CYRENAIC SECT.

FROM the school of Socrates many sects arose, who, though they held opinions essentially different from each other, and though most of them deviated widely from the simplicity of their master's doctrine, nevertheless affected to call themselves Socratic philosophers.<sup>1</sup> Of these some were of short duration and little note; others obtained great distinction and permanency, and afterwards spread into new branches. The inferior sects in the IONIC succession were the *Cyrenaic*, the *Megaric*, and the *Eliac* or *Eretriac*. Those of higher celebrity were the *Academic*, and the *Cynic*, from which latter arose the *Peripatetic*, and the *Stoic*.

The *Cyrenaic Sect* was founded by Aristippus, and derived its name from his native city, Cyrene in Africa.

Of the descent and early education of *Aristippus* little is known: but, that his father was a man of some distinction, may be conjectured from his having sent his son to the Olympic games, and supported him at Athens, as a pupil of Socrates.<sup>2</sup> This would also be confirmed by the incident to which Horace alludes, when he says:<sup>3</sup>

Quid simile isti

Græcus Aristippus? qui servos projicere aurum

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p. i. l. iii. c. 8. Eschenbach. de Sympos. Sap. Diss. Ac. v. Prideaux Hist. v. i. p. 511. Theodoret. Therapeut. l. xii. Salv. de Gub. Dei. l. vii. Tertull. Apol. Le Clerc. Bib. Ch. t. 22. p. 426. Cleric. Log. p. iv. c. 9. Crouz. p. iv. c. 7. Perraltii Parall. des Anc. et des Mod. t. iv. p. 139. Heuman. Act. Ph. v. i. p. 473. Murat. Orat. p. 381. Lipsil. Mannud. Stoic. Diss. 18. Parker de Deo. Disp. 4. Casaubon de Enthus. Heinsii Orat. de Socr. Huet. de la Foiblesse, &c. l. i. c. 4. Reiman. Hist. Ath. c. 21. Cudworth. c. iv. § 23. Zimmerm. Amoen. Lit. t. xi. p. 122. Rep. des Lett. t. vi. p. 186. Vavasar de Ludic. Dict. Op. p. 8. Basnage Hist. des Juifs, t. iii. c. 20. Olearius de Genio. Soc. apud Stanley. Hist. Phil. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. viii. c. 14. Naudæi Apol. Mag. c. 13. N. Kreigh Diss. de Elog. Soph. Jen. 1702. Mornæus de Ver. Rel. c. 33. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 5. Stollii Hist. Ph. Mor. Gent. § 48. Mascardi Diss. Mor. in Cebetis Tab. De Timon. Misc. Lips. t. iii. Obs. 57.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. de Oratore, l. iii. c. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 65, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Sat. 2. iii. 90.

In media jussit Lybia, quia tardius irent  
Propter onus segnes, &c.<sup>4</sup>

Were it credible, that a man who was always fond of wealth and splendour, should order his servant, on a journey, to throw away his money, in order to lighten his burden. Whilst Aristippus was attending the Olympic games, he heard the reports concerning the wisdom of Socrates,<sup>5</sup> which inspired him with an impatient desire of becoming one of his disciples, and immediately took up his residence in Athens. On his first arrival, he made Socrates an offer of money, as a gratuity for the privilege of attending his instructions; but the philosopher, after his usual manner, refused it. Admitted among the number of his followers, Aristippus discovered such marks of ability, and made so rapid a progress in knowledge, that he was, for some time, esteemed one of the chief ornaments of the Socratic school, and raised no small degree of envy among his fellow disciples. But his mind was too frivolous, and probably his education had been too luxurious to permit him heartily to adopt the principles, and imbibe the spirit of his master. After a long period of restraint, his natural temper, or early habits, prevailed, and he discovered a fondness for exterior ornament, and effeminate indulgence, which gave much offence to Socrates and his friends. This propensity in Aristippus, and his master's earnest desire to correct it, are illustrated in a beautiful dialogue reserved by Xenophon.<sup>6</sup> The freedom of his manners, at length became so displeasing to the sect with which he was connected, that he was obliged to withdraw from Athens.

Aristippus now visited the island of Ægina, and there met with the celebrated Lais,<sup>7</sup> whom he accompanied to Corinth. A storm arising on his passage thither, which somewhat disconcerted him, one of the crew said to him, "Why are you philosophers afraid, when we illiterate seamen fear nothing?" "Because," replied Aristippus, "we

<sup>4</sup> When Aristippus on the Lybian waste  
Commands his slaves, because it stay'd their haste,  
To throw away his gold, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. de Curiositate.

<sup>6</sup> Mem. l. ii.

<sup>7</sup> Cic. Ep. Fam. ix. 26. Athæn. l. v. p. 216. xii. p. 554. xiii. p. 599.

have more to lose.”<sup>8</sup> In his way from Corinth to Asia, he was shipwrecked upon the island of Rhodes. Accidentally observing, as he came on shore, a geometrical diagram drawn upon the sand, he said to his companions, “Take courage, I see the footsteps of men.”<sup>9</sup> When they arrived at the principal town of the island, the philosopher soon found means to engage the attention of the inhabitants, and procured an hospitable reception for himself and his fellow travellers: a fact which confirms one of this philosopher’s aphorisms—If you ask what advantage a man of learning has above one who is illiterate, send them together among strangers, and you will see.

After some interval, we find Aristippus in the court of Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily. Here he incurred much odium from Plato and other philosophers, by countenancing the luxury and vanity of the prince. He possessed a versatility of disposition, and politeness of manners, which, whilst they enabled him to accommodate himself to every situation—

*Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res—*<sup>10</sup> \*

eminently qualified him for the easy gaiety of a court. Perfectly free from the reserve and haughtiness of the preceptorial chair, he ridiculed the singularities which were affected by other philosophers, particularly the stately gravity of Plato, and the rigid abstinence of Diogenes.<sup>11</sup> On a public festival he appeared in a rich and splendid dress, and conversed and danced like a courtier. These captivating manners, united with a wonderful power of managing the humours of the tyrant, gave him the command of the royal favour. The rest of the philosophers, who found themselves counteracted in their attempts to subdue the stubborn mind of Dionysius to the severity of their discipline, and who were, perhaps secretly mortified by neglect,

<sup>8</sup> Aul. Gell. l. xix. c. 1. Ælian Hist. Var. l. ix. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Laert. Vitruv. Archit. l. vi. Galen in Protrept. c. 5. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. p. 298.

<sup>10</sup> Plut. in Dione. Suidas. Hor. Ep. l. xvii. 23.

\* Yet Aristippus every dress became,  
In every various state of life the same.

<sup>11</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 62. 7.

beheld this rising favourite with envy. Although it is impossible wholly to exculpate Aristippus from the charge of libertinism, it seems not unreasonable to impute to the jealousy of rivalry many of those tales, to the discredit of this philosopher, which have been so industriously propagated both by ancient and modern writers.

There can be little doubt, that before the expulsion of Dionysius, Aristippus, with the rest of the philosophers, left Syracuse. Æschines, who had remained in Sicily till after the exile of the tyrant, upon his return to Athens, found him teaching in this seat of the muses.<sup>12</sup> But how long he remained in Greece; whether he ever returned into his own country, in what manner, and when he died; are circumstances concerning which we have, at this day, no certain information.

The particulars, which have been related, may suffice to afford us some idea of the character of Aristippus. If his natural disposition leaned more strongly towards pleasure than was consistent with the strictness of Socratic morals, he must nevertheless be allowed the credit of elegant manners, a thirst after knowledge, ready wit, and an ingenuous temper. Of this latter quality we have an example, in the manner in which he reconciled himself to his friend Æschines, who had offended him. In the midst of a dispute between them, which was growing violent, "Let us give over," said he, "and be friends, before we make ourselves the talk of servants: we have quarrelled, it is true; but I, as your senior, have a right to claim the precedence in the reconciliation." Æschines accepted the generous proposal, and acknowledged his superior merit. The following repartees may deserve to be selected from many others, as specimens of this philosopher's ingenuity.

In reply to the inquiry of Dionysius, why he visited his court, Aristippus said, "To give what I have, and to receive what I have not." His friend Polyxenus happening to call upon him when great preparations were making for an entertainment, entered into a long discourse against luxury: Aristippus grew tired with his harangue, and invited him to stay and sup with him; Polyxenus accepted

<sup>12</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 62.



the invitation: "I perceive, then," said Aristippus, "it is not the luxury of my table that offends you, but the expense." To one who was boasting of his skill and activity in swimming he said, "Are you not ashamed to value yourself upon that which every dolphin can do better?" When he was asked what he had gained by philosophy? he replied, "a capacity of conversing, without embarrassment, with all classes of men." A wealthy citizen complaining that Aristippus, in requiring five hundred drachmas for the instruction of his son, had demanded as much as would purchase a slave; "Purchase one, then, with the money," said the philosopher, "and you will be master of two."<sup>13</sup>

Several maxims are ascribed to Aristippus, which are not unworthy of the Socratic school; for example, If there were no laws, a wise man would live honestly. It is better to be poor than illiterate; for the poor man only wants money, the illiterate want the distinguishing characters of human nature. The houses of the wealthy are frequented by philosophers, for the same reason for which those of the sick are frequented by physicians. The truly learned are not they who read much, but they who read what is useful. Young people should be taught those things, which will be useful to them when they become men.<sup>14</sup>

Aristippus, however, did not uniformly adhere to the excellent model upon which these maxims were framed.

From the imperfect accounts which remain of his doctrine, it appears that he was eminently the preceptor of pleasure. He agreed with Socrates, in dismissing, as wholly unprofitable, all those speculations which have no connexion with the conduct of life. He compared those philosophers who neglected moral science, in the pursuit of that which is purely speculative, to Penelope's suitors, who preferred the handmaid to the mistress.<sup>15</sup> The distinguishing tenets of his system, as far as they can be collected from the casual, and perhaps unfair representations of prejudiced contemporaries, and from the adulterated and vague reports of later writers, are as follows:

Perceptions alone are certain; of the external objects

<sup>13</sup> Laert.<sup>14</sup> Ibid.<sup>15</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 79, 80. Arist. Met. l. ii. c. 21.

which produce them we know nothing. No one can be assured that the perception excited in his mind by any external object is similar to that which is excited by the same object in the mind of another person.<sup>16</sup> Human nature is subject to two contrary affections, pain and pleasure, the one a harsh, the other a gentle emotion. The emotions of pleasure, though they may differ in degree, or in the object which excites them, are the same in all animals, and universally create desire. Those of pain are, in like manner, essentially the same, and universally create aversion. Happiness consists not in tranquillity or indolence, but in a pleasing agitation of the mind, or active enjoyment. Pleasure is the ultimate object of human pursuit; it is only in subserviency to this, that fame, friendship, and even virtue, are to be desired. All crimes are venial, because never committed but through the immediate impulse of passion. Nothing is just or unjust by nature, but by custom and law. The business of philosophy is to regulate the senses in that manner which will render them most productive of pleasure. Since pleasure is to be derived, not from the past or the future, but the present, a wise man will take care to enjoy the present hour, and will be indifferent to life or death.<sup>17</sup>

It would have been wonderful if so indulgent a system of morals had not obtained some admirers: but it would have been more wonderful, if a system which only provided for the gratification of the senses and the selfish passions, and left human nature destitute of its noblest ornaments and highest pleasures, had not soon fallen into the contempt which it deserved.

After the death of Aristippus, his doctrine was professed and taught by his daughter *Arete*, a woman of learning and ability, sufficient to give her a place in the catalogue of philosophers.<sup>18</sup>

Among the more eminent disciples of this school was

<sup>16</sup> Sextus Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. § 191. Cic. in Lucullo, c. 7. Acad. Q. l. iv. c. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 92—5. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 71. l. v. c. 129. Tuss. Q. l. iii. c. 13. ii. c. 6. De Offic. iii. 33. Athæn. l. xii. p. 644. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xiv. § 6.

<sup>18</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 86. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iv. p. 523.

**Hegesias.** His temper was too gloomy to find enjoyment upon his master's plan, and his principles furnished him with no other sources of happiness. He was so thoroughly dissatisfied with life, that he thought it the only concern of man to avoid misery, and wrote a book to prove, that death, as the cure of all evil, is the greatest good. Hence he obtained the appellation of *πρωτόθνατος*, the advocate for death.<sup>19</sup>\*

Another follower of Aristippus was *Anicerris*, a Cyrenian. He so far receded from the doctrine of his master, as to acknowledge the merit of filial piety, friendship, and patriotism, and to allow that a wise man might retain the possession of himself in the midst of external troubles; but he inherited so much of his frivolous taste, as to value himself upon the most trivial accomplishments, particularly upon his dexterity in being able to drive a chariot twice round a course in the same ring.<sup>20</sup>

*Theodorus*, a disciple of Anicerris, for the freedom with which he spoke concerning the gods, was stigmatized with the name of Atheist, and banished from Cyrene.<sup>21</sup> He took refuge in Athens; but his impiety would here have proved fatal to him, had not Demetrius Phalereus, who at that time had great influence over the Athenians, interposed in his favour. Under his protection he gained access to the court of Ptolemy Lagis. Venturing, after a long interval, to return to Athens, it is related, that he suffered death by hemlock; but whether his offence was, in reality, atheism, or whether it was merely contempt of the Grecian superstitions, has been much disputed. Sextus Empiricus<sup>22</sup> joins Theodorus with Eumerus, and others, who maintained that they who were esteemed gods, were men, who had possessed great power on earth: and Clemens Alex-

<sup>19</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 94, 5. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 84. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 9.

\* The passage of Laertius here referred to, is manifestly corrupted. The words, *τὴν τε ζωὴν καὶ τὸν δὲ θάνατον αἰσχροῦ*, "death and life are equally eligible"—are inconsistent with what is just before said of Hegesias. Casaubon ingeniously connects the words, *τὴν τε ζωὴν*, with the preceding clause, and reads the passage thus: *ὥστε ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν εὐτυχίας τῇ δὲ ζωῇ τὸν δὲ θάνατον αἰσχροῦ*, "Since there is no real happiness in life, death is to be preferred."

<sup>20</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 87. Suidas in Anicerr.

<sup>21</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 98—102. Suidas. Bayle. <sup>22</sup> Adv. Math. l. ix. § 51.

andrinus<sup>23</sup> expresses his surprise that Eumerus, Nicanor, Diagoras, Theodorus, and others, who had lived virtuously, should be pronounced atheists for their opposition to gentile polytheism.<sup>24</sup> If these testimonies be not sufficient to remove all suspicion of atheism from the character of Theodorus, it may at least serve to prevent any positive decision against him. The same remark may be applied to Eumerus, who flourished in the time of Cassander the Younger, king of Macedonia, concerning whom it is related, that he undertook long journies in order to ascertain the places of the death and burial of the gods, and particularly that, in the island of Panchaia, in the Southern Ocean, he saw a pillar dedicated to Jupiter Triphylus, on which the memorable actions of that deity were inscribed.<sup>25</sup>

Among the followers of Theodorus was *Bion*, of Borys-thenes, a man of low extraction. When young, he was sold as a slave to an orator, who afterwards gave him his freedom, and left him large possessions. Upon this he went to Athens, and applied himself to the study of philosophy. He had several preceptors; but chiefly attached himself to the doctrine of Theodorus, for which he was a professed advocate. He flourished about the one hundred and twentieth Olympiad.<sup>26</sup>

The short duration of the Cyrenaic sect, was owing, in part, to the remote distance of Cyrene from Greece, the chief seat of learning and philosophy; in part, to the unbounded latitude, which these philosophers allowed themselves in practice as well as opinion; and in part, to the rise of the Epicurean sect, which taught the doctrine of pleasure in a more philosophical form.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Protrept. p. 24.

<sup>24</sup> Conf. Lactant. l. i. c. 12. Minuc. Fel. Oct. c. 8. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 14. Plut. Plac. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>25</sup> Clp. de Nat. D. l. 42. Plut. de Is. et Os. Euseb. Prep. l. ii. Clem. Al. loc. cit. <sup>26</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 46—51. <sup>27</sup> B. C. 300.

<sup>27</sup> Vidend. Menzii Aristippi Vet. Hal. 1719. Thomasii Introd. in Phil. Rat. c. vi. § 60. Parker de Deo. Diss. p. 1. 8. Buddæus de Sceptic. Mor. § 9. Themistii Orat. 21. Voss. de Idol. Gent. l. i. c. 1. Reiman. Hist. Ath. c. 24. Mourges Plan. de Pyth. t. i. c. 3. Gassend. Synt. Ph. Epic. p. ii. § 1. c. 3. Stollii Hist. Ph. Mor. § 55. Buddæi Thes. de Atheism. c. 1. § 17. Zimmerman. Epist. ad Nonn. ap. Musæum. Hist. Brem. v. i. Voss. Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 11. Wowerius de Polymathia. Bayle in Aristipp. &c.

## CHAP. VI.

## OF THE MEGARIC OR ERISTIC SECT.

THE second sect, which sprung from the school of Socrates, was that which was instituted by Euclid of Megara, called from the place which gave birth to its founder, the Megaric sect, and from its disputatious character, the Eristic. It had also the appellation of Dialectic; not because it gave rise to dialectics or logical debates, which had before this time exercised the ingenuity of philosophers, particularly in the Eleatic school; but because the discourses and writings of this class of philosophers commonly took the form of dialogue.<sup>1</sup>

*Euclid of Megara*,<sup>2</sup> endued by nature with a subtle and penetrating genius, early applied himself to the study of philosophy. The writings of Parmenides first taught him the art of disputation. Hearing of the fame of Socrates, Euclid determined to attend upon his instructions, and for this purpose removed from Megara to Athens. Here he long remained a constant hearer, and zealous disciple, of the Moral Philosopher. And when, in consequence of the enmity which subsisted between the Athenians and Megarians, a decree was passed by the former, that any inhabitant of Megara, who should be seen in Athens, should forfeit his life, he frequently came to Athens by night, from the distance of about twenty miles, concealed in a long female cloak and veil, to visit his master.<sup>3</sup> Not finding his natural propensity to disputation sufficiently gratified in the tranquil method of philosophising adopted by Socrates, he frequently engaged in the business and disputes of the civil courts. Socrates, who despised forensic contests, expressed some dissatisfaction with his pupil for indulging a fondness for controversy.<sup>4</sup> This circumstance probably proved the occasion of a separation between Euclid and his master; for we find him, after this time, at the head of a school

<sup>1</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 106. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Laert. ib. Cic. Qu. Acad. l. iv. c. 42. Suidas.

<sup>3</sup> Aul. Gel. Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 30.

in Megara,<sup>5</sup> in which his chief employment was, to teach the art of disputation. Debates were conducted with so much vehemence among his pupils, that Timon said of Euclid, that he had carried the madness of contention from Athens to Megara.<sup>6</sup> That he was, however, capable of commanding his temper, appears from his reply to his brother, who in a quarrel had said, "Let me perish if I be not revenged on you:" "And let *me* perish," returned Euclid, "if I do not subdue your resentment by forbearance, and make you love me as much as ever."<sup>7</sup> His kind reception of the disciples of Socrates, after the death of their master, has been already noticed. Euclid of Megara is not to be confounded with Euclid the mathematician, who flourished at a later period under Ptolemy Lagus, and died in the hundred and twenty-third Olympiad.<sup>8 \*</sup>

In disputation Euclid was averse to the analogical method of reasoning, and judged that legitimate argumentation consists in deducing fair conclusions from acknowledged premises.<sup>9</sup> He held, that there is one supreme good, which he called by the different names of Intelligence, Providence, God; and that evil, considered as an opposite principle to the sovereign good, has no physical existence. The supreme good, according to Cicero, he defined to be, that which is always the same. In this doctrine, in which he followed the subtlety of Parmenides rather than the simplicity of Socrates, he seems to have considered good abstractedly, as residing in the Deity, and to have maintained, that all things which exist are good by their participation of their first good, and consequently, that there is, in the nature of things, no real evil.—It is said, that when Euclid was asked his opinion concerning the gods, he replied, "I know nothing more of them than this, that they hate inquisitive persons."<sup>10</sup> If this apophthegm be justly ascribed to Euclid, it may serve to prove, either that he had learned from the precepts of Socrates, to think soberly and respectfully concerning the Divine Nature, or that the fate of that good man had taught him caution in declaring his opinions.

Euclid was succeeded in the Megaric school by *Eubuli-*

<sup>5</sup> Laert. l. iii. § 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. l. vi. § 22.

<sup>7</sup> Plut. de Amic. Frat.

<sup>8</sup> Fabric. Gr. v. ii. p. 369.

<sup>\*</sup> B. C. 283.

<sup>9</sup> Laert. Cic. Qu. Ac. l. iv. c. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Anton. et Maxim. Serm. 37.

As of *Milotes*.<sup>11</sup> He was a strenuous opponent of Aristotle, and seized every occasion of censuring his writings and calumniating his character. He introduced new subtleties into the art of disputation, several of which, though often mentioned as examples of great ingenuity, deserve only to be remembered as proofs of egregious trifling. Of these sophistical modes of reasoning, called by Aristotle Eristic syllogisms, a few examples may suffice.<sup>12</sup> 1. Of the sophism, called from the example, *The Lying*: if, when you speak the truth, you say, you lie, you lie: but you say you lie, when you speak the truth; therefore, in speaking the truth, you lie. 2. *The Occult*. Do you know your father? Yes. Do you know this man who is veiled? No. Then you do not know your father; for it is your father who is veiled. 3. *Electra*. Electra, the daughter of Agamemnon, knew her brother, and did not know him: she knew Orestes to be her brother, but she did not know that person to be her brother who was conversing with her. 4. *Sorites*. Is one grain a heap? No. Two grains? No. Three grains? No. Go on, adding one by one; and, if one grain be not a heap, it will be impossible to say, what number of grains make a heap.<sup>13</sup> 5. *The Horned*. You have what you have not lost; you have not lost horns; therefore you have horns. In such high repute were these silly inventions for perplexing plain truth, that Chrysippus wrote six books upon the first of these sophisms; and Philotas, a Choan, died of a consumption, which he contracted by the close study which he bestowed upon it.<sup>14</sup> The inscription upon his tomb was, 'Ο ψευδόμενος, "The deceived." A serious attempt to expose the futility of these disputes would now be justly deemed an idle waste of time and words.

Another disciple of the same school was *Diodorus* of Caria, a great adept in this kind of verbal combat.<sup>15</sup> A dialectic question was proposed to him, in the presence of Ptolemy Soter (for such at that time was the amusement of

<sup>11</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 108, &c.

<sup>12</sup> Laert. Athæn. l. viii. Cic. de Div. l. ii. c. 4. Qu. Ac. l. iv. c. 30. vi. c. 6. Lucian. in Vit. Auct. A. Gel. l. xvi. c. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 196. Athæn. l. ix. 403. Suidas in Philotas.

<sup>14</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 111. Sext. Emp. adv. Log. ii. 116.

princes) by Stilpo, another of this ingenious fraternity. He acknowledged himself incapable of giving an immediate answer, and requested *time* for the solution. The king ridiculed his want of ingenuity, and gave him the surname of Chronus. Mortified at this defeat, he retired from the entertainment, wrote a book upon the question, and at last, foolishly enough! died of vexation. This Diodorus is said to have invented the famous argument against motion:<sup>16</sup> if any body be moved, it is either moved in the place where it is, or in a place where it is not: therefore there is no such thing as motion. Diodorus, after the invention of this wonderful argument, was very properly repaid for his ingenuity. Having had the misfortune to dislocate his shoulder, the surgeon, whom he sent for to replace it, kept him some time in torture, whilst he proved to him, from his own method of reasoning, that the bone could not have *moved* out of its place. Diodorus has been ranked among the atomic philosophers, because he held the doctrine of small indivisible bodies, infinite in number, but finite in magnitude: but it does not appear that he conceived the idea which distinguishes the atomic doctrine, as it was taught by Democritus and others, that the first atoms are destitute of all properties except extension and figure.<sup>17</sup>

Stilpo of Megara,<sup>18</sup> who lived about the time of Ptolemy Energetes, is not only celebrated for his eloquence and skill in dialectics, but for the success with which he applied the moral precepts of philosophy to the correction of his natural propensities. Though in his youth he had been much addicted to intemperance and licentious pleasure, after he had ranked himself among philosophers, he was never known to violate the laws of sobriety or chastity.<sup>19</sup> With respect to riches, he exercised a virtuous moderation. When Ptolemy Soter, at the taking of Megara, presented him with a large sum of money, and requested him to accompany him into Egypt, he returned the greater part of the present, and chose to retire during Ptolemy's stay at Me-

<sup>16</sup> Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. ii. c. 22. § 142. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Cic. Ac. Q. l. iv. c. 47. Arrian Diss. Epict. l. ii. c. 19. Mosheim in Cudworth, c. 1. p. 22.

<sup>18</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 113—119. Suidas.

<sup>19</sup> Cic. de Fato, c. 5. Plut. adv. Colot. Sen. Ep. 9. De Constant c. 5. Athæn. l. x. p. 422. l. xiii. p. 496.



gara, to the island of Ægina. Afterwards, when Megara was again taken by Demetrius,<sup>20</sup> son of Antigonus, the conqueror ordered the soldiers to spare the house of Stilpo, and, if any thing should be taken from him in the hurry of the plunder, to restore it. The philosopher being required to give an account of any effects which he had lost, he replied, that he had lost nothing; for no one could take from him his learning and eloquence. At the same time he won the affections of the conqueror, by the pathetic manner in which he recommended to him the exercise of humanity. So great was the fame of Stilpo, that, when he visited Athens, the people ran out of their shops to see him, and even the most eminent philosophers of Athens took pleasure in attending upon his discourses.

The peculiar doctrines of Stilpo were, that species, or universals, have no real existence, and that one thing cannot be predicated or asserted of another.<sup>21</sup> He maintained, that in using, for example, the word *man* as an universal term, we speak of nothing; for the term neither signifies this man nor that man, nor applies to any one man more than another. The doctrine which he held upon this subject, was probably the same which was afterwards, in the scholastic ages, maintained with so much acrimony by the nominalists. To prove that one thing cannot be predicated of another, he said that *goodness* and *man*, for instance, are different things, which cannot be confounded by asserting the one to be the other: he argued farther, that goodness is an universal, and universals have no real existence, consequently, since nothing can be predicated of any thing, goodness cannot be predicated of man. Thus whilst this subtle logician was, through his whole argument, predicating one thing of another, he denied that any one thing could be the accident or predicate of another. If Stilpo was serious in this reasoning; if he meant any thing more than to expose the sophistry of the schools; he must be confessed to have been an eminent master of the art of wrangling; and it was not wholly without reason, that Glycera, a celebrated courtesan, when she was reproved by Stilpo, as a corruptor of youth, replied, that the charge might be justly

<sup>20</sup> Plut. in Demet. et de Tranquil. Animi. <sup>21</sup> Laert. ibid. Senec. Ep. 9.

retorted upon him, who spent his time in filling their heads with sophistical quibbles and useless subtleties.

On moral topics, Stilpo is said to have taught, that the highest felicity consists in a mind free from the dominion of passion; a doctrine similar to that of the Stoics.

In reply to a question which Crates proposed to this philosopher, whether the gods take pleasure in the honours which are paid them by mortals? he said, "You fool, do not question me upon this subject in the public street, but when we are alone." From this circumstance, and from the freedom with which he is said to have ridiculed the statue of Minerva, it may be concluded that Stilpo had little reverence for the Athenian superstitions:<sup>22</sup> but there is no proof of his infidelity, with respect to the existence of a Supreme Divinity.<sup>23</sup>

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## CHAP. VII.

### OF THE ELIAC AND ERETIRIAC SCHOOL.

**THE** Eliac school, as far as we can at present learn, appears to have adhered so closely to the doctrine of Socrates, that it is scarcely to be considered as a separate sect. It is certain, however, that *Phædo*<sup>1</sup> of Elis established a distinct school of philosophy, which took its name from the place of his birth. He was descended from an illustrious family; but had the misfortune, early in life, to be deprived of his patrimony, and sold as a slave at Athens. It happened that Socrates, as he passed by the house where he lived, remarked in his countenance traces of an ingenuous mind, which induced him to persuade one of his friends, Alcibiades, or Crito, to redeem him. From that time, Phædo applied himself diligently to the study of moral philosophy under Socrates; and to the last, adhered to his

<sup>22</sup> Athen. l. x. p. 422.

<sup>23</sup> Vidend. Jonsii, Script. Hist. Ph. l. ii. c. 1. Stoll. Hist. Mor. § 67. Gassend. in Log. Op. t. i. p. 40. Walchii Hist. Log. § 3. Parerg. Acad. p. 498. Rapin Reflexions sur la Philosophie, § 28. Cudworth, c. 1. cum Mosh. Not. Lipsii. Manud. l. iii. c. 7. Bayle.

<sup>1</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 106. A. Gell. l. ii. c. 18. Suidas. Origen. cont. Cels. l. i. p. 51. l. iii. p. 154.

master with the most affectionate attachment. He instituted a school at Elis, after the Socratic model; which was continued by Plistanus, an Elian, and afterwards by Menedemus of Eretria.

*Menedemus*,<sup>2</sup> though well descended, was obliged through poverty to submit to the manual employment of a house-builder. He formed an early intimacy with Asclepiades, a Phliasian, who was a fellow-labourer with him in his humble occupation. Having minds more formed for study than for labour, they determined to devote themselves to the pursuit of philosophy. For this purpose, they left their native country, and went to Athens, where Plato then presided in the Academy. It was soon observed, that these strangers had no visible means of subsistence; and, according to a law of Solon, they were cited before the court of Areopagus, to give an account of the manner in which they were supported. The master of one of the public prisons was, at their request, sent for, and attested that, every night, these two youths went among the criminals, and, by grinding with them, earned two drachmas, which enabled them to spend the day in the study of philosophy. The magistrates, struck with admiration at such an extraordinary proof of an indefatigable thirst after knowledge, dismissed them with high applause, and presented them with two hundred drachmas.<sup>3</sup> They met with several other friends who liberally supplied them with whatever was necessary to enable them to prosecute their studies.

By the advice of his friend, and probably in his society, Menedemus went from Athens to Megara, to attend upon the instructions of Stilpo. He expressed his approbation of the manner in which this philosopher taught, by giving him the appellation of The Liberal. He next visited Elis, where he became a disciple of Phædo, and afterwards his successor. Transferring the Eliac school from Elis to his native city, he gave it the name of Eretrian. In his school he neglected those forms which were commonly observed in places of this kind; his hearers were not, as usual, placed on circular benches around him; but every one at-

<sup>2</sup> Laert. l. ii. § 125—140.

<sup>3</sup> Athen. l. iv. p. 168.

\* About six pounds.

tended him in whatever posture he pleased, standing, walking, or sitting.

At first Menedemus was received by the Eretrians with contempt; and, on account of the vehemence with which he disputed, he was often branded with the appellations of cur and madman. But afterwards he rose into high esteem, and was entrusted with a public office, to which was annexed an annual stipend of two hundred talents. He discharged the trust with fidelity, but accepted only a fourth part of the appointment. On several successive embassies to Ptolemy, Lysander, and Demetrius, he rendered his countrymen essential services, by obtaining a diminution of their tribute, and rescuing them from other burdens. Antigonus entertained a personal respect for him, and professed himself one of his disciples. His intimacy with this prince created a suspicion amongst his countrymen, that he had a secret intention to betray their city into his hands. To escape the hazards arising from their jealousy, he retired to Oropus in Boeotia, and afterwards fled to Antigonus, where mortification and disappointment soon put a period to his life. He precipitated his end, by abstaining for several days from food. He died in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and about the hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad.<sup>4</sup>

Menedemus possessed great readiness and versatility of genius, and was able to dispute on every subject with keenness and fluency. He declared his opinions with freedom, inveighed with severity against the vices of others, and by the purity of his own manners commanded universal respect. He observed the strictest moderation in his manner of living.<sup>5</sup> His entertainments, which were frequented by many philosophers and men of distinction, were simple and frugal, consisting chiefly of vegetables; and were always enlivened by liberal conversation. His friendship for Asclepiades continued after his death. A favourite servant of his, coming late to the house of Menedemus, was refused admission by the servants; but the master ordered them to let him in, adding, that Asclepiades, though dead, had still the power of opening his doors.

Nothing farther is known concerning the preceptors of

<sup>4</sup> B. C. 284.

<sup>5</sup> Athæn. l. x. p. 419.

the Eliac or Eretriac School, but that they studiously avoided, and strenuously opposed, the sophistical fooleries of the Megaric sect, and adhered closely to the simple doctrines and useful precepts which they had received from *Socrates*.<sup>6</sup>

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## CHAP. VIII.

### OF THE ACADEMIC SECT.

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#### SECT. I.

#### *Of Plato and his Philosophy.*

HAVING treated of those sects of philosophers, derived from the school of Socrates, which were of inferior note and of short duration, we are now to trace the rise and progress of those which were more permanent, and of greater celebrity. These were the *Academic* and the *Cynic* sects; the former founded by Plato, the latter by Antisthenes. The Academic sect afterwards gave birth to the *Peripatetic*, and the Cynic to the *Stoic*.

Of all the disciples of Socrates, Plato, though he modestly calls himself the least,<sup>1</sup> was unquestionably the most illustrious. As long as philosophy continued to be studied among the Greeks and Romans, his doctrines were taught, and his name was held in the highest veneration. When other sects fell into oblivion, the Platonic philosophy, united with the Peripatetic, still flourished. Even to the present day, Plato has many followers; his writings still give a tincture to the speculations and language of philosophy and theology. An inquiry into the particulars of his life and doctrine is therefore an interesting part of our design. And it is the more necessary, that this inquiry be made with diligence and accuracy, as his opinions have

<sup>6</sup> Vidend. Jons. l. ii. c. 4. 6. Eschenbach. Diss. Acad. v. De Sympos. Sap. Hody de Bibl. Text. Orig. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Apol. Soc.

been frequently misrepresented, and his system, as we shall afterwards see, has undergone frequent and material alterations.

PLATO<sup>2</sup> was by descent an Athenian; but the place of his birth was the island of Ægina, where his father Aristo resided after that island became subject to Athens. His origin is traced back, on his father's side, to Codrus, and on that of his mother Pericthione, through five generations, to Solon.<sup>3</sup> The time of his birth is commonly placed in the first year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad;<sup>4</sup> but perhaps it may be more accurately fixed in the third year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad.<sup>5</sup> Fable has made Apollo his father, and has said that he was born of a virgin.<sup>6</sup> He gave early indications of an extensive and original genius. Whilst he was young, he was instructed in the rudiments of letters by the grammarian Dionysius, and trained in athletic exercises by Aristo of Argos. He applied with great diligence to the study and practice of the arts of painting and poetry. In the latter he made such proficiency, as to produce an epic poem, which, however, upon comparing it with Homer, he committed to the flames. At the age of twenty years, he composed a dramatic piece, which he gave to the performers to be represented upon the theatre; but the day before the intended exhibition, happening to attend upon a discourse of Socrates, he was captivated by his eloquence, and from that moment determined to relinquish all pretensions to poetical distinction, and to turn his ambition into the channel of philosophy. He forsook the muses, burned his poems, and applied himself wholly to the study of wisdom.<sup>7</sup>

It is probable that Plato received the first tincture of philosophy from Cratylus and Hermogenes,<sup>8</sup> who taught the systems of Heraclitus and Parmenides. When he was twenty years old, he became a stated disciple of Socrates,

<sup>2</sup> Laert. l. iii. §. 1. &c. Suidas.

<sup>3</sup> Proclus ad Timæum. p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> B. C. 428.

<sup>5</sup> B. C. 430.

<sup>6</sup> Plut. Sympos. l. viii. c. 1. Hieronym. adv. Jov. l. i. tom. iv. p. 186. ed Par.

<sup>7</sup> Ælian. Hist. Var. l. x. c. 21. 27. 30. Val. Max. l. i. c. 6. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xi. c. 29. Cic. de Divin. l. i. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Apuleius de Dogmat. Plat. Arist. Met. l. i. c. 6.

and remained with him in that relation eight years. During this period he frequently displeased the followers of Socrates, and sometimes gave Socrates himself occasions of complaint, by mixing foreign tenets with those of his master, and grafting upon the Socratic system, opinions which were taken from some other stock. Plato, nevertheless, retained a zealous attachment to Socrates. When that great and good man was summoned before the senate, Plato, as we have seen, undertook to plead his cause, and began a speech in his defence; but the partiality and violence of the judges would not permit him to proceed. After the condemnation, he presented his master with money sufficient to redeem his life, which, however, Socrates refused to accept. During his imprisonment, Plato attended him, and was present at a conversation which he held with his friends concerning the immortality of the soul, the substance of which he afterwards committed to writing in the beautiful dialogue entitled *Phædo*,<sup>9</sup> not, however, without interweaving his own opinions and language. Upon the death of his master, he withdrew, with several other friends of Socrates, to Megara, where they were hospitably entertained by Euclid; and remained till the ferment at Athens subsided. Under Euclid he studied the art of reasoning, and probably increased his fondness for disputation.

Desirous of making himself master of all the wisdom and learning which the age could furnish, Plato travelled into every country, which was so far enlightened as to promise him any recompense of his labour. He first visited that part of Italy called *Magna Græcia*, where a celebrated school of philosophy had been established by Pythagoras, and was instructed in all the mysteries of the Pythagorean system,<sup>10</sup> the subtleties of which he afterwards too freely blended with the simple doctrine of Socrates. He next visited Theodorus of Cyrene, and became his pupil in mathematical science. When he found himself sufficiently instructed in the elements of this branch of learning, he determined to study astronomy, and other sciences, in Egypt. That he might travel with safety, he assumed the

<sup>9</sup> Conf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 33.

<sup>10</sup> *Aph. l. c. 12. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 20. Quintil. l. i. c. 12. Photii Codex. 259. p. 712.*

character of a merchant, and, as a seller of oil, passed through the whole kingdom of Artaxerxes Macan. Wherever he came, he obtained information from the Egyptian priests concerning their astronomical observations and calculations. "Whilst studious youth," says Valerius Maximus,<sup>11</sup> rather indeed in the style of oratory than history, for Plato had not yet instituted his school at Athens, "were crowding to Athens from every quarter in search of Plato for their master, that philosopher was wandering along the winding banks of the Nile, or the vast plains of a barbarous country, himself a disciple to the old men of Egypt."

It has been asserted, that it was in Egypt that Plato acquired his opinions concerning the origin of the world, and learnt the doctrines of transmigration, and the immortality of the soul:<sup>12</sup> but it is more probable that he learned the latter doctrine from Socrates, and the former from Pythagoras. It is not likely that Plato, in the habit of a merchant, could have gained access to the sacred mysteries of Egypt; for we shall afterwards see, in the case of Pythagoras, that the Egyptian priests were so unwilling to communicate their secrets to strangers, that even a royal mandate was scarcely sufficient, in a single instance, to procure this indulgence. Little regard is therefore due to the opinion of those<sup>13</sup> who assert, that Plato derived his system of philosophy from the Egyptians.

Nor is there better foundation for supposing,<sup>14</sup> that during his residence in Egypt, Plato became acquainted with the doctrine of the Hebrews, and enriched his system with spoils from their sacred books. This opinion has, it is true, been strenuously maintained by several Jewish and Christian writers; but it has little foundation beyond mere conjecture; and it is not difficult to perceive, that it originated in that injudicious zeal for the honour of revelation, which led these writers to make the Hebrew Scriptures, or traditions, the source of all gentile wisdom.

The opinion, that Plato derived his philosophy origi-

<sup>11</sup> L. viii. c. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Pausan. in Messen. p. 360.

<sup>13</sup> Iamblich. Myst. Æg. l. i. c. 2. p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Huet. Dem. Pr. iv. c. 2. § 15. Gale's Court of the Gent. Conf. Le Clerc Ep. Crit. vii. Basnage Hist. des Juifs. c. 20.



hally from the Hebrews; and consequently from Divine revelation; was commonly embraced by the fathers of the Christian church, and has been adopted by many learned divines. The chief grounds upon which this opinion rests, are,—1. The authority of the Jewish writers, Josephus and Aristobulus, and of the Christian fathers, Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, Ambrose, and others;<sup>15</sup> 2. The opinion that a Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures appeared in Egypt before the time of Plato, which he might have seen and read, as Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius, on the testimony of Aristobulus, assert; 3. The presumption that the Egyptians borrowed many of their tenets from the Israelites, and communicated them to Plato; and, 4. The agreement of the doctrines of Plato with those of the Hebrews. But these arguments will not, we apprehend, appear satisfactory to those who are not inclined to pay implicit respect to ancient authority. For, 1. The testimony of the Christian fathers is, in the present question, of little value; for they had recourse to no authentic memorials or impartial witnesses, but gave credit to the suggestions of certain Jewish writers, who, several centuries after the time of Plato, to gratify their own vanity, and that of their countrymen, pretended that all gentile wisdom had been originally derived from Moses; and particularly, that Plato, during his residence in Egypt, had been instructed in the Hebrew school. This notion was eagerly embraced by several learned Platonists, who, in the second century, were converted to Christianity; but still retained an attachment to their former master: and from this time it became a common practice, among those who affected the credit of Greek erudition, to maintain, that whatever opinions Plato and his followers held similar to the doctrines of revelation, had been borrowed either from the Hebrews or the Christians. 2. A Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures, prior to the time of Alexander, never existed, but in the brain of Aristobulus, as will more fully appear when we come to treat of the Jewish philosophy. Neither the author, nor the occasion, of this version can be pro-

<sup>15</sup> Vid. Lamy de Trinit. Florent. 1733.

duced; nor does any such work appear to those who might have been acquainted with it, and whose interest it would have been to have read it. Separated as the Jews were, before the time of Alexander, from all intercourse with other nations, and carefully as they concealed their mysteries and sacred books from gentile strangers, it is not easy to conceive how such a version could have been made; not to urge, that Greek literature was first introduced into Egypt by Alexander. 3. Equally unsupported is the assertion, that the Egyptians, and even Plato himself, conversed with the Jews on theological subjects. Upon this question, learned men have confounded the time when the Greeks possessed Egypt, with a preceding period, in which it would not be easy to prove, that any such intercourse took place between the Egyptians and Jews. Nor is it at all probable, that the small remnant of the Jewish nation, who after the captivity went with Jeremiah into Egypt, would appear of so much consequence as to engage the attention of all Egypt and Greece to their religious customs and tenets. Lastly, no proof of the point in question can arise from the supposed agreement between the Mosaic and Platonic doctrines; for either the agreement is imaginary, or it consists in such particulars as might easily be discovered by the light of reason. Besides, it has not been sufficiently attended to, that the true doctrine of Plato was, in the Alexandrian school, so far adulterated and blended with other systems, that those fathers of the Christian church, who had studied Platonism in this school, might easily imagine a greater harmony between the Platonic doctrine and their own creed than in reality existed. The Christian fathers seem to have thought the supposition, that Heathen philosophy had been the result of the natural powers of the human mind, derogatory to the honour of revelation. But its grounds and principles are now too well understood, to render it necessary to borrow any part of its credit and authority from Plato. But to return to the narrative.

When Plato had, in his travels, exhausted the philosophical treasures of distant countries, he returned into Italy, to the Pythagorean school at Tarentum,<sup>10</sup> where he

<sup>10</sup> Cic. Cato Maj. c. 16.

undevoted to improve his own system, by incorporating with it the doctrine of Pythagoras, as it was then taught by Archytas, Thrasyllus, and others.<sup>17</sup> And afterwards, when he visited Sicily (as we shall presently relate) he retained such an attachment to the Italic school, that, through the beauty of Dionysius, he purchased, at a vast price, several books, which contained the doctrine of Pythagoras, from Philolaus, one of his followers.

From the particulars which we have related, concerning the manner in which Plato acquired his knowledge, we are enabled to ascertain, with some degree of precision, the sources of his philosophy. His dialectics he borrowed from Euclid of Megara: the principles of natural philosophy he learned in the Eleatic school from Hermogenes and Cratylus; and combining these with the Pythagorean doctrine of natural causes, he framed from both his system of metaphysics. Mathematics and astronomy he was taught in the Cynætic school, and by the Egyptian priests. From Socrates he imbibed the pure principles of moral and political wisdom; but he afterwards obscured their simplicity by Pythagorean speculations.

Returning home richly stored with knowledge of various kinds, Plato settled in Athens, and executed the design which he had doubtless long had in contemplation, of forming a new school for the instruction of youth in the principles of philosophy. The place which he made choice of for this purpose was a public grove, called the Academy, from Hecademus,<sup>18</sup> who left it to the citizens for the purpose of gymnastic exercises. Adorned with statues, temples, and sepulchres, planted with lofty plane-trees, and intersected by a gentle stream, it afforded a delightful retreat for philosophy and the muses. Of this retreat Horace speaks.<sup>19</sup>

Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum.

<sup>17</sup> *Apul. loc. cit. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 28.*  
<sup>18</sup> *Conf. Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 17. Laert. iii. 9. viii. 84. Iamblich. Vit. Pyth. c. 31.*

<sup>19</sup> *Pausan. in Atticis. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xii. c. 1. Plut. in Cimone et de Exil. Fabric. Bibliograph. Ant. c. 21. § 3. Potter's Arch. Græc. Book 12 c. 38.*

<sup>20</sup> *'Midst Academic groves to search for truth.'*

Within this enclosure he possessed, as a part of his humble patrimony, purchased at the price of three thousand drachmas, a small garden, in which he opened a school for the reception of those who might be inclined to attend his instructions. How much Plato valued mathematical studies, and how necessary a preparation he thought them for higher speculations, appears from the inscription which he placed over the door of his school: *Οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ μὴ γεόμετρος εἰσέλθτω*. "Let no one, who is unacquainted with geometry, enter here."

This new school soon became famous, and its master was ranked among the most eminent philosophers. His travels into distant countries, where learning and wisdom flourished, gave him celebrity among his brethren of the Socratic sect. None of these had ventured to institute a school in Athens, except Aristippus; and he had confined his instructions almost entirely to ethical subjects, and had brought himself into some discredit by the freedom of his manners. Plato alone remained to inherit the patrimony of public esteem, which Socrates had left his disciples; and he possessed talents and learning adequate to his design of extending the study of philosophy beyond the limits within which it had been enclosed by his master. The consequence was, not only that young men crowded to his school from every quarter, but that people of the first distinction, in every department, frequented the Academy. Even females, disguised in men's clothes, often attended his lectures.<sup>20</sup> Among the illustrious names which appear in the catalogue of his followers are Dion, the Syracusan prince, and the orators Hyperides, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, and Isocrates.

Such distinguished reputation naturally produced among the companions of Plato, formerly the disciples of Socrates, a spirit of emulation which soon degenerated into envy, and loaded him with detraction and obloquy.<sup>21</sup> It can only be ascribed to mutual jealousy, that Xenophon and Plato, though they relate the discourses of their common master, studiously avoid mentioning one another.

<sup>20</sup> Athen. l. vii. p. 279. l. xi. p. 546. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 69.

<sup>21</sup> Athenæus, l. xi. p. 507. Sen. de Vit. Beat. c. 18.

Diogenes, the Cynic, ridiculed Plato's doctrine of ideas, and other abstract speculations. In the midst of these private censures, however, the public fame of Plato daily increased. His political wisdom was in such high estimation, that several states solicited his assistance in new modelling their respective forms of government.<sup>24</sup> Applications of this kind from the Arcadians, and from the Thebans, he rejected, because they refused to adopt the plan of his republic, which required an equal distribution of property. He gave his advice in the affairs of Elis, and other Grecian states, and furnished a code of laws for Syracuse. Plato was in high esteem with several princes, particularly Archelaus, king of Macedon, and Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily. At three different periods he visited the court of this latter prince, and made several bold, but unsuccessful attempts to subdue his haughty and tyrannical spirit. A brief relation<sup>25</sup> of the particulars of these visits to Sicily, may serve to cast some light upon the character of our philosopher.

The professed object of Plato's first visit to Sicily, which happened in the fortieth year of his age, during the reign of the elder Dionysius, the son of Hermocrates, was to take a survey of the island, and particularly to observe the wonders of Mount Etna. Whilst he was resident at Syracuse, he was employed in the instruction of Dion, the king's brother-in-law, who possessed excellent abilities, though hitherto restrained by the terrors of a tyrannical government, and relaxed by the luxuries of a licentious court. Disgusted by the debauched manners of the Syracusans, he endeavoured to rescue his pupil from the general depravity. Nor did Dion disappoint his preceptor's expectations: No sooner had he received a taste of that philosophy which leads to virtue, than he was fired with an ardent love of wisdom. Entertaining an hope, that philosophy might produce the same effect upon Dionysius, he took great pains to procure an interview between Plato and the tyrant. In the course of the conference, whilst Plato was discoursing on the security and happiness of

<sup>24</sup> \* *Ælian. Hist. Var.* l. ii. c. 43. *Plut. adv. Colot.* l. iii.

<sup>25</sup> \* *Platon. Epist.* ii. vii. *Plut. in Dion.* *Laert.* l. iii.

virtue, and the miseries attending injustice and oppression. Dionysius, perceiving that the philosopher's discourse was levelled against the vices and cruelties of his reign, dismissed him with high displeasure from his presence, and conceived a design against his life. It was not without great difficulty that Plato, by the assistance of Dion, made his escape. A vessel, which had brought over Pollis, a delegate from Sparta, was fortunately at that time returning to Greece. Dion engaged Pollis to take the charge of the philosopher, and land him safely in his native country: but Dionysius discovered the design, and obtained a promise from Pollis, that he would either put him to death, or sell him as a slave upon the passage. Pollis accordingly sold him in the island of Ægina, the inhabitants of which were then at war with the Athenians. Plato could not long remain unnoticed: Anicerris, a Cyrenaic philosopher, who happened to be at that time in the island, discovered the stranger, and thought himself happy in an opportunity of shewing his respect for so illustrious a philosopher: he purchased his freedom for thirty *minæ*, and sent him home to Athens. Repayment being afterwards offered to Anicerris by Plato's relations, he refused the money, saying, with that generous spirit which true philosophy always inspires, that he saw no reason why the relations of Plato should engross to themselves the honour of serving him.

After a short interval, Dionysius repented of his ill-placed resentment, and wrote to Plato, earnestly requesting him to repair his credit by returning to Syracuse; to which Plato gave this high-spirited answer, that philosophy would not allow him leisure to think of Dionysius. Dion, who, through the influence of Plato's instructions, had become a determined votary of virtue, was earnestly desirous of inspiring others with the same sentiments. In hope of making an advantageous impression upon the mind of the younger Dionysius, he took every occasion of making him acquainted with the doctrines and precepts of his master. The effect was such as Dion wished. The youth soon expressed an earnest desire to become acquainted with the philosopher. Letters were immediately dispatched to Plato, from the tyrant; from Dion, and from several followers of

Pythagoras, who were at that time resident in Sicily, importuning him to return to Syracuse, and take upon him the education of the young prince. After some hesitation, apprehending lest a refusal might seem to imply an unworthy neglect of the interest of philosophy, and entertaining some hope, that by cleansing the fountain of public manners in Sicily, he should be able to purify the stream, he consented. It has also been said,<sup>20</sup> and not without plausibility, that he was induced to undertake this second journey to Syracuse, by a promise, on the part of Dionysius, that he would adopt the philosopher's plan of government. In the mean time, the enemies of Dion prevailed upon Dionysius to recal from exile Philistus, a man of tyrannical principles and spirit, from whom they hoped for a powerful opposition to the doctrine and measures of Plato. The philosopher was conducted to Syracuse with public honours; the king himself received him into his chariot, and sacrifices were offered in congratulation of his arrival. New regulations were immediately introduced; the licentiousness of the court was restrained; moderation reigned in all public festivals; the king assumed an air of benignity; philosophy was studied by his courtiers; and every good man assured himself of a happy revolution in the state of public manners. But Philistus and his adherents, envious of the philosopher's increasing influence with the tyrant, soon found means to rekindle his jealousy. Through their intrigues, Dion became so obnoxious to Dionysius that he ordered him to be imprisoned, and afterwards banished him into Italy. Plato, and the friends of Dion, were exceedingly alarmed at this measure, and began to be apprehensive for their own safety. Dionysius, however, continued to treat them courteously. Under the pretence of friendship, he allotted Plato an apartment in his palace, but at the same time placed a secret guard about him, that no one might visit him without his knowledge. At length, upon the commencement of a war, Dionysius sent Plato back into his own country, but not without a promise, that he would recal both him and Dion upon the return of peace.

Dion, who now resided in Athens, diligently attended upon the lectures of his master, and so far profited by his

<sup>20</sup> Athenæus, l. xi. p. 507.

moral precepts, as to lay aside every thing effeminate and luxurious in his manner of living. The tyrant, in the mean time, that he might, if possible, obliterate the ignominy which he had brought upon himself by the banishment of Plato, invited philosophers, from every quarter, to his court. Their discourses recalled his attention to philosophy; and he again became exceedingly desirous of Plato's return. The philosopher received his solicitations with coolness, pleaded in excuse his advanced age, and reminded the tyrant of the violation of his promise, that on the return of peace Dion should be restored. It was not till the request of Dionysius was seconded by the entreaties of the wife and sister of Dion, and by the importunities of Archytas of Tarentum, and other Pythagorean philosophers, to whom the tyrant had pledged himself for the performance of his promises, that he could be prevailed upon to return.

When Plato arrived the third time at Syracuse, the king met him in a magnificent chariot, and conducted him to his palace. The Sicilians, too, whose hatred of Philistus inclined them to favour the party of Dion, rejoiced in his return; for they hoped that the wisdom of Plato would at length triumph over the tyrannical spirit of the prince. Dionysius seemed wholly divested of his former resentments, listened with apparent pleasure to the philosopher's doctrine, and, among other expressions of regard, presented him with eighty talents of gold. In the midst of a numerous train of philosophers, Plato now possessed the chief influence and authority in the court of Syracuse. Whilst Aristippus was enjoying himself in splendid luxury; whilst Diogenes was freely indulging his acrimonious humour; and whilst Æschines was gratifying his thirst after riches; Plato supported the credit of philosophy with an air of dignity, which his friends regarded as an indication of superior wisdom, but which his enemies imputed to pride. After all, it was not in the power of Plato to prevail upon Dionysius to adopt his system of policy, or to recal Dion from his exile. Mutual distrust, after a short interval, arose between the tyrant and the philosopher; each suspected the other of evil designs, and each endeavoured to conceal his suspicion under the disguise of respect. Dionysius attempted to impose upon Plato by condescending atten-



tion, and Plato to deceive Dionysius by an appearance of confidence. At length, the philosopher became so much dissatisfied with his situation, that he earnestly requested permission to return to Greece.

After some opposition on the part of the tyrant, permission was granted, and a vessel of convoy was provided. But, before the ship set sail, Dionysius repented, and detained Plato in Syracuse, against his inclination. From this time the freedom of the philosopher's complaints and reproofs became offensive to the tyrant, and Dionysius dismissed Plato from his court, and put him under a guard of soldiers, whom false rumours had incensed against him. His Pythagorean friends at Tarentum, being informed of his dangerous situation, immediately dispatched an embassy to Dionysius, demanding an instant completion of his promise to Archytas. The tyrant, not daring to refuse this demand, but at the same time desirous to save himself, as much as possible, from the disgrace of having banished from his court the first philosopher of the age, gave Plato a magnificent entertainment, and sent him away loaded with rich presents. On his way to Athens, passing through Elis during the celebration of the Olympic games, he was present at this general assembly of the Greeks, and engaged universal attention.

From this narrative it appears, that if Plato visited the courts of princes, it was chiefly from the hope of seeing his ideal plan of a republic realized; and that his talents and attainments rather qualified him to shine in the academy, than in the council or the senate.

Plato, now restored to his country and his school, devoted himself to science, and spent the last years of a long life in the instruction of youth. Having enjoyed the advantage of an athletic constitution, and lived all his days temperately, he arrived at the eighty-first, or, according to some writers, the seventy-ninth, year of his age, and died, through the mere decay of nature,<sup>27</sup> in the first year of the hundred and eighth Olympiad. He passed his whole life in a state of celibacy, and therefore left no natural heirs, but transferred his effects by will to his friend Adiamantus.

<sup>27</sup> Seneca Ep. 58. Laert. l. iii. § 2. Cic. de Senect. c. 5.

The grove and garden, which had been the scene of his philosophical labours, at last afforded him a sepulchre.<sup>28</sup> Statues and altars were erected to his memory; the day of his birth long continued to be celebrated as a festival by his followers; and his portrait is to this day preserved in gems; but the most lasting monuments of his genius are his writings, which have been transmitted, without material injury, to the present times.

The personal character of Plato has been very differently represented. On the one hand, his encomiasts have not failed to adorn him with every excellence, and to express the most superstitious veneration for his memory.<sup>29</sup> His enemies, on the other, have not scrupled to load him with reproach, and charge him with practices shamefully inconsistent with the purity and dignity of the philosophical character.<sup>30</sup> We cannot so implicitly adopt the panegyrics of the former, as to suppose him to have been free from human frailties; and we have a right to require much better proofs than his calumniators have adduced, before we can suppose him to have been capable of sinking, from the sublime speculations of philosophy, into the most infamous vices. To load the character of a great man with infamy, upon slight suspicions, is a species of impiety.

Several anecdotes are preserved, which reflect honour upon the moral principles and character of Plato. Such was his command of temper, that, when he was lifting up his hand to correct his servant for some offence, perceiving himself angry, he kept his arm fixed in that posture, and said to a friend, who, coming in at that instant, asked him what he was doing, "I am punishing a passionate man."<sup>31</sup> At another time, he said to one of his slaves, "I would chastise you if I were not angry." At the Olympic games, he happened to pass a day with some strangers, who were much delighted with his easy and affable conversation, but were no farther informed concerning him than that his name was Plato; for he had purposely avoided saying any thing concerning Socrates or the Academy. At parting, he

<sup>28</sup> Pausan. Attic.

<sup>29</sup> Vid. Ficini Dedicat. Op. Plat. Seneca de Vita beata. c. 18.

<sup>30</sup> Athen. l. xi. p. 507. Laert. l. iii. c. 26. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. iv.

<sup>31</sup> Seneca de Ira, l. ii. c. 22. l. iii. c. 12.

invited them, when they should visit Athens, to take up their residence at his house. Not long afterwards they accepted his invitation, and were courteously entertained. During their stay, they requested that he would introduce them to his namesake, the famous philosopher, and shew them his Academy. Plato, smiling, said, "I am the person you wish to see." The discovery surprised them exceedingly; for they could not easily persuade themselves, that so eminent a philosopher would condescend to converse so familiarly with strangers.<sup>32</sup> When Plato was told, that his enemies were busily employed in circulating reports to his disadvantage, he said, "I will live so, that none shall believe them." One of his friends, remarking that he seemed as desirous to learn himself as to teach others, asked him, how long he intended to be a scholar? "As long," says he, "as I am not ashamed to grow wiser and better."

It is from the writings of Plato, chiefly, that we are to form a judgment of his merit as a philosopher, and of the service which he rendered to science. No one can be conversant with these, without perceiving that his diction always retained a strong tincture of that poetical spirit, which he discovered in his first productions. This is the principal ground of those lofty encomiums, which both ancient and modern critics have passed upon his language, and, particularly, of the high estimation in which it was held by Cicero,<sup>33</sup> who, treating on the subject of language, says, that "if Jupiter were to speak in the Greek tongue, he would borrow the style of Plato." The accurate Stagyrite describes it, as "a middle species of diction, between verse and prose."<sup>34</sup> Some of his dialogues are elevated by such sublime and glowing conceptions, are enriched with such copious and splendid diction, and flow in so harmonious a *rythmus*, that they may truly be pronounced highly poetical. Most of them are justly admired for their literary merit: the introductions are pertinent and amusing; the course of the debate, or conversation, is clearly marked; the characters are accurately supported; every speaker has his proper place, language, and manners; the scenery

<sup>32</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. l. iv. c. 9. Plut. in Symp. Laert.

<sup>33</sup> Orat. c. 3. 20. De Offic. l. i. De Leg. l. ii.

<sup>34</sup> Arist. apud Laert.

of the conference is painted in lively colouring; and the whole is, with admirable art, adorned and enlivened by those minute embellishments; which render the colloquial mode of writing so peculiarly pleasing. Even upon abstract subjects, whether moral, metaphysical, or mathematical, the language of Plato is often clear as the running stream, and in simplicity and sweetness, vies with the humble violet which perfumes the vale. In these beautiful parts of his works, it has been conjectured, not without probability, that Socrates and Lysias were his models. At other times, however, we find him swelling into their turgid style, a tincture of which he seems to have retained from his juvenile studies, and involving himself in obscurities, which were the offspring of a lofty fancy, or were borrowed from the Italic school. Several ancient critics have noticed these blemishes in the writings of Plato. Dionysius Halicarnassensis<sup>35</sup> particularly censures Plato for the harshness of his metaphors, and his bold innovations in the use of terms, and quotes from his *Phædrus* examples of the bombast, the puerile, and the frigid style. The same inequality which is so apparent in the style of Plato, may also be observed in his conceptions. Whilst he adheres to the school of Socrates, and discourses upon moral topics, he is much more pleasing than when he loses himself, with Pythagoras, in abstruse speculations.

The dialogues of Plato, which treat of various subjects, and were written with different views, are classed by the ancients<sup>36</sup> under the two heads of DIDACTIC and INQUISITIVE. The Didactic are subdivided into SPECULATIVE, including *physical* and *logical*; and PRACTICAL, comprehending *ethical* and *political*. The second class, the Inquisitive, is characterized by terms taken from the athletic art, and divided into the Gymnastic, and the Agonistic; the dialogues termed Gymnastic were imagined to be similar to the *exercise*, and were subdivided into the Maieutic as resembling the teaching of the rudiments of the art, and the Peirastic, as represented by a skirmish, or trial of proficiency. The Agonistic dialogues, supposed to resemble the *combat*, were either Endeictic, as exhibiting a

<sup>35</sup> Epist. ad Pomp.<sup>36</sup> Laert. l. iii.

specimen of skill, or Anatreptic, presenting the spectacle of a perfect defeat. Instead of this whimsical classification, an arrangement of the dialogues, taken from the subjects on which they treat, would be much more obvious and useful. They may not improperly be divided into *physical, logical, ethical, and political*.

The writings of Plato were originally collected by Hermodorus, one of his pupils: they consist of thirty-five dialogues, and thirteen epistles. They were first published, after the invention of printing, by Aldus Manutius, at Venice, in 1513.<sup>37</sup> The editions of Ficinus and Serranus are the most valuable; but their notes and interpretations are to be read with caution; for Ficinus, having formed his conceptions of the doctrine of Plato after the model of the Alexandrian school, frequently, in his *Arguments*, misrepresents the design of his author, and in his version obscures the sense of the original; and Serranus, for want of an accurate acquaintance with the doctrine of his author, and through the influence of a strong predilection for the scholastic system of theology, sometimes gives an incorrect and injudicious explanation of the text.

Many of the particulars which have been related concerning Plato, had doubtless an influence upon the nature and form of his Philosophical System, to the consideration of which we are now to proceed. In order to discover, as far as we are able, the true characters of the Platonic doctrine, and at the same time to shew from what causes it happens that this subject is necessarily involved in great obscurity, several general observations must be submitted to the reader's diligent attention.

Plato, disdaining the sober method of reasoning introduced by Socrates, left his first master in search of other preceptors. His natural propensity towards excessive refinement in speculation, and the celebrity of the Italic school, which abounded in subtleties, induced him to attach himself to the Pythagorean philosophy. He afterwards studied, as we have seen, under the Egyptian priests, who, doubtless, seduced him yet farther from the plain path of common sense, which had hitherto been followed.

<sup>37</sup> Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 42.

in the Socratic school. One circumstance it is particularly necessary to remark: that, among other things which Plato received from foreign philosophy, he was careful to borrow<sup>38</sup> the art of concealing his real opinions. His inclination towards this kind of concealment appears from the obscure language which abounds in his writings, and may indeed be learned from his own express assertions. "It is a difficult thing," says he,<sup>39</sup> "to discover the nature of the Creator of the universe; and, being discovered, it is impossible, and would even be impious, to expose the discovery to vulgar understandings." Again,<sup>40</sup> "It would be to no purpose to lay open to mankind at large the doctrines of philosophy, which are adapted only to the comprehension of a few intelligent persons, who, from imperfect hints, are capable of conceiving their full import." Plato did not, indeed, after the example of Pythagoras, shut up the door of the Academy, or demand an oath of secrecy from his disciples, but he purposely threw a veil of obscurity over his public instructions, which was only removed for the benefit of those who were thought worthy of being admitted to his more private and confidential lectures. This concealed method of philosophising he was induced to adopt, from a regard to his personal safety, and from motives of vanity. He apprehended that this was the only way to secure himself from the inconveniences which several of his predecessors among the Greeks had brought upon themselves by an undisguised declaration of their opinions; and he had seen how successfully both the Pythagoreans and the Egyptians had employed the arts of concealment to excite the admiration of the vulgar, who are always inclined to imagine something more than human in things which they do not understand.

The colloquial form of instruction, which had been introduced by Socrates, in his contests with the Sophists, and which had been also adopted in the Dialectic schools, Plato found peculiarly convenient for the purpose of concealing his opinions. His success in the application of

<sup>38</sup> Porph. Vit. Pyth. p. 49. Apul. flor. c. 15. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. i. De Fin. l. v.

<sup>39</sup> In Timæo. ed. Serrani, tom. iii. p. 28.

<sup>40</sup> Epist. vii. t. iii. p. 341. Ep. ii. ad Dionys.

this expedient appears in almost every dialogue which he has written. The main question of the dialogue is so long kept in suspense by the minute detail of induction, and the business of the piece meets with such frequent colloquial interruptions, that it is not without great difficulty that the reader can follow the thread of argument, or perceive the general conclusion. More pains is taken to expose an inaccurate or inadequate definition or explanation of any subject, than to substitute one more perfect in its stead. The writer's meaning is frequently lost in the obscurity of subtle distinctions, and sometimes, after the Egyptian manner, concealed under the cloak of fable. Cicero, though an enthusiastic admirer of Plato, was not insensible of the uncertainty which, from this cause, hangs upon his doctrine. "Plato," says he,<sup>41</sup> "affirms nothing, but after producing many arguments, and examining a question on every side, leaves it undetermined."

Farther difficulties arise from the language in which Plato expresses his conceptions. Sometimes the reader is dazzled by the splendour of his poetical diction; and sometimes he is perplexed by studied ambiguities, and finds the same term used in different senses, and different terms employed to express the same meaning.<sup>42</sup> Plato has also greatly increased the obscurity of his writings, by frequently mixing the ideas and language of mathematics with those of metaphysics. Had he made use of mathematical learning merely as a preparatory exercise for sublimer speculations, his pupils might have reaped much benefit from the practice. But he attempted, after the example of the Pythagorean school, to express philosophical conceptions by mathematical diagrams and proportions, and thus involved, in artificial perplexity, subjects in themselves sufficiently obscure.<sup>43</sup>

But the principal cause of a want of perspicuity in the writings of Plato, is, after all, the extreme subtlety of his speculations upon abstract and sublime topics. The implicit followers of this philosopher have been willing to exculpate their master from the charge of obscurity, by accusing his readers of dulness in their conceptions. But

<sup>41</sup> Acad. Qu. l. i.

<sup>42</sup> Laert. l. iii. § 63, 64.

<sup>43</sup> Burnet. Archæolog. l. i. c. 11.

those who have attended to the origin of the Platonic philosophy will acknowledge, that it partakes largely of the characters of subtlety and enthusiasm, which, as we shall afterwards see, distinguished the Pythagorean system. It was not without reason, that Xenophon, or whoever else was the author of the epistle to Æschines preserved in his works, censures Plato for neglecting the sober philosophy of Socrates, and, through a vain affectation of extraordinary refinement, and a fond partiality for the mysteries of Egypt and for the prodigies of Pythagoras, devoting himself to subtle speculations, and becoming a haughty professor of wisdom. That this remark was not dictated by envy, but founded on truth, the whole constitution of the Platonic philosophy clearly proves. Raising man above his condition and nature, he unites him to certain imaginary Divine principles; leads him through various orders of emanation and forms of intelligence to the Supreme Being, and represents these fictions of fancy<sup>44</sup> as the first principles of wisdom. In such a wondrous maze of words does Plato involve his notions, that none of his disciples, not even the sagacious Stagyrte, could unfold them; and yet we receive them as sacred mysteries, and if we do not perfectly comprehend them, imagine that our intellects are too feeble to penetrate the conceptions of this Divine philosopher, and that our eyes are blinded by that resplendent blaze of truth, upon which his eagle sight could gaze without injury.<sup>45</sup>

The truth appears to have been, that Plato, ambitious of the honour of forming a new sect, and endued by nature with more brilliancy of fancy than strength of judgment, collected the tenets of other philosophers, which were, in many particulars, contradictory, and could by no exertion of ingenuity be brought to coalesce; and that, out of this heterogeneous mass, he framed a confused system, destitute of form or consistency. This will be acknowledged by every one, who, in perusing the philosophical writings of Plato, is capable of divesting himself of that blind respect for antiquity, by which the learned so frequently

<sup>44</sup> *Ἱδέματα*, so Aristotle calls Plato's *ideas*. Anal. Poster. l. i. c. 10. Conf. Metaph. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>45</sup> Burnet, l. c.



suffer themselves to be misled. In confirmation of the propriety of this judgment, we need only refer to the dialogue entitled *Timæus*; a chaotic mass of opinions, which no commentators have yet been able to reconcile, or to explain.<sup>46</sup>

The followers of Plato, far from dispersing the clouds which, from the first, hung over his system, appear to have entered into a general combination to increase its obscurity. The successive changes which took place in the Academy after the death of its founder, by introducing a succession of new opinions, continually increased the difficulty of arriving at the true sense of Plato. And when, in a subsequent period, the Platonic philosophy was professed in Alexandria, it was still further adulterated by an injudicious and absurd attempt to mould into one system the doctrines of Plato, the traditionary tenets of Egypt and the eastern nations, and the sacred creeds of the Jews and Christians: a coalition, which, as we shall afterwards see, proved exceedingly injurious both to philosophy and religion.

If these several circumstances be duly considered, it will be acknowledged to be no easy task to delineate an accurate sketch of the Platonic philosophy. In our attempt to exhibit, in miniature, a faithful portrait of the mind of Plato, we have found it necessary, chiefly to rely upon his own writings, and upon the representations of those ancient writers, who were free from the spirit of confusion which possessed the schools of the later Platonists. Among the purest sources of secondary information upon this subject, we have seen reason to place the philosophical writings of Cicero, and the methodical arrangements of Apuleius and Alcinous.

The philosophy of Plato, as he himself suggests, and his interpreters unanimously allow, may be divided into three branches, the first of which treats of the art of reasoning, or dialectics; the second, of theoretical questions concerning nature, or physics; the third, of practical subjects respecting life and manners, or ethics. Before we enter upon the distinct examination of each of these branches, it will be necessary to premise a few words concerning the Platonic notion of philosophy in general.

<sup>46</sup> Cic. ad Attic. l. vii. Ep. 13. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. i. c. 13.

Wisdom, in the strict Platonic sense of the term, is the knowledge of those things which truly exist, and are comprehended by the intellect, particularly those which respect God, and the human soul as distinct from the body.<sup>47</sup> Philosophy is the desire of Divine science, or the liberation of the mind from the body, and its direction towards those real essences, which are perceptible only by the understanding.<sup>48</sup> A philosopher must possess a mind naturally turned towards contemplation, an ardent love of truth, a penetrating judgment, and a retentive memory. He must, withal, be inured to the exercise of temperance and fortitude, that nothing corporeal may divert him from the pursuit of wisdom. Philosophy, as it is employed in the contemplation of truth, is termed theoretical; as it is conversant in the regulation of actions, it is practical.<sup>49</sup> Theoretical philosophy produces a contemplative life, in which the mind, occupied in meditations purely intellectual, acquires a resemblance to the Divinity. Practical philosophy leads to an active life, and applies the principles of wisdom to the benefit of society.<sup>50</sup> Besides the contemplation of truth and virtue, the philosopher will inquire into the right conduct of the understanding, and the powers of speech, in the pursuit of knowledge, or will study the art of reasoning and disputation. The office of philosophy then is threefold, *dialectic*, *theoretical*, and *practical*.

On *Dialectics*, the sum of Plato's doctrine, as collected from his dialogues, is this :

Truth is discerned, not by the senses, but by the understanding. The human intellect is employed, either upon things which it comprehends by itself, and which are in their nature simple and invariable, or upon things which are subject to the senses, and which are perpetually liable to fluctuation and change.<sup>51</sup> The contemplation of the former creates science; attention to the latter produces opinion.<sup>52</sup> Sense is the passive perception of the soul through the medium of the body.<sup>53</sup> When the forms of

<sup>47</sup> In Phæd. t. iii. p. 278.    <sup>48</sup> Prot. t. i. p. 313.    Phæd. t. iii. p. 247.

<sup>49</sup> Rep. l. vi. t. ii. p. 484. 495.    Alcinous, c. 2.    <sup>50</sup> Phileb. t. ii. p. 57.

<sup>51</sup> De Rep. l. vii. t. ii. p. 531. 4.    Phileb. t. ii. p. 63.

<sup>52</sup> Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 5.    Platon. Theæt. t. i. p. 186.    Phæd. t. i. p. 74.

<sup>53</sup> Theæt. p. 186.    Phileb. t. ii. p. 34.

things are, by means of the corporeal organs, so deeply impressed upon the mind as not to be easily effaced by time, this permanent impression is called memory. From the union of sense and memory, or from the comparison of a present with a recollected perception, arises opinion. Where these agree, the opinion is true; where they differ, it is false. The seat of perception and memory is like a waxen tablet, or picture, which the mind contemplates, and thence frames opinions.<sup>54</sup> In meditation, the soul converses with itself; thought flows through the lips by means of the vocal organs. Intellection is the operation of the understanding contemplating intelligible forms, or ideas. It is twofold; the first, that of the soul contemplating ideas before it descends into the body; the other, that which it exercises after it is immersed in the body, which may be also termed natural knowledge.<sup>55</sup> This kind of knowledge consists in the recollection of those things which the mind had known in its pre-existent state, and differs from memory in the object; memory being employed upon sensible things, reminiscence upon things purely intelligible.<sup>56</sup> The intelligible objects of contemplation are either primary or secondary: the primary are ideas, which will be farther explained under the next head; the secondary are the forms inseparable from material objects.<sup>57</sup> The mind, in exercising its judgment, considers theoretically what is true or false, and practically what may, or may not, be done.<sup>58</sup>

Dialectics consider the essence and the accidents of things; concerning the former, it makes use of division, definition, and analysis.<sup>59</sup> Division separates the genus into its species, the whole into its parts, and the like. Definition expresses the genus of the thing to be defined, and distinguishes it from all others by adding its specific difference. Analysis rises from objects of sense to intelligibles; from demonstrable propositions to axioms, or from hypothesis to experience. Induction rises from individuals to

<sup>54</sup> Theæt. t. i. p. 191. 202.

<sup>55</sup> In Timæo, t. iii. p. 30.

<sup>56</sup> Phæd. t. i. p. 75.

<sup>57</sup> Parmenid. t. iii. p. 135.

<sup>58</sup> Phædr. t. iii. p. 266.

<sup>59</sup> Theæt. t. i. p. 146. Polit. t. ii. p. 262. Phædr. t. iii. p. 266.

universals. Syllogism produces a conclusion by means of some intermediate proposition.<sup>60</sup>

These topics are cursorily touched upon by Plato, and it is rather by examples than by precepts that he teaches the true art of reasoning, or exposes the fallacies of sophistry. The ingenious artifices and deceptions practised by the Sophist are clearly represented in several of Plato's dialogues, particularly in his *Euthydemus* and his *Sophista*. Rhetoric is an art which Plato thought unfavourable to the study of philosophy: he inveighs against it with great vehemence in his *Gorgias*; and the ground of his invective is judiciously explained by Quintilian.<sup>61</sup> Etymology is a subject on which Plato particularly treats in his *Cratylus*,<sup>62</sup> in which he maintains, that names, when rightly given, correspond to the nature of the things which they represent: but what he advances on this head is too fanciful to merit attention.<sup>63</sup>

These are the principal particulars to be collected from the discourses of Plato concerning the Dialectic Art, as distinguished from Theology and Physics.

*Theoretical philosophy* Plato divides into three branches, *theological, physical, and mathematical*.

On *Theology*, the fundamental doctrine of Plato, as of all other ancient philosophers, is, that from nothing nothing can proceed. This universal axiom, applied not only to the infinite efficient, but to the material cause, Plato, in his *Timæus*,<sup>64</sup> lays down as the ground of his reasoning concerning the origin of the world. In this dialogue, which comprehends his whole doctrine on the subject of the formation of the universe, matter is so manifestly spoken of as eternally co-existing with God, that this part of his doctrine could not have been mistaken by so many learned and able writers, had they not been seduced by the desire of establishing a coincidence of doctrine between the writings of Plato and Moses. It is certain, that neither Cicero,<sup>65</sup> nor Apuleius,<sup>66</sup> nor Alcinous,<sup>67</sup> nor even the later

<sup>60</sup> Theæt. p. 147. 210. Laert. l. iii. § 80. Apul. de Dogm. Plat. l. iii. p. 313.

<sup>61</sup> Instit. Orat. l. ii. c. 15.

<sup>62</sup> T. i. p. 383. Conf. Cic. Ac. Qu.

l. i. c. 8. Sophist. t. i. p. 216. 253.

<sup>63</sup> Menag. ad. Laert. l. iii. § 23.

<sup>64</sup> T. iii. p. 28. Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 4. 8. Cic. De Div. l. ii.

<sup>65</sup> Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 6.

<sup>66</sup> L. i. p. 284.

<sup>67</sup> C. 12.

commentator Chalcidius,<sup>68</sup> understood their master in any other sense, than as admitting two primary and incorruptible principles, God and Matter; to which we shall afterwards see reason to add a third, namely, ideas. The passages quoted by those who maintain the contrary opinion, are by no means sufficient for their purpose. Plato, it is true, in his *Timæus*, calls God “the parent of the universe,” and in his *Sophista* speaks of him as “creating animate and inanimate beings, which did not before exist;” but these expressions do not necessarily imply that this offspring of Deity was produced from nothing, or that no prior matter existed from which these new beings were formed. Through the whole dialogue of the *Timæus*,<sup>69</sup> Plato supposes two eternal and independent causes of all things; one, that *by* which all things are made, which is God; the other, that *from* which all things are made, which is matter. He distinguishes between God, matter, and the universe, and supposes the Architect of the world to have formed it out of a mass of pre-existent matter. Plutarch seems to have given a just representation of the doctrine of Plato, when he speaks <sup>70</sup> of matter as neither made nor produced, but as presenting itself before the great Artificer to receive form and arrangement. Laertius, to the same purpose, relates,<sup>71</sup> that Plato unfolded two principles in nature, God and matter; that to the former he gave the appellation of Mind and Cause; and that he conceived the latter to have been immense, without form, and perpetually agitated, and to have been at length collected and arranged by that Deity who preferred order to confusion. And Plato himself, in his *Timæus*,<sup>72</sup> expresses the same doctrine nearly in the same language.

*Matter*, according to Plato, is an eternal and infinite principle. His doctrine on this head is thus explained by Cicero.<sup>73</sup> “Matter, from which all things are produced and formed, is a substance without form or quality, but capable of receiving all forms and undergoing every kind of change; in which, however, it never suffers annihilation,

<sup>68</sup> Op. p. 3. Comment. in Tim. c. 13. § 305.

<sup>70</sup> De gen. Anim. t. iii. p. 78.

<sup>72</sup> Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 8.

<sup>69</sup> T. iii. p. 28, &c.

<sup>71</sup> L. iii. § 69.

<sup>73</sup> Loc. cit.

but merely a solution of its parts, which are in their nature infinitely divisible, and move in portions of space which are also infinitely divisible. When that principle which we call quality is moved, and acts upon matter, it undergoes an entire change, and those forms are produced, from which arises the diversified and coherent system of the universe." This doctrine Plato unfolds at large in his *Timæus*, and particularly insists upon the notion, that matter has originally no form, but is capable of receiving any. He calls it the mother and receptacle of forms, by the union of which with matter the universe becomes perceptible to the senses; and maintains, that the visible world owes its forms to the energy of the Divine intellectual nature.

It is easy to perceive, that Plato's notion of matter is essentially different from that which supposes it to consist of small indivisible particles, and consequently that Plato is not to be ranked amongst the atomic philosophers. Sometimes indeed he seems to assert, that all bodies are composed of particles. "The parts of bodies," says he,<sup>74</sup> "must be conceived so minute, as to be singly invisible, and it is by collecting many of these into one mass that they become visible." But, in this passage, Plato is speaking of small corpuscles already endowed with forms or qualities, and not of primary matter, which, according to him, was without form, and infinitely divisible.

Another conception respecting matter, which arises from the preceding, is,<sup>75</sup> that matter is not body, but that from which bodies are formed. Body is that which is produced from matter by the energy of the efficient cause. This distinction is found in almost all the ancient systems of philosophy: it is therefore necessary, in examining them, not to understand the terms *incorporeal* and *immaterial* as synonymous.<sup>76</sup>

It was also a doctrine of Plato, that there is in matter a necessary, but blind and refractory force; and that hence arises a propensity in matter to disorder and deformity, which is the cause of all the imperfection which appears in the works of God, and the origin of evil. On this subject Plato writes with wonderful obscurity: but, as far as we

<sup>74</sup> In *Timæo*.<sup>75</sup> Cic. l. c.<sup>76</sup> Stobæus Ecl. Phys. c. 14.

are able to trace his conceptions, he appears to have thought, that matter, from its nature, resists the will of the Supreme Artificer, so that he cannot perfectly execute his designs, and that this is the cause of the mixture of good and evil, which is found in the material world. "It cannot be," says he,<sup>77</sup> "that evil should be destroyed, for there must always be something contrary to good:" and again, "God wills, *as far as it is possible*, every thing good, and nothing evil." What property there is in matter which opposes the wise and benevolent intentions of the First Intelligence, our philosopher has not clearly explained; but he speaks of it as *ἐμφυτος ἐπιθυμία*, "an innate propensity" to disorder;<sup>78</sup> and says, "that before nature was adorned with its present beautiful forms, it was inclined to confusion and deformity, and that from this habitude arises all the evil which happens in the world." Plutarch supposes the Platonic notion to be,<sup>79</sup> that there is in matter an unconscious irrational soul; and this supposition has been adopted by several modern writers. But there is no proof from the writings of Plato, that he conceived the imperfection of matter to arise from any cause distinct from its nature. Such a notion is incongruous with Plato's general system, as far as we are able to discover it. To this we may add, that it is contrary to the doctrine of the Pythagorean school, to which Plato was probably indebted for his notions on this subject; for the philosophers of that sect held, that motion is the effect of a power essential to matter.

The principle opposite to matter, in the system of Plato, is *God*. He taught, that there is an intelligent cause, which is the origin of all spiritual being, and the former of the material world.<sup>80</sup> The nature of this great Being he pronounced it difficult to discover, and when discovered, impossible to divulge.<sup>81</sup> The existence of God he inferred from the marks of intelligence which appear in the form and arrangement of bodies in the visible world:<sup>82</sup> and from the unity of the material system he concluded, that the mind by which it was formed must be one.<sup>83</sup> God, according to

<sup>77</sup> Theæt. t. i. p. 176.

<sup>78</sup> Phileb.

<sup>79</sup> De Anim. Procr. t. ii. p. 155.    <sup>80</sup> Tim. t. iii. p. 29. Phæd. t. i. p. 78.

<sup>81</sup> Tim. l. c. Ep. vii. t. iii. p. 341.

<sup>82</sup> De Legibus. t. ii. p. 886.

<sup>83</sup> Tim. t. iii. p. 30. Polit. t. ii. p. 174. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 7.

Plato, is the Supreme Intelligence, incorporeal, without beginning, end, or change, and capable of being perceived only by the mind. He certainly distinguished the Deity, not only from body, and whatever has corporeal qualities, but from matter itself, from which all things are made. He also ascribed to him all those qualities which modern philosophers ascribe to immaterial substance, and conceived him to be in his nature simple, uncircumscribed in space, the author of all regulated motion, and, in fine, possessed of intelligence in the highest perfection. But whether he entirely separated all ideas of extension from his conception of the Deity, is a question which we find ourselves unable to solve. Thus much however is certain, that whatever were Plato's conceptions respecting the essence of Deity, he ascribed to him power and wisdom sufficient for the formation and preservation of the world, and supposed him possessed of goodness, which inclined him to desire, and, as far as the refractory nature of matter would permit, to produce, the happiness of the universe.<sup>84</sup> This great Being he distinguished by the appellation of *Tò Ἀγαθόν*, *The Good*.

"God, that he might form a perfect world, followed that eternal pattern which remains immutable, and which can only be comprehended by reason." These are the express words of Plato,<sup>85</sup> who every where inculcates this doctrine as fundamental in cosmology. But concerning this pattern, or archetype, he writes so obscurely, that his interpreters and followers have been led to adopt very different opinions. He frequently speaks of God under the appellation of *mind*, and represents him as the cause of all things. "That good cause," says he, "which appointed the years, and months, and hours, justly claims the appellation of wisdom and intelligence."<sup>86</sup> And again, "You must confess in the nature of God himself a ruling mind, and the energy of an efficient cause." From these and other similar passages some have inferred, that the whole of Plato's doctrine, on the formation of the world, amounts to nothing more, than that the Deity employed his understanding or reason in planning and executing the system of the universe; and consequently, that by Ideas existing in the Reason of

<sup>84</sup> Polit. t. ii. p. 174. De Leg. l. x. t. ii. p. 899.

<sup>85</sup> Tim. t. iii. p. 29.

<sup>86</sup> Philebo, t. ii. p. 30, &c.



God are only meant, conceptions formed in the Divine mind. But by Ideas, Plato appears to have meant something much more mysterious; namely, patterns, or archetypes, subsisting by themselves, as real beings, *ὄντως ὄντα*, in the Divine Reason, as in their original and eternal region, and issuing thence to give form to sensible things, and to become objects of contemplation and science to rational beings. It is the doctrine of the *Timæus*, that *ὁ λογισμὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the Reason of God, comprehends exemplars of all things, and that this Reason is one of the primary causes of things. Plutarch says,<sup>87</sup> that Plato supposes three principles, God, Matter, and Idea. Justin Martyr,<sup>88</sup> Pseudo-Origen,<sup>89</sup> and others, assert the same. Laertius, indeed, represents the principles in nature, according to the Platonic system, to be two, God and Matter: but he may be supposed to speak only of the two sources of being which are primary and independent; for the third, namely the Idea, or exemplar, is only to be considered as instrumental, and dependent upon the efficient cause: "The exemplar," says Seneca,<sup>90</sup> "is not the efficient cause of nature, but an instrument necessary to the cause." The Divine Reason, the eternal region of Ideas or forms; Plato speaks of,<sup>91</sup> as having always existed, *λογισμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ ὄντως*, and as the Divine principle which established the order of the world, *λόγον τῶν πάντων θεόστατον, δεῖξαί τε τὸν κόσμον*. He appears to have conceived of this principle, as distinct not merely from matter but from the efficient cause, and as eternally containing within itself Ideas, or intelligible forms, which, flowing from the fountain of the Divine essence, have in themselves a real existence, and which, in the formation of the visible world, were, by the energy of the efficient cause, united to matter, to produce sensible bodies. These Ideas Plato defines to be the peculiar natures of things, or essences as such; and asserts, that they always remain the same, without beginning or end.<sup>92</sup>

That this is the true Platonic doctrine of Ideas will appear probable, if we attend to the manner in which Plato

<sup>87</sup> Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 10.

<sup>88</sup> Philosophom, c. 19. p. 108.

<sup>89</sup> Tim. l. c. Epinomid. t. ii. p. 986.

<sup>90</sup> Tim. t. iii. p. 28. Parmen. t. iii. p. 135.

<sup>88</sup> Ad Græc. p. 7.

<sup>89</sup> Ep. 65.

framed his system of opinions concerning the origin of things. "Having been from his youth," says Aristotle,<sup>83</sup> "conversant with Cratylus, a disciple of Heracitus, and instructed in the doctrine of that school, that all sensible things are variable, and cannot be proper objects of science, he reasonably concluded, that if there be any such thing as science, there must exist, besides sensible objects, certain permanent natures, perceptible only by the intellect." Such natures, Divine in their origin, and eternal and immutable in their existence, he admitted into his system, and called them Ideas. These objects of contemplation and science Plato seems to have found in the school of Pythagoras, whose theology and metaphysics he had studied, and whom, as Aristotle asserts, he followed in many things. For we shall find in the sequel, that the Numbers of Pythagoras agreed in many leading characters with the Ideas of Plato, and were employed for the same purposes, namely, to furnish objects of true science, and to elevate the human mind to a resemblance to the Divine. Plato, at the same time that, after Heracitus, he retained the fluctuating world of sense as the object of opinions, adopted from Pythagoras the permanent world of intelligible natures, as the object of science. Visible things were regarded by Plato as fleeting shades, and Ideas as the only permanent substances. These he conceived to be the proper objects of science, to a mind raised, by Divine contemplation, above the perpetually varying scenes of the material world. His conceptions on this subject are beautifully expressed in a passage of his Republic,<sup>84</sup> in which he compares the state of the human mind with respect to the material and the intellectual world, to that of a man, who, in a cave into which no light can enter but by a single passage, views, upon a wall opposite to the entrance, the shadows of external objects, and mistakes them for realities. So strongly was the imagination of Plato impressed with this conception, that,<sup>85</sup> in the election of magistrates for his republic, he required that no one should be chosen, who had not, by the habitual contemplation of the world of Ideas, attained a perfect power of abstraction.

<sup>83</sup> Metaph. l. i. c. 6. l. xiii. c. 4.<sup>84</sup> L. vii. init. t. ii. p. 515.<sup>85</sup> Rep. l. vii. t. ii. p. 518.

It was another doctrine in the Platonic system, that the Deity formed the material world, after a perfect archetype, which had eternally subsisted in his Reason, and endued it with a soul. "God," says he,<sup>96</sup> "produced mind prior in time as well as excellence to the body, that the latter might be subject to the former."—"From that substance which is indivisible and always the same, and from that which is corporeal and divisible, he compounded a third kind of substance, participating of the nature of both." This substance, which is not eternal, but produced, and which derives the superior part of its nature from God, and the inferior from matter, Plato supposed to be the animating principle in the universe, prevailing and adorning all things.<sup>97</sup> This third principle in nature is, in the Platonic system, inferior to the Deity, being derived from that Divine Reason, which is the seat of the ideal world; herein differing fundamentally from the Stoical doctrine of the soul of the world, which supposed the essence of the Divine nature diffused through the universe.

The doctrine of a twofold soul of the world, the one *ὑπερκόσμιον*, presiding over it, the other, *ἐγκόσμιον*, residing in it, is an appendage to the ancient Platonic system, introduced by the later Platonists,<sup>98</sup> to accommodate this system to the notions adopted by many of the Christian fathers concerning the Divine Nature.

It is evident, from the preceding account of the doctrine of Plato concerning God and the soul of the world, that it differs materially from the doctrine of the Trinity afterwards received in the Christian church. Plato did not suppose three subsistences in one Divine essence, separate from the visible world; but taught, that the *λόγος*, or Reason of God, is the seat of the intelligible world, or of Ideas, and that the Soul of the World is a third subordinate nature, compounded of intelligence and matter. In the language of Plato, the universe, being animated by a soul which proceeds from God, is the Son of God; and several parts of nature, particularly the heavenly bodies, are

<sup>96</sup> Tim. t. iii. p. 34.

<sup>97</sup> Cratyl. t. iii. p. 53. Conf. Arist. Metaph. l. xiv. c. 6.

<sup>98</sup> Plotin, Ennead. iii. l. v. c. 2.

Gods.<sup>99</sup> He probably conceived many subordinate divinities to have been produced at the same time with the Soul of the World,<sup>1</sup> and imagined that the Supreme Being appointed them to the charge of forming animal bodies, and superintending the visible world: a doctrine which he seems to have borrowed from the Pythagoreans, and particularly from Timæus, the Locrian, who says—"The Ruler of All assigned the inspection of human affairs to demons, and committed to them the government of the world."

Upon the foundation of the doctrine, which has been explained, concerning God, Matter, Ideas, the Soul of the World, and Demons, Plato raised the structure of his physics.

Plato taught, that the Supreme Architect, by uniting eternal and immutable Ideas or Forms to variable matter, produced the visible world. That he believed the world to have had a beginning in time, and not to have existed from eternity, appears from the whole course of his reasoning in his *Timæus* concerning the formation of the world. Aristotle,<sup>2</sup> indeed, intimates, that when Plato seems to assert this doctrine, he speaks of the Author of nature as prior to his works, not in time, but in the order of our conceptions: but this interpretation was probably offered merely for the sake of reconciling the doctrine of his master with his own opinion concerning the eternity of the world. The Epicureans, in their disputes with the Platonists upon this question, as they are stated by Cicero, proceeded upon the supposition, that there was a period, in infinite duration, when the universe did not exist. "I ask," says Velleius,<sup>3</sup> "why the architects of the world, after having slept through innumerable ages, so suddenly displayed their power: or why, in the field of infinite space, they desisted from their operations?"

Other tenets included in the Platonic doctrine of nature were, that the universe is one animated being,<sup>4</sup> including within its limits all animated natures; that, in the formation of the visible and tangible world, fire and earth were first

<sup>99</sup>Tim. l. c. Tim. Locr. t. iii. p. 95. Op. Plat. Laert. l. iii. § 75.

<sup>1</sup>Tim. t. iii. p. 40. Conviv. t. iii. p. 201. Apolog. Soc.

<sup>2</sup>De Cælo. l. i. c. 10.

<sup>3</sup>De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>4</sup>Tim. t. iii. p. 32.

formed, and were afterwards united by means of air and water; that from perfect parts one perfect whole was produced, of a spherical figure, as most beautiful in itself, and best suited to contain all other figures;<sup>5</sup> that the elementary parts of the world are of regular geometrical forms, the particles of earth being cubical, those of fire pyramidical, those of air in the form of an octohedron, and those of water in that of an icosohedron; that these are adjusted, in number, measure, and power, in perfect conformity to the geometrical laws of proportion; that the soul which pervades this sphere is the cause of its revolution round its centre; and, lastly, that the world will remain for ever, but that, by the action of its animating principle, it accomplishes certain periods, within which every thing returns to its ancient place and state. This periodical revolution of nature is called the Platonic, or Great, year.

Plato refers to the head of the philosophy of nature his doctrine concerning the Human Soul; a doctrine which he treats obscurely, on the ground of his assumed hypothesis concerning spiritual emanations from the Divine nature. He appears to have taught, that the soul of man is derived by emanation from God; but that this emanation was not immediate, but through the intervention of the soul of the world, which was itself debased by some material admixture; and, consequently, that the human soul, receding farther from the First Intelligence, is inferior in perfection to the soul of the world.<sup>6</sup> He conceived the soul of man to be, in the material parts of its nature, formed for conversing with sensible objects, and, in its intellectual part, capable of spiritual contemplation,<sup>7</sup> but what he meant by *ὄχημα*, the material vehicle of the soul, is uncertain. The relation which the human soul, in its original constitution, bears to matter, Plato appears to have considered as the source of moral evil.<sup>8</sup> Since the soul of the world, by partaking of matter, has within itself the seeds of evil, he inferred, that this must be the case still more with respect to the soul of man. Upon the great question, in what

<sup>5</sup> Tim. t. iii. p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Phileb. t. ii. p. 30. De Leg. I. x. t. ii. p. 899.

<sup>8</sup> Chalcid. in Tim. § 51. p. 298.

manner the soul acts upon the body, Plato speaks obscurely and inconsistently, but it is probable that, as he conceived the soul of the world to produce the motion of the earth and the heavenly bodies, by means of that part of its nature which is material; so he supposed the power of moving bodies, which belongs to the human soul, to be the effect of its material principle.

To account for the origin and present state of human souls, Plato supposes, that when God formed the universe, he separated from the soul of the world inferior souls, equal in number to the stars, and assigned to each its proper celestial abode; but that these souls (by what means, or for what reason, does not appear) were sent down to the earth into human bodies, as into a sepulchre or prison. He ascribes to this cause the depravity and misery to which human nature is liable; and maintains, that it is only by disengaging itself from all animal passions, and rising above sensible objects to the contemplation of the world of intelligence, that the soul of man can be prepared to return to its original habitation.<sup>9</sup>

Not inconsistently with the preceding doctrine, our philosopher frequently speaks of the soul of man as consisting of three parts;<sup>10</sup> the first, the seat of intelligence; the second, of passion; the third, of appetite; and assigns to each its proper place in the human body. The first of these *portions* or *faculties* of the soul (for Plato speaks of them under both these denominations) he conceived to have been derived from God; the second and third, from matter. The irrational parts of the soul, in the Platonic system, are not, however, to be confounded with the blood and nerves, which they were supposed to inhabit and to move.

Lastly, Plato teaches, in express terms, the doctrine of the immortality of the rational soul: but he has rested the proof of this doctrine upon arguments drawn from the more fanciful parts of his system.<sup>11</sup> For example: In nature all things terminate in their contraries; the state of sleep terminates in that of waking; and the reverse: so, life ends in death, and death in life. The soul is a simple indivisible substance, and therefore incapable of disso-

<sup>9</sup> Tim. l. c. Phæd. t. i. p. 66. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Tim. t. iii. p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> Phædo. t. i. p. 69, &c.

lutions, or corruption. The objects to which it naturally adheres are spiritual and incorruptible; therefore its nature is so. All our knowledge is acquired by the reminiscence of ideas contemplated in a prior state: as the soul therefore must have existed before this life, it is probable that it will continue to exist after it. Life being the conjunction of the soul with the body, death is nothing more than their separation. Whatever is the principle of motion must be incapable of destruction. Such is the substance of the arguments for the immortality of the soul, contained in the celebrated dialogue of the Phædo. It is happy for mankind, that their belief of this important doctrine rests upon firmer grounds than such futile reasonings.

Preparatory to the study of theoretical philosophy, Plato required from his disciples a knowledge of the elements of mathematics.<sup>12</sup> Although he has left no direct treatise upon this subject, he has made frequent use of mathematical ideas and language to explain and illustrate his philosophical tenets; and he recommends these studies as peculiarly adapted to raise the mind from sensible to intellectual objects, and to inure it to abstract and general conceptions.

Plato was a zealous advocate for the importance of that kind of science which is purely speculative, and, though a disciple of Socrates, censured those who make utility the only measure of the value of learning. Notwithstanding this predilection for abstract speculation, he did not, however, neglect, in his writings, to deliver precepts of practical philosophy. On the subjects of policy and morals, he prescribes rules which are intended for the direction of societies and individuals in the offices of life, but which would be much more valuable were they less tinctured with his theoretical doctrines.

Concerning policy, Plato has written at large in his Republic, and in his Dialogue on Laws. He was so much enamoured with his own conceptions on this subject, that it was chiefly the hope of having an opportunity to realize his plan of a republic, which induced him to visit the court of Dionysius. But they who are conversant with

<sup>12</sup> Rep. i. vii. t. ii. p. 522.

mankind, and capable of calmly investigating the springs of human actions, will easily perceive, that his projects were chimerical, and could only have originated in a mind replete with philosophical enthusiasm. Of this nothing can be a clearer proof, than the design of admitting, in his republic, a community of women,<sup>13</sup> in order to give reason an entire control over desire. The main object of his political institutions appears to have been the subjugation of the passions and appetites, by means of the abstract contemplation of ideas. A system of policy raised upon such fanciful grounds, cannot merit a more distinct consideration.

The chief heads of Plato's moral doctrine, as it may be gathered up from detached passages in his writings (for he seldom treats directly on any moral topic) are these :

Our highest good consists in the contemplation and knowledge of the first good, which is Mind, or God.<sup>14</sup> All those things which are called good by men, are in reality such, only so far as they are derived from the first and highest good. The only power in human nature which can acquire a resemblance to the Supreme Good, is reason. The minds of philosophers are fraught with valuable treasures ; and, after the death of the body, they shall be admitted to Divine entertainments ; so that, whilst, with the gods, they are employed in surveying the fields of truth, they will look down with contempt upon the folly of those who are contented with earthly shadows.<sup>15</sup> Goodness and beauty consist in the knowledge of the first good, and the first fair. That only which is becoming is good : therefore virtue is to be pursued for its own sake ; and, because it is a Divine attainment, it cannot be taught, but is the gift of God.<sup>16</sup> He alone who has attained the knowledge of the first good is happy. The end of this knowledge is, to render man as like to God as the condition of human nature will permit. This likeness consists in prudence, justice, sanctity, temperance.<sup>17</sup> In order to attain

<sup>13</sup> Rep. l. v. t. ii. p. 457. 461. Tim. t. iii. p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> Parmenid. t. iii. p. 134. Rep. l. vi. t. ii. p. 505, 6. Phileb. t. ii. p. 20. Protag. t. i. p. 351. Gorg. t. i. p. 467.

<sup>15</sup> Rep. l. vii.

<sup>16</sup> Alcib. t. ii. p. 116. Menon. t. ii. p. 98.

<sup>17</sup> Leg. l. iv. t. ii. p. 716. Theæt. t. 176. Cratyl. t. i. p. 402.



this state, it is necessary to be convinced that the body is a prison, from which the soul must be released before it can arrive at the knowledge of those things which are real and immutable.<sup>18</sup> Virtue is the most perfect habit of mind which adorns the man, and renders him firm, resolute, and consistent, in action and speech, in solitude and society.<sup>19</sup> The virtues are so nearly allied, that they cannot be separated; they are perfect, and therefore neither capable of increase nor of diminution.<sup>20</sup> The passions are motions of the soul, excited by some apparent good or evil: they originate in the irrational parts of the soul, and must be regulated and subdued by reason.<sup>21</sup> Friendship is, strictly speaking, reciprocal benevolence, which inclines each party to be as solicitous for the welfare of the other as for his own. This equality of affection is created and preserved by a similarity of disposition and manners.<sup>22</sup>

On the whole, although many just and sublime sentiments on moral subjects are to be found in the writings of Plato, it will appear, upon an impartial examination, that his ethical doctrine is in some particulars defective, and in others extravagant and absurd. The fanciful notions which he entertained concerning the Divine nature, the world of Ideas, and matter, seem to have given a romantic and enthusiastic turn to his conceptions on morals: a defect which may be in part ascribed to his connexion with the Pythagorean school, but which was, perhaps, chiefly owing to the peculiar propensity of his genius towards metaphysical fiction.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Phæd. t. i. p. 66.

<sup>19</sup> Leg. l. vii. t. ii. p. 804. Gorg. t. i. p. 506. Protag. t. i. p. 329.

<sup>20</sup> Protag. p. 345. Phæd. t. iii. p. 102.

<sup>21</sup> Phil. t. ii. p. 47.

<sup>22</sup> Lysid. t. ii. p. 214.

<sup>23</sup> Vidend. Jons. Scrip. Hist. Phil. l. i. c. 6. 11. 13. l. iii. c. 10. Olympiodor. de Vit. Plat. post Laert. ed. Causab. Ficinus de Vit. Plat. Guarinus de Vit. Illust. Græc. Rapin Comp. Plat. et Aristot. Dacier. Vit. Plat. Delin. Melancthon. de Vit. Plat. Petav. Rat. Temp. l. iii. c. 13. Cyrill. contra Julian. l. vi. Æn. Gaza de Immort. p. 12. Eugben de Perrenbi Phil. l. i. c. 27. Hanschius de Enthous. Plat. Balt Defens des S. Peres. l. iv. c. 22. Lamius de Trinit. Florent. 1733. Cleric. Epist. Cr. vii. 177. Budd. Hist. Vet. Test. t. ii. p. 1006. L'Enfant. Diss. Bibl. Germ. t. ii. art. 5. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 1056. Basnage Hist. des Juifs. t. iv. c. 3, 4. Gundling. Hist. Phil. Mor. c. i. § 1. Paschius de Var. Mod. Trad. Mor. c. i. § 9. Meurs. Ceramic. c. 19. Fabric. Bibl.

## SECT. II.

*Of the Old, the Middle, and the New Academy.*

THE school of Plato long continued famous, but passed through several changes, on account of which it was successively distinguished into the *Old*, the *Middle*, and the *New Academy*.<sup>24</sup>

The *Old Academy* consisted of those followers of Plato, who taught the doctrine of their master without mixture or corruption. The first of these was *Speusippus*,<sup>25</sup> an Athenian, a nephew of Plato: he occupied the chair of instruction during the term of eight years from the death of his master. Through the interest of Plato he enjoyed an intimate friendship with Dion, whilst he was resident at Athens; and it was at his instigation, that Dion,<sup>26</sup> encouraged by the promise of support from the malecontents of Syracuse, undertook his expedition against Dionysius the tyrant, by whom he had been banished. Contrary to the practice of Plato, Speusippus required from his pupils a stated gratuity. He placed statues of the Graces in the school which Plato had built. On account of his infirm state of health, he was commonly carried to and from the academy in a vehicle. On his way thither he one day met Diogenes, and saluted him; the surly philosopher refused to return the salute, and told him, that such a feeble

Antiq. c. 21. Potter Arch. l. i. c. 8. Schmidii Diss. de Gymnas. Junius de Acad. Herm. Conring. Ant. Acad. p. 197. Blount Cens. Cel. Vir. p. 26. Bessario contra Trapezuntium. Voss. de Idol. l. i. c. 4. Vavasor de Dict. Judic. c. 3. Caussein. de Eloq. t. i. c. 69. Fleury Diss. de Plat. adject. lib. de Stud. Instit. Burnet Arch. l. i. c. 11. Brucker. Hist. de Ideis. ed. Aug. Vind. 1723. Suppl. Amoen. Lit. t. viii. Diss. de Numeris Pyth. Am. Lit. t. 7. Puffendorf. Diss. de Theol. Plat. inter Opusc. Benii Theol. Plat. Cudworth, c. iv. v. cum Not. Mosh. Crispus de Platone caute legendo. Trevener. Diss. de Theol. Plat. et Arist. Zimmermann. de Ath. Plat. Amoen. Lit. t. 9. 12, 13. Reimann. Hist. Ath. c. 22. Wolf. de Manich. § 32. Bayle. Art. Zoroast. n. E. Javelli Mor. Phil. Plat. Ven. 1536. Omeisii Ethica Plat. Altdorf. 1698. Zentgravius Spec. Doct. Plat. de Jura Nat., *Souverain Platonisme dévoilé*.

<sup>24</sup> Cic. Qu. Acad. passim.

<sup>25</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 1. Suidas.

<sup>26</sup> Plut. in Dionc.

wretch ought to be ashamed to live; to which Speusippus replied, that he lived not in his limbs, but in his mind. At length, being wholly incapacitated by a paralytic stroke for the duties of the chair, he resigned it to Xenocrates. He is said to have been of a violent temper, fond of pleasure, and exceedingly avaricious. Speusippus wrote many philosophical works, which are now lost, but which Aristotle thought sufficiently valuable to purchase at the expense of three talents.<sup>29</sup> From the few fragments which remain of his philosophy, it appears that he adhered very strictly to the doctrine of his master. Concerning the Supreme Mind he taught, *Τὸν γοῦν οὗτε τῷ ἐνὶ οὗτε τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸν αὐτὸν, ἰδιότης δὲ εἶναι*, that "it is neither the same with unity nor goodness, but of a nature peculiar to itself."

Xenocrates,<sup>30</sup> a Chalcedonian, born in the ninety-fifth Olympiad,<sup>31</sup> at first attached himself to Æschines, but afterwards became a disciple of Plato, who took much pains in cultivating his genius, which was naturally heavy. Plato, comparing him with Aristotle, who was also one of his pupils, called the former a dull ass, who needed the spur, and the latter a mettlesome horse, who required the curb. His temper was gloomy, his aspect severe, and his manners little tiactured with urbanity. These material defects his master took great pains to correct; frequently advising him to sacrifice to the Graces: and the pupil was patient of instruction, and knew how to value the kindness of his preceptor. He compared himself<sup>32</sup> to a vessel with a narrow orifice, which receives with difficulty, but firmly retains whatever is put into it. So affectionately was Xenocrates attached to his master, that when Dionysius, in a violent fit of anger, threatened to find one who should cut off his head, he said, "not before he has cut off this;" pointing to his own. As long as Plato lived, Xenocrates was one of his most esteemed disciples; after his death he closely adhered to his doctrine; and in the second year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad,<sup>32</sup> he took the chair in the Academy, as the successor of Speusippus. Aristotle, who about this time returned from Macedonia, in expectation,

<sup>29</sup> Laert. l. c. Stobæus Serm. 273. p. 583.

<sup>30</sup> Fabric. Bibl. Græc. v. ii. p. 230. A. Gell. Noct. Att. l. iii. § 17.

<sup>31</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 9. 14. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 507. Ælian. H. V. l. xiv. q. 9.

<sup>32</sup> B. C. 400.

<sup>31</sup> Plut. de Auditione, t. iv. p. 144.

<sup>32</sup> B. C. 339.

as it should seem, of filling the chair, was greatly disappointed and chagrined at this nomination; and immediately instituted a school in the Lyceum, in opposition to that of the Academy, where Xenocrates continued to preside till his death.

Xenocrates was celebrated among the Athenians, not only for wisdom but for his virtues.<sup>33</sup> So eminent was his reputation for integrity, that when he was called upon to give evidence in a judicial transaction, in which an oath was usually required, the judges unanimously agreed, that his simple asseveration should be taken, as a public testimony to his merit. Even Philip of Macedon found it impossible to corrupt him. When he was sent with several others upon an embassy to that prince, he declined all private intercourse with him, that he might escape the temptation of a bribe. Philip afterwards said,<sup>34</sup> that of all those who had come to him on embassies from foreign states, Xenocrates was the only one whose friendship he had not been able to purchase. During the time of the Lamiac war,<sup>35</sup> being sent as ambassador to the court of Antipater, for the redemption of several Athenian captives, he was invited by the prince to sit down with him at supper, but declined the invitation in the words of Ulysses to Circe:<sup>36</sup>

Ἦ Κίρκη, τίς γάρ κεν ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐναΐσιμος εἴη,  
Πρὶν ἢ τλαίη πάσασθαι ἐδῆνός ἡδὲ ποτήριος,  
Πρὶν λύσας' ἐτάρους καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεσθαι; 7

This pertinent and ingenious application of a passage in Homer, or rather the generous and patriotic spirit which it expressed, was so pleasing to Antipater, that he immediately released the prisoners. It may be mentioned as another example of moderation in Xenocrates, that when Alexander,<sup>38</sup> to mortify Aristotle, against whom he had an

<sup>33</sup> Val. Max. l. ii. c. 10. Cic. ad Att. ii. 16. Laert. l. iv. § 7.

<sup>34</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 8.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. § 9, 10. Plut. in Phoc.

<sup>36</sup> Odys. l. 10. ver. 383.

<sup>37</sup> What man, whose bosom burns with gen'rous worth,  
His friends enthrall'd, and banish'd from his sight,  
Would taste a selfish, solitary joy?

<sup>38</sup> Plut. in Alex. t. v. p. 551. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 22. Suidas, Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Stob. Ecl. 37.

accidental pique, sent Xenocrates a rich present of fifty talents; he accepted only thirty *mina*, returning the rest to Alexander with this message: that the large sum which Alexander had sent, was more than he should have been able to spend during his whole life. So abstemious was he with respect to food, that his provision was frequently spoiled before it was consumed. His chastity was invincible. Phryne,<sup>39</sup> a celebrated Athenian courtesan, attempted without success to seduce him. Of his humanity, no other proof can be necessary than the following pathetic incident. A sparrow, which was pursued by a hawk, flew into his bosom; he afforded it shelter and protection till its enemy was out of sight, and then let it go, saying, that he would never betray a suppliant.<sup>40</sup> He was fond of retirement, and was seldom seen in the city. He was discreet in the use of his time, and carefully allotted a certain portion of each day to its proper business.<sup>41</sup> One of these he employed in silent meditation. He was an admirer of the mathematical sciences, and was so fully convinced of their utility, that when a young man who was unacquainted with geometry and astronomy, desired admission into the Academy, he refused his request, saying, that he was not yet possessed of the handles of philosophy. In fine, Xenocrates was eminent both for the purity of his morals and for his acquaintance with science, and supported the credit of the Platonic school by his lectures, his writings, and his conduct.<sup>42</sup> He lived to the first year of the hundred and sixteenth Olympiad,<sup>43</sup> or the eighty-second of his age, when he lost his life by accidentally falling, in the dark, into a reservoir of water.<sup>44</sup>

The philosophical tenets of Xenocrates were truly Platonic; but in his method of teaching he made use of the language of the Pythagoreans. He made Unity and Diversity principles in nature, or gods; the former of whom he represented as the father, and the latter as the mother, of the universe. He taught, that the heavens are Divine, and the stars celestial gods; and that besides these divinities, there are terrestrial demons, of a middle order between the

<sup>39</sup> Laert. I. iv. § 7. Val. Max. I. iv. c. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Ælian. I. xiii. c. 31.

<sup>41</sup> Laert.

<sup>42</sup> Plut. de Virt. Mor. t. ii. p. 399.

<sup>43</sup> B. C. 316.

<sup>44</sup> Laert.

gods and man, which partake of the nature both of mind and body, and are, therefore, like human beings, capable of passions, and liable to diversity of character.<sup>45</sup> After Plato, he probably conceived the superior divinities to be the Ideas, or intelligible forms, which immediately proceeded from the Supreme Deity, and the inferior gods, or demons, to be derived from the soul of the world, and therefore, like that principle, to be compounded of a simple and a divisible substance, or of that which always remains the same, and of that which is liable to change.<sup>46</sup>

The direction of the Academy, after the death of Xenocrates, devolved upon *Polemo*,<sup>47</sup> an Athenian of distinction, who in his youth had been addicted to infamous pleasures. The manner in which he was reclaimed from his licentious course of life, and brought under the discipline of philosophy, affords a memorable example of the power of eloquence, when it is employed in the cause of virtue. As he was, one morning about the rising of the sun, returning home from the revels of the night, clad in a loose robe crowned with garlands, strongly perfumed, and intoxicated with wine, he passed by the school of Xenocrates, and saw him surrounded with his disciples. Unable to resist so fortunate an opportunity of indulging his sportive humour, he rushed, without ceremony, into the school, and took his place among the philosophers. The whole assembly was astonished at this rude and indecent intrusion, and all but Xenocrates discovered signs of resentment. Xenocrates, however, preserved the perfect command of his countenance; and, with great presence of mind, turned his discourse from the subject on which he was treating, to the topics of temperance and modesty, which he recommended with such strength of argument, and energy of language, that Polemo was constrained to yield to the force of conviction. Instead of turning the philosopher and his doctrine to ridicule, as he at first intended, he became sensible of the folly of his former conduct, was heartily ashamed of the contemptible figure which he made in so respectable an assembly, took his

<sup>45</sup> Laert. Stob. Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 3. Plut. de Is. et Osir. t. ii. p. 157.

<sup>46</sup> Plut. de Anim. Gent. t. iii. p. 75. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 13. Laert.

<sup>47</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 16. Suidas.

garland from his head, concealed his naked arm under his cloak; assumed a sedate and thoughtful aspect; and, in short, resolved from that hour to relinquish his licentious pleasures, and devote himself to the pursuit of wisdom. Thus was this young man, by the powerful energy of truth and eloquence, in an instant converted from an infamous libertine to a respectable philosopher.<sup>48</sup> In such a sudden change of character it is difficult to avoid passing from one extreme to another. Polemo, after his reformation, in order to brace up his mind to the tone of rigid virtue, constantly practised the severest austerity and most hardy fortitude. From the thirtieth year of his age to his death he drank nothing but water. When he suffered violent pain, he shewed no external sign of anguish. In order to preserve his mind undisturbed by passion, he habituated himself to speak in an uniform tone of voice, without elevation or depression. The austerity of his manners was, however, tempered with urbanity and generosity. He was fond of solitude, and passed much of his time in a garden near his school. He died, at an advanced age, of a consumption.<sup>49</sup> Of his tenets little is said by the ancients, because he strictly adhered to the doctrine of Plato. He is said to have taught, that the world is God:<sup>50</sup> but this was, doubtless, according to the Platonic system, which made the Soul of the World an inferior divinity.

Polemo was succeeded by *Crates*,<sup>51</sup> an Athenian, to whom he had long been attached by a similarity of dispositions and pursuits. While they lived their friendship continued inviolate, and they were both buried in the same grave.

The last celebrated name in the Old Academy is *Cran-  
tor*,<sup>52</sup> who studied under Xenocrates and Polemo. He adhered to the Platonic system, and was the first who wrote commentaries on the works of Plato, but, as he died before Polemo and Crates, he could not succeed them in the Academic chair. He was highly celebrated for the purity of his moral doctrine, as may be inferred from the praises which are bestowed by the ancients upon his discourse

<sup>48</sup> Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Lucian. in his accusato, t. ii. p. 677. Cic. de Fin. l. iv. c. 6.

<sup>49</sup> Laert. Athenæus, l. ii. p. 44.

<sup>50</sup> Stob. Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 21.

<sup>52</sup> Laert. ib.

"On Grief," which Cicero<sup>43</sup> calls, "a small but golden piece, adapted to heal the wounds of the mind, not by encouraging stoical insensibility, but by suggesting arguments drawn from the purest fountains of philosophy." That Crantor acquired great reputation as a moral preceptor Horace<sup>44</sup> also intimates:

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,  
Plenius et melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.<sup>45</sup>

Hitherto the pure doctrine of Plato continued to be taught in his school. But after the death of Crates a new tribe of philosophers arose, who, on account of certain innovations in their manner of philosophizing, which in some measure receded from the Platonic system without entirely deserting it, have been distinguished by the name of the *Middle Academy*.

The first preceptor who appears in this class is *Arcesilaus*,<sup>46</sup> a native of *Æolis*, who was born in the first year of the hundred and sixteenth Olympiad.<sup>47</sup> He was early initiated in mathematical science and polite literature, and was intended by his elder brother, who had the charge of his education, for the profession of the law, but chose rather to devote himself to the study of philosophy. He first attended upon Theophrastus, then upon Aristotle, and afterwards became a disciple of Polemo. Among his intimate friends and fellow disciples, were Crantor, the moralist, and Zeno, the celebrated founder of the Stoic sect. After the death of Crates, Sosicrates, who had taken the Academic chair, resigned it to the superior abilities and learning of Arcesilaus, whose method of instruction was universally admired. He was intimately conversant with the ancient poets, particularly Homer and Pindar, and frequently in conversation quoted pertinent passages from their works.<sup>48</sup> Though he reprehended the faults of his pupils with great freedom, his address was so captivating, and his powers of persuasion so commanding, that he sel-

<sup>43</sup> *Ac. Qu.* l. iv. c. 44. *Tusc. Qu.* l. iii. c. 6.

<sup>44</sup> *Ep.* l. i. ep. 2. v. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Who better taught fair virtue's sacred rules  
Than Crantor or Cratippus in the schools?

<sup>46</sup> *Laert.* l. iv. § 28, &c. *Euseb.* *Prep.* l. xiv. c. 9.

<sup>47</sup> *B. C.* 316.

<sup>48</sup> *Laert.* *Fabric. Bibl. Græc.* v. i. p. 354.



dom failed to conciliate their affection. He possessed a happy facility in adapting his discourses and conversation to every occasion and character. His singular accomplishments, as well as the station which he filled in the Academy, brought him many followers. But his generosity was so far superior to his vanity, that he frequently advised his disciples to visit the schools of other masters. When one of his pupils, a Chian youth,<sup>59</sup> expressed a predilection in favour of another philosopher, Hieronymus, he took him by the hand, and conducted him to his school, and requested the philosopher to treat him in a manner suitable to his merit. This action was the more generous, as Hieronymus was of the Peripatetic sect, and a violent opponent of the Academy. Arcesilaus, with extensive learning, sweetness of temper, and elegance of manners, united many moral qualities which could not fail to procure him universal esteem. In bestowing favours, he was liberal without ostentation. Visiting a sick friend, whom he observed to be in poverty, he silently conveyed a purse of gold under his pillow. When the attendant discovered it, the sick man said with a smile, "This is one of the generous franks of Arcesilaus."<sup>60</sup> He employed a great part of the plentiful income which he received from an estate at Pitane in similar acts of liberality. The merit of his virtues was, however, contaminated by several vices.<sup>61</sup> Like Aristippus, he was fond of splendid entertainments, and a luxurious manner of living; and there is little doubt, that he frequently indulged his natural propensities, in a manner not very consistent with the character of a philosopher. He spent the greatest part of his time in the Academy, but sometimes on festivals visited Hierocles, the governor of Mynchia, and the Pyreum, where the freedom of his manners often exposed him to danger. He died in the fourth year of the hundred and thirty-fourth Olympiad,<sup>62</sup> at the age of seventy-five, in a delirium occasioned by excessive drinking.<sup>63</sup>

Arcesilaus was the author of those innovations in the Platonic school, on account of which it assumed the appellation of the Middle Academy. In order to obtain a clear

<sup>59</sup> Laert.

<sup>60</sup> Laert. Seneca de Benef. l. ii. c. 10.

<sup>61</sup> Athen. l. vii. p. 276.

<sup>62</sup> B. C. 241.

<sup>63</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 45. Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 31.

idea of the nature and causes of this revolution, it will be necessary to take a retrospect of the state of opinions in the preceding period.

From the survey which we have taken of the rise and progress of philosophical tenets, it appears, that not only the Greek, but also the Barbaric philosophers held, that there can be no certain knowledge of things so variable and fluctuating as those material objects which fall under the notice of the senses. Not that human reason is supposed wholly incapable of arriving at truth; or that the doctrine of universal scepticism was admitted in the infancy of philosophy. But in excluding material objects from the field of perfect science, the first philosophers discovered an inclination to inquire with modesty concerning the nature of things, to divest themselves of prejudice, and to satisfy themselves with a sober assent to such truths as lay within the reach of the human intellect. It is also sufficiently clear, that the earlier barbaric philosophers, and after them the Greeks, had two kinds of doctrine, the popular and the concealed; the former of which was intended to amuse the vulgar, the latter was only discovered to those disciples who were admitted to their more retired and confidential instruction. By this expedient, they at once secured themselves from danger, and gave the authority of mysterious sanctity to their doctrine.

Such was the state of philosophy when Socrates appeared. This great man did much to regulate the conduct of the human understanding. In opposition to the Sophists, who boasted that they knew every thing, he confessed that he knew nothing. By this confession, however, he did not mean to assert the universal uncertainty of human knowledge, but merely to convince his followers of the fatuity of those speculations which do not rest upon the firm foundation of experience, and to teach them modesty in their inquiries, and diffidence in their assertions.

Of the sects which arose from the school of Socrates, the greater part soon forsook the plain path of moral discipline, and turned aside into the thorny mazes of disputation. They resumed the Sophistic manner of arguing on either side of every question, and perplexed themselves and others with trifling quibbles and idle cavillings. This was

particularly the case, as we have already seen, in the Megaric, Elic, and Eretriac schools. Plato, from natural disposition, as well as education, was inclined to a stricter method of philosophizing; and whilst he disputed publicly in the Socratic manner, refuting the opinions of others, but leaving his hearers undecided concerning his own, he fully explained the principles of his philosophy, in private, to those of his pupils who were honoured with his confidence. His doctrine was, that no certain knowledge can be obtained concerning the varying forms of natural bodies, and that Ideas are the only objects of science. This doctrine was universally taught in the Old Academy; but before the time of Arcesilaus, it was never denied, that useful opinions may be drawn from the senses.<sup>64</sup>

About this time two new sects arose; one founded by Pyrrho, which held the doctrine of universal scepticism; the other under Zeno, which maintained the certainty of human knowledge, and taught, with great confidence, a system and doctrine essentially different from that of Plato. These sects, especially the latter, became so popular, as to threaten the destruction of the Platonic system.

In this situation, Arcesilaus thought it necessary to exercise a cautious reserve with respect to the doctrine of his master, concealing his opinions from the vulgar, under the appearance of doubt and uncertainty.<sup>65</sup> His maxim was, that it was safer to *unteach* those who had been ill instructed, than to teach those who were not well inclined to receive instruction. He was more desirous to prevent the progress of other innovators, than to become himself the author of a new sect. He therefore professed to derive his doctrine concerning the uncertainty of knowledge from Socrates, Plato, and other philosophers.<sup>66</sup>

The doctrine of Arcesilaus was, that although there is a real certainty in the nature of things, every thing is uncertain to the human understanding, and consequently that all confident assertions are unreasonable. He thought it disgraceful to assent to any proposition, the truth of which

<sup>64</sup> Cic. Acad. Qu. l. i. c. 8, 32.

<sup>65</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 28. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iii. 18. iv. c. 6. De Fin. l. ii. c. 1. August. contr. Acad. l. iii. c. 17. t. i. p. 219.

<sup>66</sup> Plut. adv. Colot.

is not fully established, and maintained that, in all questions, opposite opinions may be supported by arguments of equal weight. He disputed against the testimony of the senses, and the authority of reason; but at the same time acknowledged, that they are capable of furnishing probable opinions sufficient for the conduct of life.<sup>67</sup> In all this his secret design seems to have been to establish the doctrine of Plato, that every kind of knowledge derived from sensible objects is uncertain, and that the only true science is that which is employed upon the immutable objects of intelligence, or Ideas.

During the interval between the death of Arcesilaus and the appearance of Carneades in the Academic chair, the Platonic school was successfully under the care of<sup>68</sup> Lacydes, Evander, and Egesiaus, none of whom were sufficiently distinguished to merit particular notice. Lacydes assumed his office in the fourth year of the hundred and thirty-fourth Olympiad. He is said to have been the founder of a new school, not because he introduced any new doctrine, but because he changed the place of instruction, and held his school in the garden of Attalus, still however within the limits of the Academic grove. In the second year of the hundred and forty-first Olympiad he died of a palsy, into which he had fallen by excessive drinking.<sup>69</sup>

Arcesilaus, in the violence of his opposition to the Stoic, and other dogmatical philosophers, carried his doctrine of uncertainty to such an height, as to alarm not only the general body of philosophers, but even the governors of the state;<sup>70</sup> the former treating him as a common enemy to philosophy, and the latter beginning to apprehend that his tenets would produce the dissolution of all the bonds of social virtue and of religion. Hence his successors found it difficult to support the credit of the Academy; and Carneades, one of the disciples of this school, thought it expedient to relinquish, in words at least, some of the more obnoxious tenets of Arcesilaus. From this period the Platonic school took the appellation of the *New Academy*.

<sup>67</sup> Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 6. 12, &c. Laert.

<sup>68</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 59—61. Suidas.

<sup>69</sup> Laert. ib. Ælian. l. ii. c. 41. Athen. l. x. p. 438.

<sup>70</sup> Laert. ib. August. l. c.

**Carneades**,<sup>71</sup> one of the most illustrious ornaments of the Academy, was an African, a native of Cyrene. The time of his birth has been a subject of much debate; it is probable, that he was born in the third year of the hundred and forty-first Olympiad.<sup>72</sup> He received his first knowledge of the art of reasoning from Diogenes the Stoic; whence he used sometimes to say, in the course of a debate, "If I have reasoned right, I have gained my point; if not, let Diogenes return me my *mine*,"<sup>73</sup> meaning the price he had paid him for his instruction. Afterwards, becoming a member of the Academy, he attended upon the lectures of Egesinus, and by assiduous study became an eminent master of the method of disputing which Arcesilaus had introduced: he succeeded Egesinus in the chair, and restored the declining reputation of the Academy. With Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic, he was sent on an embassy<sup>74</sup> from Athens to Rome, complaining of the severity of a fine inflicted upon the Athenians, under the authority of the Romans, by their neighbours the Sicyonians, for having laid waste Oropus, a town in Boeotia. The Athenians would, undoubtedly, upon this occasion, employ none but those in whose judgment, eloquence, and integrity they could confide. The three philosophers whom they entrusted with their embassy, whilst they were in Rome, gave the Roman people many specimens of Grecian learning and eloquence, with which till then they had been unacquainted. Carneades excelled in the vehement and rapid, Critolaus in the correct and elegant, and Diogenes in the simple and modest kind of eloquence. Carneades particularly attracted the attention and admiration of his new auditors, by the subtlety of his reasoning and the fluency of his language. Before Galba, and Cato the Censor, he harangued, with great variety of thought and copiousness of diction, in praise of justice.<sup>75</sup> The next day, to establish his doctrine of the uncertainty of human knowledge, he undertook to refute all his former arguments. Many were captivated by his elo-

<sup>71</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 62, &c. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. iv. c. 6. Suidas.

<sup>72</sup> B. C. 214.

<sup>73</sup> Cic. ib. c. 30.

<sup>74</sup> Plut. Vit. Caton. A. Gell. Noct. At. l. vii. c. 14. *Ælian. Var. Hist.* l. iii. c. 17. *Macrobian. Sat. l. i. c. 5.*

<sup>75</sup> Lactant. Inst. l. v. c. 14. Quint. Inst. l. xii. c. 1. Cic. de Log. l. i.

quence; but Cato, apprehending lest the Roman youth should lose their military character in the pursuit of Grecian learning, persuaded the senate to send back these philosophers, without further delay, to their own schools.

From this incident, of which we shall afterwards have further occasion to take notice, it sufficiently appears, that Carneades was an eminent orator and philosopher. He obtained such high reputation in his school, that other philosophers, when they had dismissed their scholars, frequently came to hear him.<sup>76</sup> In application to study he was indefatigable. So intensely did he fix his thoughts upon the subject of his meditations, that even at meals he frequently forgot to take the food which was set before him.<sup>77</sup> He strenuously opposed the Stoic Chrysippus, but was always ready to do justice to his merit. He used to say, that if there were no Chrysippus there would be no Carneades; intimating, that he derived much of his reputation as a disputant from the abilities of his opponent. His voice was remarkably strong, and he had such a habit of vociferation, that the master of the gymnastic exercises, in the public field, desired him not to speak so loud: in return, he requested some measure to regulate his voice; to which the master very judiciously replied, you have a measure, the number of your hearers.<sup>78</sup> As Carneades grew old, he discovered strong apprehensions of dying; and frequently lamented, that the same nature which had composed the human frame could dissolve it. He paid the last debt to nature in the eighty-fifth,<sup>79</sup> or, according to Cicero<sup>80</sup> and Valerius Maximus,<sup>81</sup> in the ninetieth year of his age.

It was the doctrine of the New Academy,<sup>82</sup> that the senses, the understanding, and the imagination, frequently deceive us, and therefore cannot be infallible judges of truth; but that, from the impressions which we perceive to be produced on the mind, by means of the senses, we infer appearances of truth, or probabilities. These impressions Carneades called *Phantasies*, or *Images*. He maintained, that they do not always correspond to the real nature of things, and that there is no infallible method of determining

<sup>76</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 63.

<sup>77</sup> Val. Max. l. viii. c. 2.

<sup>78</sup> Laert.

<sup>79</sup> Ib.

<sup>80</sup> Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 6.

<sup>81</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>82</sup> Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. Sextus Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. § 153.

when they are true or false, and consequently that they afford no certain criterion of truth. Nevertheless, with respect to the conduct of life, and the pursuit of happiness, Carneades held, that probable appearances are a sufficient guide, because it is unreasonable not to allow some degree of credit to those witnesses who commonly give a true report. Probabilities he divided into three classes; Simple, Uncontradicted, and, Confirmed by accurate examination. The lowest degree of probability takes place, where the mind, in the casual occurrence of any single image, perceives in it nothing contrary to truth and nature; the second degree of probability arises, when, contemplating any object in connexion with all the circumstances associated with it, we discover no appearance of inconsistency, or incongruity, to lead us to suspect, that our senses have given a false report; as, when we conclude, from comparing the image of any individual man with our remembrance of that man, that he is the person we supposed him to be. The highest degree of probability is produced, when, after an accurate examination of every circumstance, which might be supposed to create uncertainty, we are able to discover no fallacy in the report of our senses. The judgments arising from this operation of the mind are, according to the doctrine of the New Academy, not science, but opinion, which is all the knowledge that the human mind is capable of attaining.

This doctrine of Carneades, concerning truth, may serve to shew, in what sense we are to understand an assertion, which has been advanced respecting this philosopher and his sect,<sup>83</sup> that they would not allow it to be certain, that things which are equal or similar to the same thing, are equal or similar to one another. They did not, probably, deny this axiom considered as an abstract truth; but merely maintained, that in its application to any particular case, some uncertainty must arise, from our imperfect knowledge of the things which are brought into comparison, so that it is impossible to prove the absolute equality of any two things to a third, or to one another. It appears, moreover, that the chief point of difference between Arcesilaus and Carneades, or between the Middle and the New Academy,

<sup>83</sup> Bayle. Carn. note C.

was, that the latter taught the doctrine of uncertainty in less exceptionable terms than the former. Arcesilaus, through his earnest desire of overturning all other sects, gave his opponents some pretence for charging him with having undermined the whole foundation of morals: Carneades, by leaving the human understanding in possession of probability, afforded sufficient scope for the use of practical principles of conduct. Arcesilaus was chiefly employed in opposing the doctrines of other philosophers in logic and physics, and paid little attention to ethics: Carneades, at the same time that he taught the necessity of suspense in speculative researches, prescribed rules for the direction of life and manners.<sup>85</sup>

Carneades, as Cicero<sup>85</sup> has related at large, strenuously opposed the doctrine of the Stoics concerning the gods; but this he did, adds Cicero, not with a view to destroy the belief of superior powers, but merely to prove that the theological system of the Stoical school was unsatisfactory. He was likewise earnestly desirous of refuting their doctrine concerning fate.<sup>86</sup> On this subject, he assumed, on the ground of experience, the existence of a self-determining power in man, and hence inferred that all things did not happen, as the Stoics maintained, in a necessary series of causes and effects, and consequently, that it is impossible for the gods to predict events dependent on the will of man. As the foundation of morals, he taught, that the ultimate end of life is the enjoyment of those things towards which we are directed by the principles of nature.

Such is the general idea which the ancients have left us concerning the doctrine of Carneades. But, after all, it must be owned, that his real tenets are not certainly known. Even his immediate successor, Clitomachus, confessed, that he was never able to discover them.

*Clitomachus*<sup>87</sup> was a native of Carthage. In his early years he acquired a fondness for learning, which induced him to visit Greece for the purpose of attending the schools of the philosophers. From the time of his first arrival in

<sup>85</sup> Numenius ap. Euseb. l. xiv. c. 7, 8. August. l. c.

<sup>86</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 18. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ix. § 140, &c.

<sup>87</sup> Cic. de Fato, c. 14.

<sup>88</sup> Laert. l. iv. § 67, &c. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 31, 32.



Athens, he attached himself to Carneades, and continued his disciple till his death, when he became his successor in the Academic chair. He studied with great industry, and made himself master of the systems of the other schools; but professed the doctrine of suspension of assent, as it had been taught by his master. Cicero relates, that he wrote four hundred books upon philosophical subjects. At an advanced age, he was seized with a lethargy. Recovering in some measure the use of his faculties, he said, "The love of life shall deceive me no longer," and laid violent hands upon himself. He entered upon the office of preceptor in the Academy immediately after the death of Carneades, and held it thirty years, that is, till the hundred and seventieth Olympiad.<sup>88</sup> According to Cicero, he taught, that there is no certain criterion by which to judge of the truth of those reports which we receive from the senses, and that therefore a wise man will either wholly suspend his assent, or decline giving a peremptory opinion; but that, nevertheless,<sup>89</sup> men are strongly impelled by nature to follow probability. His moral doctrine<sup>90</sup> established a natural alliance between pleasure and virtue. He was a professed enemy to rhetoric, and thought that no place should be allowed in society to so dangerous an art.<sup>91</sup>

*Philo* of Larissa,<sup>92</sup> the successor of Clitomachus, or, according to some, the founder of a fourth Academy, is celebrated by Cicero for his learning and eloquence, and for the elegance of his manners. In the Mithridatic war he took refuge at Rome, and Cicero attended his lectures. He held, that truth in its nature is comprehensible, but not by the human faculties. *Charmidas*, the companion of *Philo*, is celebrated for the compass and fidelity of his memory and for his moral wisdom.<sup>93</sup>

The last preceptor of the Platonic school in Greece was *Antiochus* of Ascalon.<sup>94</sup> He attempted to reconcile the

<sup>88</sup> B. C. 100.

<sup>89</sup> Sext. Emp. Pyrr. l. i. c. 33.

<sup>90</sup> Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 30.

<sup>91</sup> Sext. Emp. adv. Rhet. § 20.

<sup>92</sup> Cic. de Orat. l. iii. c. 16. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 33. Plut. Vit. Cic. Cic. Ep. ad Fam. l. xiii. ep. 1. l. ix. ep. 8. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 4. 6.

<sup>93</sup> Tusc. Qu. l. i. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. x. c. 16. Stobæus, Sermon. 272.

<sup>94</sup> Sext. Emp. l. c. Cic. Ac. Q. l. iv. c. 4. 22. 35. 43. 45. De Fin. l. v. c. 3. 5. De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 7. Plut. l. c.

tenets of the different sects, and maintained, that the doctrines of the Stoics were to be found in the writings of Plato. Cicero greatly admired his eloquence and the politeness of his manners; and Lucullus took him as his companion into Asia. He resigned the Academic chair in the hundred and seventy-fifth Olympiad.<sup>95</sup> After his time, the professors of the Academic philosophy were dispersed by the tumults of war, and the school itself was transferred to Rome.<sup>96</sup>

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## CHAP. IX.

### OF ARISTOTLE AND THE PERIPATETIC SECT.

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#### SECT. I.

#### *Of Aristotle and his Philosophy.*

IN the preceding chapter we have traced the rise and progress of the Ionic school, from Thales, through Socrates, and his pupil Plato, into the several forms which it assumed in the Old, Middle, and New Academy. We are next to inquire into the history of another principal branch of this school, the Peripatetic sect, founded by Aristotle; a philosopher, whose extensive and penetrating genius has entitled him to immortal fame, and whose doctrines have been transmitted through various channels to the present day, and have been surprisingly interwoven with almost the whole circle of the sciences. The history of his life and opinions will require a minute and impartial discussion.

<sup>95</sup> B. C. 80.

<sup>96</sup> Videns. Meurs. de Archont. Ath. l. iii. c. 9. Potter. Arch. l. i. c. 10. l. iv. 20. Amoen. Lit. t. vii. p. 232. t. viii. p. 326. Reiman. Hist. Ath. c. 22. § 6. c. 33. § 5. Cudworth. c. iv. § 24. Jons. de Scrip. l. ii. c. 13, 14. Bayle. Fouchier. Diss. de Phil. Acad. Par. 1692. Huet de la Foiblesse, &c. August. contr. Acad. Gassen de Log. l. ii. c. 4. Carpzovii Diss. de Critolao.

**ARISTOTLES** was a native of Stagira, a town of Thrace,† on the borders of the bay of Strymon, which at that time was subject to Philip of Macedon. His father was a physician, named Nicomachus; his mother's name was Phastias. From the place of his birth he is called the Stagyr-ite. Ancient writers are generally agreed in fixing the time of his birth in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad.‡ He received the first rudiments of learning from Proxenus, of Atarna in Mysia, of whom he always retained a respectful remembrance. In gratitude for the care which he had taken of his early education, he afterwards honoured his memory with a statue, instructed his son Nicanor in the liberal sciences, and adopted him as his heir.§ At the age of seventeen Aristotle went to Athens, and devoted himself to the study of philosophy in the school of Plato.¶ The uncommon acuteness of his apprehension, and his indefatigable industry, soon attracted the attention of Plato, and obtained his applause. Plato used to call him *the Mind of the School*, and to say, when he was absent, "Intellect is not here." His acquaintance with books was extensive and accurate, as sufficiently appears from the concise abridgment of opinions, and the numerous quotations which are found in his works. According to Strabo,‡ he was the first person who formed a library. Aristotle continued in the Academy till the death of Plato, that is, to the thirty-seventh year of his age. After the death of his master, he erected a monument to his memory, on which he inscribed an epitaph expressive of the highest respect, of which a Latin version is preserved:‡

Gratus Aristoteles struit hoc altare Platoni,  
Quem turbæ injustæ vel celebrare nefas.†

† Laert. l. v. § 1. &c. Suidas. Ammonii Vita Arist. apud Proleg. Categ.

‡ Herod. Polymn. p. 265. Pausan. Eliac. p. 462.

§ Laert. Dionys. Hal. Epist. l. ad Ammæum.

¶ B. C. 384.

‡ Laert. Ammon. Dion. Hal. loc. cit.

† Philopon. de Mundæ Etern.

‡ L. xiii. p. 608.

‡ Ammon.

† To Plato's sacred name this tomb is rear'd,

A name by Aristotle long rever'd!

Far hence, ye vulgar herd! nor dare to stain

With impious praise this ever-hallow'd fanc.

He likewise wrote an oration and elegies in praise of Plato, and gave other proofs of respect for his memory. Little regard is therefore due to the improbable tale related by Aristoxenus,<sup>8</sup> of a quarrel between Aristotle and Plato, which terminated in a temporary exclusion of Aristotle from the Academy, and in his erection of a school in opposition to Plato during his life. We find no proof that Aristotle instituted a new system of philosophy before the death of Plato.

It is certain, however, that when Speusippus, upon the death of his uncle, succeeded him in the Academy, Aristotle was so much displeased, that he left Athens, and paid a visit to Hermias, king of the Atarnenses, who had been his friend and fellow disciple, and who received him with every expression of regard.<sup>9</sup> Here he remained three years, and during this interval diligently prosecuted his philosophical researches. At the close of this term his friend Hermias was taken prisoner by Memnon, a Rhodian, and sent to Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who put him to death. Upon this, Aristotle placed a statue of his friend in the temple of Delphos, and, out of respect to his memory, married his sister, whom her brother's death had reduced to poverty and distress.<sup>10</sup> Upon the death of Hermias Aristotle removed to Mitylene,<sup>11</sup> but from what inducement does not appear. After he had remained there two years, Philip, king of Macedon, having heard of his extraordinary abilities and merit, made choice of him as preceptor to his son Alexander, and wrote him the following letter:

*“ Philip to Aristotle, wisheth health :*

*“ Be informed that I have a son, and that I am thankful to the gods, not so much for his birth, as that he was born in the same age with you ; for if you will undertake the charge of his education, I assure myself that he will become worthy of his father, and of the kingdom which he will inherit.”*

Aristotle accepted the charge ; and in the second year

<sup>8</sup> Euseb. Prep. l. xv. c. 2. Suidas in Aristox. Ælian. l. iii. c. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Laert. l. c.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo, l. xiii. p. 610. Euseb. l. c. Conf. Athen. l. xv. p. 694.

<sup>11</sup> Strabo, ib. A. Gell. l. ix. c. 3. Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 346.

of the hundred and ninth Olympiad;<sup>12</sup> when Alexander was in his fifteenth year; he took up his residence in the court of Philip. He had been himself well instructed, not only in the doctrines of the schools, but in the manners of the world, and therefore was excellently qualified for the office of preceptor to the young prince. Accordingly we find that he executed this trust so perfectly to the satisfaction of Philip and Olynthia, that they admitted him to their entire confidence, and conferred upon him many acceptable tokens of esteem.<sup>13</sup> Philip allowed him no small share of influence in his public counsels; and it reflected great honour upon Aristotle, that he made use of his interest with this prince, rather for the benefit of his friends and the public, than for his own emolument.<sup>14</sup> At his intercession, the town of Stagira, which had fallen into decay, was rebuilt, and the inhabitants were restored to their ancient privileges. In commemoration of their obligations to their fellow-citizen, and as a testimony of respect for his merit, they instituted an annual Aristotelian festival.<sup>15</sup> Alexander entertained such an affection for his preceptor, that he professed himself more indebted to him than to his father; declaring that Philip had only given him life, but that Aristotle had taught him the art of living well.<sup>16</sup> He is said not only to have instructed his pupil in the principles of ethics and policy, but also to have communicated to him the most abstruse and concealed doctrines of philosophy. But it may be questioned, whether a preceptor who was himself so well trained by experience in the prudential maxims of life, would think of conducting a youth, who was destined to wield a sceptre, through the intricate mazes of metaphysics; or whether a pupil of Alexander's enterprising spirit would be able to bend his mind to such studies. What is related concerning the pains which Aristotle took to make his pupil acquainted with Homer, and to inspire him with a love of his writings, is much more credible; for he certainly could not have adopted a more judicious method of enriching the mind of the young prince with noble sentiments, or of inspiring him with ambition to distinguish himself by illustrious actions.

<sup>12</sup> B. C. 343.<sup>13</sup> Ammonius, l. c.<sup>14</sup> Plut. l. c. Laert.<sup>15</sup> Ammonius, l. c.<sup>16</sup> Plut. Alex. t. ii. p. 346.

Immediately after the death of Philip, which happened in the first year of the hundred and eleventh Olympiad,<sup>17</sup> Alexander, whose ambitious spirit could not bear to be inclosed within the limits of his paternal kingdom, formed the design of his Asiatic expedition. It is not improbable that Aristotle, who, after eight years' daily intercourse, must have been well acquainted with the character of his pupil, approved of this enterprise. For his own part, however, he preferred the enjoyment of literary leisure to the prospect of sharing with Alexander the glory of conquest, and therefore determined to return to Athens.<sup>18</sup> His nephew, Calisthenes, remained with the hero, and accompanied him in his exploits.

After Aristotle had left his pupil, they carried on a friendly correspondence, in which the philosopher prevailed upon Alexander to employ his increasing power and wealth in the service of philosophy, by furnishing him, in his retirement, with the means of enlarging his acquaintance with nature. Alexander accordingly<sup>19</sup> employed several thousand persons in different parts of Europe and Asia to collect animals of various kinds, birds, beasts, and fishes, and sent them to Aristotle, who, from the information which this collection afforded him, wrote fifty volumes on the history of animated nature, only ten of which are now extant. Calisthenes,<sup>20</sup> in the course of the Asiatic expedition, incurred the displeasure of Alexander,<sup>21</sup> by the freedom with which he censured his conduct; the aversion was by a natural association transferred to Aristotle; and from that time a mutual alienation and jealousy took place between the philosopher and his prince. But there is no sufficient reason to believe<sup>22</sup> that their attachment was converted into a settled enmity, which at length led them to form designs against each other's life.

Aristotle, upon his return to Athens, finding the Academy, in which he probably intended to preside, occupied by Xenocrates, resolved to acquire the fame of a leader in philosophy, by founding a new sect in opposition to the Academy, and teaching a system of doctrines different

<sup>17</sup> B. C. 336.<sup>18</sup> Laert. &c.<sup>19</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 16.<sup>20</sup> Laert.<sup>21</sup> Q. Curtius, l. viii. c. 6.<sup>22</sup> Plut. l. c. Patricii Discussiones Peripateticæ, Basil. 1571.

from that of Plato.<sup>35</sup> The place which he chose for his school was the Lyceum,<sup>36</sup> a grove in the suburbs of Athens, which had hitherto been made use of for military exercises. Here he held daily conversations on subjects of philosophy with those who attended him, walking as he discoursed; whence his followers were called Peripatetics.<sup>37</sup>

According to the long established practice of philosophers among the Grecians, Egyptians, and other nations, Aristotle had his public and his secret doctrine, the former of which he called The Exoteric, the latter the Acroamatic or Esoteric. Hence,<sup>38</sup> he divided his auditors into two classes, to one of which he taught his Exoteric doctrine, discoursing on the principal subjects of logic, rhetoric, and policy; the other he instructed in the Acroamatic, or concealed and subtle doctrine, concerning Being, Nature, and God. His more abstruse discourses he delivered in the morning to his select disciples, whom he required to have been previously instructed in the elements of learning, and to have discovered abilities and dispositions suited to the study of philosophy.

He delivered lectures to a more promiscuous auditory in the evening, when the Lyceum was open to all young men without distinction. The former he called his Morning Walk, the latter his Evening Walk. Both were much frequented.

Aristotle continued his school in the Lyceum twelve years;<sup>39</sup> for although the superiority of his abilities and the novelty of his doctrines created him many rivals and enemies, during the life of Alexander, the friendship of that prince protected him from insult. But after Alexander's death, which happened in the first year of the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad,<sup>40</sup> the fire of jealousy<sup>41</sup> which had long been smothered, burst into a flame of persecution. His adversaries instigated Eurymedon, a priest, to accuse him of holding and propagating impious tenets. What these were we are not expressly informed; but it is not improbable, that the doctrine of Aristotle concerning fate,

<sup>35</sup> Laert. l. c. Cicero de Orat. l. iii. c. 35. Quintil. Inst. Orat. l. iiii. c. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Laert. Suidas in Lyc.

<sup>37</sup> Laert. Cic. Ac. Q. i. l. c. 4.

<sup>38</sup> A. Gellius, l. xx. c. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Laert. l. v. § 5.

<sup>40</sup> B. C. 323.

<sup>41</sup> Athen. l. xv. p. 697. Orig. contr. Cels. l. i. p. 62. l. ii. p. 68.

might be construed into a denial of the necessity of prayers and sacrifices, and might consequently be resented as inimical to the public institutions of religion. This would doubtless be thought, on the part of the priesthood, a sufficient ground of accusation, and would be admitted by the judges of the Areopagus as a valid plea for treating him as a dangerous man. That Aristotle himself was apprehensive of meeting with the fate of Socrates, appears from the reason which he gave<sup>30</sup> his friends for leaving Athens, "I am not willing," says he, "to give the Athenians an opportunity of committing a second offence against philosophy." It is certain, that he retired, with a few of his disciples, to Chalcis, where he remained till his death. He left Athens in the second year of the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad,<sup>31</sup> and died at Chalcis the third year of the same Olympiad, and the sixty-third year of his age.<sup>32</sup> Many idle tales are related<sup>33</sup> concerning the manner of his death. It is most likely that it was the effect of premature decay, in consequence of excessive watchfulness and application to study. His body was conveyed to Stagira, where his memory was honoured with an altar and a tomb.

Aristotle was twice married, first to Pythias, sister to his friend Hermias, and after her death to Herpilis, a native of Stagira.<sup>34</sup> By his second wife he had a son named Nicomachus, to whom he addressed his *Magna Moralia*, "Greater Morals." His person<sup>35</sup> was slender, he had small eyes and a shrill voice, and when he was young hesitated in his speech. He endeavoured to supply the defects of his natural form by an attention to dress, and commonly appeared in a costly habit, with his beard shaven, and his hair cut, and with rings upon his fingers. He was subject to frequent indispositions, through a natural weakness of stomach; but he corrected the infirmities of his constitution by a temperate regimen.

Concerning the character of Aristotle, nothing can be more contradictory than the accounts of different writers.

<sup>30</sup> *Ælian*. l. iii. c. 36.

<sup>31</sup> *B. C.* 323.

<sup>32</sup> *Laert.*

<sup>33</sup> *A. Gell.* l. xiii. c. 6. *Just. Martyr.* *Cohort. ad Græc.* p. 34. *Greg. Naz. Orat.* iii. p. 79. *Hesychius.* *Suidas.* *Fabr. Bib. Græ. v. Æ.* p. 166.

<sup>34</sup> *Laert.*

<sup>35</sup> *Id.* *Cic. ad. Attic.* l. iv. Ep. 9. *Gronov. Thea. Græc. t. ii. Tab. 99.*



Some of his panegyrists, not contented with ascribing to him the virtues of a philosopher, or rather, perhaps, jealous of the credit which heathen philosophy might acquire from so illustrious a name, have ascribed his wisdom to Divine revelation. Jews have said,<sup>36</sup> that he gained his philosophy in Judea, and borrowed his moral doctrine from Solomon, and have even asserted, that he was of the seed of Israel, and the tribe of Benjamin. Christians have assigned him a place amongst those who were supernaturally ordained to prepare the way for Divine revelation,<sup>37</sup> and have acknowledged themselves indebted to the assistance of the Peripatetic philosophy, for the depth and accuracy of their acquaintance with the sublime mysteries of religion.<sup>38</sup> Others, who have confined their encomiums within the limits of probability, have said,<sup>39</sup> that Aristotle was an illustrious pattern of gratitude, moderation, and the love of truth; and in confirmation of this general praise, have referred to his behaviour to his preceptor, his friends, and his countrymen, and to the celebrated apothegm, which has been commonly ascribed to him—*Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, magis tamen amica Veritas*; “I respect Plato, and I respect Socrates, but I respect Truth still more.”

<sup>36</sup> Joseph. contr. Apion. l. i. Clem. Alex. Str. l. i. Euseb. Prep. f. ix. c. 5. R. Gedalias in Scholoheth, p. 102. ed Ven. Bartoloccius Bibl. Rabb. t. i. p. 476. Basnage Hist. des Juifs, t. iii. c. 7. § 14. Fabric. Bib. Gr. t. ii. p. 162.

<sup>37</sup> It is said, that Aristotle cried out, in the article of death, *Causa causarum, miserere mei*—and that he said to his attendants, that Homer had well said the gods have descended upon earth for the salvation of men.<sup>38</sup> But these are unquestionably to be ranked among the lying tales so plentifully produced in the ages of monkish ignorance and credulity: they were probably invented by the ingenious author of the book *De Pomo*, &c. “Of the apple which Aristotle held in his hand just before his death, and with the smell of which he refreshed himself, whilst he discoursed to his friends concerning the Contempt of Death, and the Immortality of the Soul:” a book which Aristotle himself is said to have dictated in his last moments, in order to shew that wise men need not lament their exit from their lodging of clay. About the year 1200, an Hebrew version of the Arabic translation from the supposed original was rendered into Latin by Manfred, son of the Emperor Frederick I. Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 166.

<sup>38</sup> Euseb. Pr. l. xv. c. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Ammonius, &c.

\* Cæl. Rhodogin. Ant. l. xviii. c. 31. Liber. de Pomo, ed Losii. Giessa. 1706.

On the other hand, there have not been wanting writers who have represented Aristotle as the most infamous of human beings, and charged him with every kind of impiety and wickedness. Many of the calumnies against his memory which have been transmitted to posterity, doubtless originated in the jealousy and envy of the rival sects, which were contemporaries with the Peripatetic school. To this source may be fairly referred the abuse of Timæus the Tauromenite, who says,<sup>40</sup> that Aristotle, when he was a young man, after wasting his patrimony in prodigality, opened a shop for medicine in Athens; and that he was a pretender to learning, a vile parasite, and addicted to gluttony and debauchery. To the same origin we may ascribe the inconsistent and absurd cavils which have been raised against his reputation, on the ground of his attachment to Hermias, and the honours which he paid to his memory, and to that of his wife Pythias.

If, without regard to the fictions either of calumny or panegyric, the merit of Aristotle be weighed in the equal balance of historical truth, it will perhaps be found, that neither were his virtues of that exalted kind which command admiration, nor his faults so highly criminal as not to admit of some apology. He may, perhaps, be justly censured for having taught his pupil Alexander principles of morals and policy, which were accommodated to the manners of a court, and which might easily be rendered subservient to his ambitious views. And it cannot be doubted, that his philosophical doctrines concerning nature were not favourable to the public forms of religion. But neither his doctrine nor his life afford sufficient ground for condemning him as an advocate for immorality or impiety.

As a writer, there can be no doubt that Aristotle is entitled to the praise of deep erudition. At the same time it must be owned, that he is frequently deserving of censure, for giving a partial and unfair representation of the opinions of his predecessors in philosophy, that he might the more easily refute them; and that he seems to have made it the principal object of his extensive reading, to depreciate

<sup>40</sup> Suidas. Athen. l. viii. p. 354. Euseb. Prep. l. c.

the wisdom of all preceding ages. In short, whilst in point of genius we rank Aristotle in the first class of men, and whilst we ascribe to him every attainment which, at the period in which he lived, indefatigable industry united with superior abilities could reach, we must add, that his reputation in philosophy is in some measure tarnished by a too daring spirit of contradiction and innovation; and in morals, by an artful conformity to the manners of the age in which he lived.

A large catalogue of the writings of Aristotle is given by Laertius, Fabricius, and others, from which it appears, that he wrote many books besides those which have been transmitted to the present times. Few of his works were made public during his life, and it was not long after his death before spurious productions were mixed with his genuine writings, so that it became difficult to distinguish them. Those which are at present generally received under his name, may be classed under the several heads of Logic, Physics, Metaphysics, Mathematics, Ethics, Rhetoric, and Poesy.

The *Logical* writings of Aristotle are the "Categories," attributed by some to Archytas, a Pythagorean; "Of the Explanation of Nouns and Verbs," a work which explains the philosophical principles of grammar; "Analytics," including the whole doctrine of syllogism and demonstration; eight books of "Topics," or common places, from which probable arguments are to be drawn; and, "Sophistic Arguments," enumerating the several species of false reasoning. These logical pieces are usually published in one volume under the general title of the *Organon* of Aristotle. His *Physical* writings are, "On the Doctrine of Nature," explaining the principles and properties of natural bodies; "On the Heavens;" "On the Production and Dissolution of Natural Bodies;" "On Meteors;" "Of Animal Life;" "Physical Miscellanies;" "On the Natural History of Animals;" "On the Anatomy of Animals;" "On Plants;" "On Colours;" "On Sound;" "A Collection of Wonderful Facts;" "Against the Doctrine of Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias;" "On the Winds;" "On Physiognomy," and, "Miscellaneous Problems." The *Metaphysics* of Aristotle are contained in fourteen books. Under the head of *Mathematics* are included a "Book of Questions in

*Mechanics*;" and another "*On Incommensurable Lines*." His doctrine of *Ethics* is contained in ten books "*To Nicomachus*," "*The Greater Morals*;" seven books "*To Eudæmus*," ascribed by some to Theophrastus; a book "*On Virtue and Vice*;" two "*On Economics*;" and eight "*On Government*." He treats in three distinct books, "*On the Art of Rhetoric*," and in another "*On the Art of Poetry*."<sup>4</sup>

The works of Aristotle, together with his library, passed very early through hazards, which have rendered it a subject of critical inquiry, how far the present volumes which bear his name are genuine.<sup>5</sup> Aristotle left his own writings, together with his library, to his successor, Theophrastus, who doubtless knew their value. Theophrastus, at his death, bequeathed all his books to Neleus, of Scepsis. Some of them were sold to Ptolemy Philadelphus, and shared the fate of the Alexandrian library. The heirs of Neleus, in order to secure the rest from being seized by the kings of Pergamus, under whose jurisdiction the town of Scepsis was, and who were industriously collecting a library, buried them in a subterraneous cavern, where they lay an hundred and thirty years, and suffered much injury. They were, after this, sold to Apellico, a Teian, a great collector of books, who was particularly attached to the Peripatetic philosophy. Finding the manuscripts injured by time, he had them transcribed, and, with injudicious industry, supplied, from his own conjectures, and those of his copyists, such passages as were become illegible. It is impossible to say, how many corruptions were by this means introduced into the text. After the death of Apellico, Sylla, at the taking of Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and seventy-third Olympiad,<sup>6</sup> seized his library, and ordered it to be conveyed to Rome. Here Tyrannio, a grammarian, obtaining permission to make use of the manuscripts of Aristotle, employed ignorant amanuenses to take copies of them, which he suffered to pass out of his hands without proper correction. These errors have

<sup>4</sup> Of the entire works of Aristotle, the most valuable editions are those of Casaubon, Lugd. 1590. 1646. and Du Val, Par. 1629. 1654.

<sup>5</sup> Fabricii Bib. Græc. v. ii. p. 709, &c. Strabo, l. xii. p. 600. Plut. in Sylla. Ashm. Athen. l. i. p. 31. B. C. 84.

been increased by the officiousness of later transcribers and commentators, who have frequently introduced variations, according to their own conjectures, into the original text. To this we must add, that there is reason to believe, that the ancient arrangement of the books has been disturbed, so that it is now become impossible to reduce them to their original order.

From these circumstances, many errors must have crept into the writings of Aristotle. But, besides these incidental causes of obscurity, there are others, arising from the nature and scope of his philosophy, and the peculiarity of his diction, which it will be necessary particularly to remark.

Most of the subjects on which Aristotle treats are in the highest degree abstruse, and difficult to be comprehended. Universal ideas of existence, attributes, and relations, separated from real being; modes of reasoning considered abstractedly; metaphysical disquisitions concerning matter, mind, and Deity; explanations of nature, deduced from conjecture rather than experience; vague and indeterminate notions, which were probably never clearly conceived by the author himself; and subtle distinctions, merely verbal, are the materials which chiefly fill up the voluminous writings of Aristotle.

The obscurity necessarily arising from the nature of the subjects which the Stagyrice discusses, is greatly increased by the manner in which he treats them. Aulus Gellius relates,\* that, when Alexander complained to Aristotle that he had divulged, in his writings, his Esoteric doctrines, Aristotle replied, that these doctrines were published, and not published; since what he had written upon these subjects was intelligible only to such as had been his hearers. The story will be easily credited by those who are conversant with his works. No writer ever afforded more frequent examples of the poet's maxim,

Brevis esse laboro,

Obscurus fio

\* Noct. Att. 1. xx. c. 5.

I strive to be concise;

I prove obscure.

He affects close periods and a concise diction. He often supposes things to be known, which have either not been before explained, or may easily have escaped the reader's memory. Sometimes he makes use of different terms to express the same idea, and at other times annexes different ideas to the same term. It is not an uncommon practice with him to use new words in an artificial and technical sense, which, nevertheless, he does not clearly define. His transitions are frequently so abrupt, or his progress from his premises to his conclusions so rapid, that it is extremely difficult for the reader to perceive the train of his reasoning. Through artifice, negligence, or a change of opinion, many contradictions occur, which the ingenuity of criticism has never yet been able to reconcile. His general propositions are frequently obscure for want of examples; and even his examples themselves, when he condescends to introduce them, are often as incomprehensible as the doctrine they are intended to elucidate. Mathematical ideas, with which he was exceedingly conversant, he sometimes applies to subjects to which they have no natural relation, and thus encumbers, with artificial difficulties, disquisitions which are in themselves sufficiently obscure. Lastly, in quoting the opinions of former philosophers, whether to examine, confirm, or confute them, he takes so little care to mark the transition from their words to his own, that the reader is frequently at a loss to determine, whether Aristotle is giving his own opinion, or reporting that of some other philosopher.

It will serve to account, in some measure, for the obscurity of Aristotle's writings, if the leading design, with which he formed his system of philosophy, be considered. There can be little doubt, that an ambitious desire of distinguishing himself above all other philosophers, induced him to become the founder of a new sect; and that for the sake of increasing the lustre of his own system, he made use of every expedient to eclipse that of others. His object was, to erect his own edifice upon the ruin of every other structure. As Lord Bacon has finely remarked, "Like a Turkish despot, he thought he could not reign secure, unless all

"De Augment. Scient. l. iii. c. 4.

his brethren were slain." Impervious rather in words than in reality, and determining to oppose his new philosophy to ancient tenets, many of which were founded on truth and experience, he sometimes misrepresents the opinions of former philosophers; sometimes selects those which were most trifling, or most easily refuted; and sometimes has recourse to uncertain principles and vague terms, in hopes that obscurity will be mistaken for novelty.

Another circumstance in the life of Aristotle, which had no small influence upon his philosophy, was, that from his childhood he had frequented the court of Amyntas with his father Nicomachus, and acquired the habits and manners of high life; and that, afterwards, when he was chosen preceptor to Alexander, he had occasion to accommodate his philosophy to the rules of the court, and to the ambition of the young prince whom he was to educate. Deserting therefore the fanciful republic of Plato, and finding the morals of Socrates too confined for his purpose, he constructed a system of ethics for himself, which would allow full scope for the aspiring views of Alexander and his friends.

These remarks are not, however, intended entirely to depreciate the writings of Aristotle. Although we do not approve of the blind veneration for antiquity, which has led many, in contempt of better guides, to extol the Aristotelian philosophy as the highest effort of human ability; although we are of opinion that the writings of this philosopher abound with trifles, and are in some places clouded with impenetrable obscurity; we, nevertheless, readily admit, that many parts of his voluminous remains discover profound penetration, and great strength of genius. His treatises on rhetoric and poetry have perhaps scarcely obtained applause equal to their merit.

The philosophy of Aristotle, of which we now propose to take a more particular survey, may be divided into three distinct branches, *Instrumental*, *Theoretical*, and *Practical*. Under the first head are included his doctrines concerning *Logic*; under the second, his principles of *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, *Ontology*, and *Mathematics*; and under the third, his system of *Ethics* and *Policy*.

"The sum of Aristotle's doctrine concerning Logic is as follows:"

"The end of logic is the discovery of truth, either probable or certain. Analytics investigate the truth by incontrovertible demonstration. Dialectics establish opinions by probable arguments. Logic, whether analytic or dialectic, searches after truth by means of syllogisms. Syllogisms consist of propositions; and propositions of simple terms. Terms are of three kinds;<sup>46</sup> Homonymous, where a common word is applied to different things; Synonymous, or univocal, where the meaning of the word and the definition of the thing coincide; and Paronymous, where the word only varies in case or termination. The Peripatetic preceptors added to these, which they called antiphrasisms; analogical terms, where the same word belongs to one thing primarily, and to another secondarily and improperly. They also promised the doctrine of Predicables, or general modes of predication. Aristotle having left nothing on this subject, Porphyry wrote an Introduction to his works, in which he treats of the five predicables, Genus, Species, Difference, Property, and Accident.

"Universal terms are reduced to ten classes, which are called Categories, or Predicaments. These are, 1. Substances, which is either primary, and can neither be predicated of, nor inherent in, any other subject; or secondary, which consists in primary substances, as genera or species. 2. Quantity, continued or discrete; which has no contrary, but denominates things equal or unequal. 3. Relation, expressing the manner in which one thing is affected towards another. 4. Quality, by which a thing is said to be such as it is. 5. Action, signifying the motion of the agent. 6. Passion, signifying the state of the patient. 7. When, denoting time. 8. Where, denoting place. 9. Situation, expressing the external circumstance of local relation. 10. Habit, expressing the external circumstance of being habituated."

"In order to supply the deficiencies of this arrangement, five other general heads were afterwards added, Opposition, Priority, Coincidence, Motion, and Possession. Excepting Substance, all the categories, and their supple-

<sup>47</sup> Laert. l. v. § 28, &c.

<sup>48</sup> Aristot. de Categ. c. i. t. f. Op. p. 8.

<sup>49</sup> De Categ. c. 10.



ments, may be comprised under the general head of Accident.<sup>50</sup>

The arrangement of the Categories was borrowed from the Pythagorean school, in which the number ten was esteemed the most perfect. It is said, that it was first invented, by Archytas of Tarentum. From him, Plato probably received it, when he conversed with him in Italy; and from Plato it would of course pass to Aristotle.

Of Terms, are formed enunciative Propositions, or sentences, in which something is affirmed or denied.<sup>51</sup> Every proposition consists of a Subject, a Predicate, and a Copula; or expresses the thing, concerning which the assertion is made, the accident which is asserted or predicated of it, and the assertion itself. From propositions, are formed Syllogisms, in which, from given premises, certain conclusions are drawn. A Syllogism consists of three propositions, of which the two former are the Premises, and the third the Conclusion, and in which three terms are variously arranged. These three terms are called the Major, the Minor, and the Middle Term. The Predicate of the Conclusion is called the Major Term; the subject the Minor, and both together the Extremes. The Middle Term is that which is introduced to shew the connexion between the Major and Minor, and thus bring out the conclusion. The Matter of a Syllogism is the propositions of which it consists; the Form is the framing and disposing these according to Figure and Mode. Figure is the proper disposition of the Middle Term. Mode is the arrangement of the propositions according to quantity and quality; that is, as they are universal or particular, affirmative or negative.<sup>52</sup>

The figures of Syllogisms are three—in the First, the middle term is the subject of the major proposition, and the predicate of the minor. It contains four modes which are conclusive. In the Second, the middle term is the predicate of both the extremes; it has also four conclusive modes. In the Third, the middle term is the subject of both the extremes; it has six modes. Every Syllogism is constituted of some one of these three figures; but the first

<sup>50</sup> See Harris's Philosophical Arrangements.

<sup>51</sup> Arist. De Interpretatione, l. i.

<sup>52</sup> Analyt. prior. l. i. t. i. p. 40.

is the most perfect. Other forms of reasoning may easily be reduced to the Syllogistic.<sup>53</sup> \*

On the invention and application of Syllogisms, Aristotle treats with a degree of minuteness and subtlety which produces obscurity. His logical dissertations would have been clearer, as well as more concise, had he carefully distinguished between words and ideas, and confined his attention chiefly to the latter.

Concerning demonstrative reasoning, Aristotle lays it down as a fundamental principle, that all disquisition producing science rests upon some previous knowledge of the subject. Demonstration can only arise from principles which are true in themselves, and not referable to any prior truth; which involve in them, by immediate consequence, the conclusion to be demonstrated; and lastly, which are clearly perceived and perfectly known. Demonstrative

<sup>53</sup> *Analyt. prior. l. ii. c. 23.*

The Aristotelian doctrine of Syllogisms may be illustrated by the following examples:

The sentence, *God is omnipotent*, is a Proposition, in which *God* is the Subject; *Omnipotent*, the Predicate; and *is*, the Copula.

In the following Syllogism:

Our Creator must be worshipped;

God is our Creator;

Therefore God must be worshipped;

The two former propositions are the Premises; the third, the Conclusion. The three Terms are *Worship—God—Creator*. The first, the Major; the second, the Minor; the third, the Middle Term; introduced to show the connexion between the two ideas of *God* and *Worship*.

*Syllogism of the First Figure.*

Every bad man is miserable:

All tyrants are bad men;

Therefore all tyrants are miserable.

*Syllogism of the Second Figure.*

No deceiver is to be credited:

Every good historian is to be credited;

Therefore no good historian is a deceiver.

*Syllogism of the Third Figure.*

All honest men are beloved:

All honest men have faults;

Therefore some who have faults are beloved.

sylogisms respect certain truths, and therefore consist of propositions, which necessarily arise from the nature of things, or the definition of terms. The proper subjects of demonstration are those common natures, or universal attributes, subsisting in individuals, which make them to be what they are, and which may be predicated of them. It is one thing to know *that* a thing is so, and another to know *why* it is so; hence arises two kinds of demonstration; one *ἐν δυνάμει*, which demonstrates the existence of the cause from its effects; the other, *κατὰ δυνάμειν*, which reasons from the nature of causes. No science can arise immediately from the senses, which are only conversant with individual objects; for science is employed upon those universal natures which are discovered from the induction, or collection, of particulars perceived by the senses.<sup>44</sup> Dialectics<sup>45</sup> deduce conclusions from probable premises; that is, from premises which appear probable to all, or at least to the most intelligent part of mankind. The art of dialectic reasoning is conjunctural, and therefore does not always certainly attain its end. Dialectic propositions express Genus, and Difference, Definition, Property, or Accident; or declare concerning any subject to what class it belongs, and wherein it differs from others; by what terms its nature may be explained; what particular properties it possesses, or what casual circumstances attend it. Refutation, *Ἐλεγχος*,<sup>46</sup> contradicts a conclusion drawn by the opponent from assumed premises; and, for this purpose, either makes use of legitimate syllogisms in defending truth, or of sophistical arts in support of error. Of these latter the principal are: 1. By departing from the point, and proving something which seems to determine the question, but in reality does not. 2. By supposing what is not allowed, or taking for granted in other terms, that which is to be proved. 3. By reasoning in a circle, when, in a series of arguments, the same things are mutually made use of, both as the medium of proof, and as the conclusion. 4. By assigning a false cause, or making that to be the cause of any effect, which either does not exist at all, or does not exist as a cause in

<sup>44</sup> Analytic, poster. l. i. c. 1, 2, 4, 8, 10, 12.

<sup>45</sup> Topic. l. i. c. 1, 3, 4, 10.

<sup>46</sup> De Elench, Sophist. l. i. p. 172.

the present question. . . 5. By representing a mere accident as essential to the nature of the subject. . . 6. By deducing an universal assertion, from that which is true only in particular circumstances; and the reverse. . . 7. By asserting any thing in a compound sense, which is only true in a divided sense; and the reverse. . . 8. By an abuse of the ambiguity of words. To this latter source of fallacy several of the former may be easily reduced.<sup>57</sup>

(This brief sketch of the logic of Aristotle may suffice to give the reader a general idea of the first branch of his philosophy, the *Instrumental*. We next proceed to the second branch, the *Theoretical*, comprehending his doctrine of physics, metaphysics, and mathematics.

1. *Of Physics.* The principles of nature are neither the Similar Parts of Anaxagoras, nor the Atoms of Leucippus and Democritus, nor the Sensible Elements of Thales, nor the Unity of Parmenides, nor the Numbers of Pythagoras, nor the Ideas of Plato. There must necessarily be in nature opposite principles, independent and undervived, from which all things proceed. But, since from two contrary principles nothing could be produced, but they would rather destroy each other, a third is necessary to the existence of natural bodies. These three principles are,<sup>58</sup> Form, Privation, and Matter; the two former contrary to each other; the third, the common subject of both. Matter and Form are the constituent principles of things; Privation enters not into their constitution, but is accidentally associated with them. All things are produced from that which exists potentially, namely,<sup>59</sup> the First Matter; not from that which exists actually, nor from pure nihility. Matter is neither produced nor destroyed, but is the first infinite subject, from which things are formed, and into which they are at last resolved. Form is the nature and essence of any thing, or that which makes it to be what it is. Matter cannot be separated from form and real existence. It may perhaps, cast some light upon this part of Aristotle's doctrine, to remark the prior state of opinions on this subject. Before his time, all the philosophers, who

<sup>57</sup> For examples of these several kinds of sophisms, see Watts's Logic, part. ii. ch. iii. sect. 1.

<sup>58</sup> Laert. l. v. § 23. Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 3, 4.

<sup>59</sup> Phys. c. 8, 9.

had treated on 'natural causes; had agreed in the opinion, that there is some substance, from which all bodies were made, and upon which the forms of things are impressed; and to this substance most of them gave the name of *Matter*. Although they could not deny the existence of this substance, they were unable to say what it was, or in what manner it received the forms of things. The common idea was, that matter consisted of indefinitely small particles which had been eternally in motion; and it was for the most part believed, that these particles were collected and united by the agency of an intelligent principle. It was also generally supposed, that different particles of matter originally possessed different qualities: but, in explaining the nature of this difference, various hypotheses were advanced. Empedocles, Thales, and others, taught, that there are in matter four primary elements, which are the basis of all corporeal forms; whilst Anaxagoras and his followers maintained, that all bodies consist of indefinitely small particles, each similar in form to the whole. Plato, dissatisfied with these theories, had recourse to the doctrine of Ideas, and held that the Essential Forms of things, proceeding by emanation from the Deity, had a real existence, and that in the union of these with matter consisted the formation of bodies. Aristotle had too much penetration not to see that these hypotheses were inadequate to the solution of the great question concerning the formation of nature. In hopes of succeeding better than his predecessors, he assumed, as the basis of a new system, First Matter,<sup>60</sup> entirely destitute of all qualities, and therefore not body, but the eternal subject on which forms might be impressed, and in which they might inhere. This notion of a primary substance, without quantity or quality, form or figure, or any of the properties of body, that is incorporeal matter, though in reality borrowed from the Pythagoreans, Aristotle claimed as his own invention; boasting,<sup>61</sup> that he was the first who had discovered the true principle of bodies.

Concerning Nature, Aristotle speaks with more than usual obscurity. He defines it to be the principle and

<sup>60</sup> Metaph. l. i. c. 2. l. ii. p. 450. l. vii. c. 3. p. 708.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Locutus de Anima Mundi. Op. Phys. Galei, p. 554. C. 1. At. Qu. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>62</sup> De Gen. et Corr. l. i. c. 2.

cause of motion and of rest, wherever it exists, primarily and not by accident. Nature, he says, subsists in material substances, and consists of two parts, matter and form; but form has more of nature than matter, because it is in act.<sup>63</sup> By nature, he certainly does not mean, as some writers have supposed, a substance different from material things, by which they are produced and arranged;<sup>64</sup> for he considers nature as intimately connected and necessarily combined with matter.<sup>65</sup> The truth seems to be, that Aristotle, in framing his system, finding himself in want of a principle by which form and matter might be united, and being determined to advance something new, conceived in his mind a vague notion of some internal cause of motion and arrangement, to which he applied the term Nature, and thus cut the knot which he was not able to untie. To endeavour further to elucidate his doctrine concerning the principle which he calls Nature, would therefore only be to add to the number of unmeaning words which have been already thrown away upon this subject.

Causes are distinguished by this philosopher into four kinds; Material, of which things are made; Formal, by which a thing is that which it is, and nothing else; Efficient, by the agency of which any thing is produced; and Final, or the end, for which it is produced.<sup>66</sup>

Motion, or change of any kind, is successive with respect to time, finite, and produced by some cause, either external or internal.

Substances are of three kinds;<sup>67</sup> two of these are natural substances; the first, eternal, as the heavens; the second, perishable, as animal bodies; the third is the immutable nature; of which more hereafter.

The heavens<sup>68</sup> are perfect because they are composed of perfect bodies, and comprehend all perfection, being comprehended by nothing. Circular motion about a centre is peculiar to the heavenly sphere; it has therefore a distinct nature from all terrestrial bodies, whose motion is rectilineal. From its circular motion, it appears that the

his system. <sup>63</sup> Phys. I. ii. c. 1. p. 26. <sup>64</sup> Cudworth's Intellectual System, p. 157.

<sup>65</sup> Phys. I. ii. c. 11. <sup>66</sup> Phys. I. ii. c. 8. p. 165.

<sup>67</sup> Metaph. I. xi. c. 1. p. 738. <sup>68</sup> De Caelo, II. c. 2, 4. p. 277, 8.

heavenly sphere has neither levity nor gravity. Because it has no contrary, it is not liable to any increase, diminution, or change, and is eternal.<sup>69</sup> The natural motion of the heavenly sphere is circular, but this motion is not of one kind through the whole heavenly region: for there are other spheres which move in a direction contrary to that of the first sphere, in order to produce the vicissitudes of terrestrial things. The motion of the first sphere, or *Primum Mobile*, "that which is first moved," is equable and uniform, without beginning, middle, or end: the *Primum Mobile* and the First Mover being eternal and immutable. The stars are of the same nature with the spheres by which they are supported, but more dense; they communicate light and heat to the air, and thence to the inferior world by means of friction.<sup>70</sup> They are moved in consequence of the motion of the spheres in which they are placed. The earth is a spherical body immoveably fixed, and is the centre of motion to all the spheres. The first sphere revolves with the greatest velocity, and its motion is from west to east; the inferior spheres revolve from east to west. The velocities of the spheres of the seven planets are inversely as their distances from the first sphere.<sup>71</sup>

The world is not infinite, nor is there any infinite body beyond it; for no body can be infinite. There cannot be more than one world; for if there were more, they would move towards each other out of their respective places. The world is eternal, without beginning or end.<sup>72</sup>

Bodies are either simple or compound. Simple bodies are the elements, or secondary matter, produced by the union of primary matter and form. Compound bodies are those which are produced from the combination of elementary bodies. Elements being produced, and capable of dissolution, are not eternal. The elements are four; fire, air, water, and earth. There are in elementary bodies two principles of motion, gravity and levity; by the former bodies descend towards the centre of the world; by the latter they rise towards the heavens. The element of earth has simple gravity; that of fire simple levity; air and

<sup>69</sup> De Cælo, l. i. c. 3. 12.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. l. ii. c. 2—11.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. l. ii. c. 13, 14.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. l. iii. c. 7, 8, 12.

water partake of both. Compound bodies descend or ascend in proportion to the prevalence of gravity or levity in their component parts. Those elements which by their levity are uppermost are most perfect. They partake, with respect to the inferior elements, of the nature of forms; for it is the property of matter to be contained, and of form to contain.<sup>73</sup>

In consequence of the perpetual agency of the First Mover and the celestial sphere upon matter, bodies suffer a perpetual succession of dissolution and re-production. Dissolution always succeeds production; because the termination of the dissolution of one body is the commencement of the production of another; the primary matter in the mean time remaining the same. When the whole essential substance of any body is changed, reproduction takes place; when its accidental properties are changed, it undergoes alteration by means of augmentation or diminution.<sup>74</sup>

From the mutual contact of different bodies arises a mutual action and passion, each endeavouring to reduce the other to its own likeness. In sensible bodies there are certain primary qualities, some active and others passive, which constitute their specific difference. Of this kind are heat and cold, moisture and dryness, heaviness and lightness, hardness and softness, roughness and smoothness, and the like. It is from the union of the two first of these pairs of primary qualities, that the elements are formed. Fire, from the union of heat and dryness; air from the union of heat and moisture; water from the union of cold and moisture; earth from the union of cold and dryness. All the elements may be reciprocally transmuted; and this transmutation is made, not by dissolution, but by alteration. Mixed bodies are formed by a combination of all the elements. The causes of mixed bodies are three—the matter, the form, and the universal efficient; the circular motion of the heavens, by means of which the sun and the stars, the immediate agents in produc-

<sup>73</sup> De Cælo, l. iii. c. 3. p. 372. l. iv. c. 1. p. 378. De Gen. et Cor. l. i. c. 3. p. 386.

<sup>74</sup> De Gen. et Corr. l. i. c. 5. p. 390.



tion and dissolution; approach towards or recede from the earth.<sup>75</sup>

From the general principles of production and dissolution; and from the mutual action and passion of the simple qualities, Aristotle endeavours to assign the causes of natural appearances, and to explain the nature of mixed bodies, whether perfect or imperfect. But it is unnecessary, in a general summary of his doctrine concerning nature, to pursue his conjectural theories through a tedious detail of particulars.

From Aristotle's system of Physics we pass to his doctrine concerning Being; considered abstractedly, concerning Deity, and concerning the Soul. These are comprehended under the general term *Metaphysics*,<sup>76</sup> because they pass beyond sensible bodies to things which are perceived only by the understanding: whence this branch of science is also called by Aristotle, The First Philosophy. We shall here follow the order which Aristotle himself has pursued, in his Book of Metaphysics.

Of the doctrine of *Being* considered as such, the first principle or axiom is, that it is impossible that the same thing should be, and not be, in the same subject, at the same time, and in the same respect.<sup>77</sup> To this universal principle all demonstration may be reduced, but it is itself incapable of demonstration, because it is a primary truth.

Being is either by itself or by accident. Of these the first is that which exists by itself; because upon this all properties, or accidents, depend. Of accidental being no certain knowledge can be obtained. Being may be distributed into the ten Categories, or Predicaments, before enumerated. Substance includes primary matter, or the first subject of all things, form and essence, and the compounds arising from the union of these.<sup>78</sup>

Being may be either in power or in act. Power is either active or passive: active power is the principle of motion, or change, acting upon another substance: passive power subsists in the subject upon which active power is exercised. These are correlatives, and cannot be separated.

<sup>75</sup> De Gen. et Corr. l. i. c. 6. p. 393. l. ii. c. 2, 3. p. 400. c. 8, 9. p. 406.

<sup>76</sup> Metaph. l. i. c. 1. l. v. c. 1. l. vi. c. 1. <sup>77</sup> Ibid. l. iv. c. 4. p. 688, &c.

<sup>78</sup> L. iv. c. 7. p. 679. l. vi. c. 3. 6. p. 693. 696.

Power remains when it is not exerted in action. Action takes place when a thing is otherwise than when it was in power.<sup>19</sup>

Being is either notional or real: notional, as it is conceived in the mind; real, as it exists in nature. Notional being is either true or false; true, when it corresponds to the real nature of things; false, when the conception and the reality differ from each other. In the knowledge of things immutable, the intellect cannot be deceived; mistake and error can only arise concerning contingent and variable objects. If Being be considered with respect to numbers, unity is one of its properties. To unity are nearly related identity, equality, and similarity. Being admits of genus and species: those things differ in genus which are not of the same primary nature; things which differ from each other but have the same genus are said to differ in species.<sup>20</sup>

Concerning the First Cause of Motion, the sum of Aristotle's doctrine is this:

Of substances, which have been already said to be of three kinds, corruptible, incorruptible, and immoveable, the third kind is the First Mover, itself unmoved. The existence of this kind of substance may be inferred from the local motion of the heavens: for, since it is not possible that the circular motion which is peculiar to the celestial sphere should have had a beginning, not only must the sphere, which is the seat of this motion, be an eternal substance, but there must likewise be an eternal substance which has from eternity caused this motion; which therefore remains itself immoveable, but is eternally communicating motion to other substances. That substance, which is the cause of eternal motion, must itself be simple, pure energy, void of matter, eternal, and immutable. The act of the First Mover, by which it is the first efficient cause of all motion, consists in the simple energy of pure intelligence. This influence operates independently and immediately upon inferior intelligences, or substances of the same nature with the First Mover; and it is by their agency that the motions in the primary and subordinate spheres are

<sup>19</sup> Metaph. I. ix. c. 1—6, p. 711, &c.

<sup>20</sup> I. ii. c. 4. I. iv. c. 6. 2.

predicted. The intelligent powers move the heavenly spheres, not for the sake of producing inferior things, but that they may resemble the first power. Nevertheless, the vicissitudes of nature are the effect of their action upon the inferior orbs, especially upon the sun, which is the immediate cause of production and decay.

The essence of the First Mover is different from that of corporeal substances; indivisible, because unity is perfect; immutable, because nothing can change itself; and eternal, because motion itself is eternal. This power is an incorporeal Intelligence; happy in the contemplation of himself; the first cause of all motion, and in fine, the Being of beings, or God.<sup>81</sup>

Upon reviewing this part of Aristotle's metaphysical reasoning, it seems no very difficult task to discover the progress of his investigation. After he had ascended in the scale of being to the first substance, and had derived all motion from the perfect and eternal circular motion of the heavens, which he supposed to have been eternal, he found it necessary to admit into his system a First Mover. To avoid the absurdity of an infinite series of effects without a cause, he conceived the first spring of all motion to have been itself immoveable: but in what manner the First Mover produced this motion he was at a loss to explain. It was contrary to his whole system, and to his first notions of matter and local motion, to admit (which nevertheless some writers have imputed to him) that the celestial orbs are animated bodies, which move by their own innate force. Having deprived this First Mover of all quantity, matter, and motion, he perceived the necessity of assigning to it some method of communicating motion, different from that in which bodies act upon each other. But finding himself unable to say in what manner a simple immaterial substance, incapable of motion, could produce motion in material substances, he endeavoured to extricate himself from his embarrassment by recurring to analogy, and supposed that the First Mover acts upon the first celestial sphere to give it motion, in a manner similar to that in which the mind of man acts upon the human body. From

<sup>81</sup> Met. i. xi. c. 6, 7, 8. p. 740. De Caelo, i. ii. c. 3.

the well-known fact, that the motion of the body follows the conceptions and volition of the mind; he assumed a certain intellectual influence, exercised by the First Mover as the principle of local motion, and thus imagined that he had solved the great problem which had hitherto been found inexplicable, in what manner mind acts upon body. However, after all that Aristotle has said concerning the spring of motion in his First Mover, which he describes as having intelligence, desire, and affection, it still remains an inexplicable mystery in what manner pure spirit, either human or Divine, is the efficient cause of motion in material bodies.

If it be inquired, whether Aristotle is to be ranked in the class of theists or of atheists; the preceding view of his theology will justify us in replying, that his system does not exclude the idea of Deity; for he speaks of the First Mover as a being distinct from the world; wholly separated in his nature from matter; of a peculiar substance; possessing intellect, desire, and a power of communicating motion; upon whom the universe is dependent, not as upon an animating principle, but an external moving power. This Being he represents as superior to all other intelligent natures, and calls him God. At the same time it must be owned, that it is impossible to reconcile Aristotle's notion of Deity with just conceptions of the Divine Nature and attributes. He makes God indeed the cause of all motion; but in supposing the universe to have existed from eternity, he divests him of the glory of creation, and connects him with a world already formed by the chain of necessity, for no other purpose than to make him the first spring of a vast machine.

As, according to the doctrine of Aristotle, God is immutable, so also is the celestial sphere, which is the region of his residence. In producing motion, the Deity acts, not voluntarily, but necessarily; not for the sake of other beings, but for his own pleasure. Eternally employed in the contemplation of his own nature, he observes nothing; he cares for nothing beyond himself. Residing in the first sphere, he possesses neither immensity nor omnipresence: far removed from the inferior parts of the universe, he is not even a spectator of what is passing among its inhabitants, and therefore cannot be a proper object of worship.

and reverence. He is inferior even to the Deity of Epicurus, who, on account of his excellent nature, was worthy of homage. He is indeed intelligent and immaterial, but his duration is occupied in no other action than the exercise of an inexplicable power of communicating motion. How far this doctrine of the First Mover falls short of the true idea of the Supreme Being, those who have been better instructed will easily perceive.

Concerning intelligent natures inferior to the First Mover, Aristotle taught, that they are simple immaterial substances who preside over the lower celestial spheres. These he supposed to be dependent on the First Mover; to be employed in contemplating the First Mover, as the best and most perfect model; and to be impelled to action, by a desire of receiving his influence, and of communicating, by a similar influence, motion to their respective spheres, and hence to the rest of the universe. Whether they are proper objects of religious worship, he has no where clearly determined; but it is probable, that he ranked every thing of this kind amongst the popular superstitions, and that this was the cause of the complaints which were brought against him by the Athenians. It may be questioned whether Aristotle considered the inferior intelligences as proceeding by emanation from the Supreme; for such a dogma would not be very consistent with the opinion, that these intelligences had been *eternally* connected with their respective spheres.

We shall conclude our view of the metaphysics of Aristotle by inquiring into his doctrine concerning the Human Mind and Animal Life.

Aristotle, having undertaken to teach a new system of philosophy, was desirous of receding as far as possible from former philosophers, and particularly from Plato; and in treating upon any subject, on which he had no new doctrine to offer, he gave old opinions the air of novelty, by clothing them in new language. This latter method he adopted on the subject of Mind. He asserted with Plato, that there are in man different faculties, which have respectively a different organ; but he designedly expressed his doctrine upon this head in obscure terms, which cannot be explained with entire perspicuity, without supposing, as

many writers have done, what Aristotle ought to have taught, instead of endeavouring to discover what he actually did teach.

His leading tenets on this subject are these :<sup>82</sup>

The soul is the first principle of action in an organized body, possessing life potentially. The soul does not move itself; for, whatever moves, is moved by some other moving power. It is not a rare body, composed of elements; for then it would not have perception, more than the elements which compose it.<sup>83</sup> The soul has three faculties, the nutritive, the sensitive, and the rational; the superior comprehending the inferior potentially. The nutritive faculty is that by which life is produced and preserved. The sensitive faculty is that by which we perceive and feel; it does not perceive itself nor its organs, but some external object through the intervention of its organs, which are adapted to produce the sensations of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. The senses receive sensible species, or forms, without matter, as wax receives the impression of a seal, without receiving any part of its substance. The external senses perceive objects, but it is the common or internal sense which observes their difference.<sup>84</sup> The internal sense perceives various objects at the same instant. Perception differs from intellect; the former being common to all animals, the latter to a few. Fancy is the perception produced in any animal by the immediate action of the senses. It is accompanied with different feelings, according to the nature of the object by which it is produced. Memory<sup>85</sup> is derived from fancy, and has its seat in the same power of the soul. It is the effect of some image impressed upon the soul by means of the senses. Where this image cannot be retained, through an excess of moisture or dryness in the temperature of the brain, memory ceases. Reminiscence<sup>86</sup> is that faculty of the mind by which we search for any thing, which we wish to recollect, through a series of things nearly related to it, till at last we call to mind what we had forgotten. The intellect<sup>87</sup> is

<sup>82</sup> De Anima, l. i. t. i. p. 476, &c. l. ii. c. 1. p. 487.

<sup>83</sup> De Anima, l. ii. c. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>84</sup> De An. l. iii. c. 2, 3. p. 500, &c.

<sup>85</sup> De Memor. l. i. c. i. p. 523.

<sup>86</sup> Ib. c. 2,

<sup>87</sup> De Anim. l. iii. c. 4—11. p. 502, &c.

that part of the soul by which it understands. It is of two kinds, passive and active; passive intellect is that faculty by which the understanding receives the forms of things: it is the seat of species. Active intellect is the efficient cause of all knowledge; and is either simple, when it is employed in the near apprehension of its object, or complex, when it compounds simple conceptions in order to produce belief and assent. The latter is either true or false, the former neither. The action of the intellect is either theoretical or practical; theoretical, when it simply considers what is true or false; and practical, when it judges whether any thing is good or evil, and hereby excites the will to pursue or avoid it. The principle of local motion is the desire, or aversion, which arises from the practical exercise of the understanding. This desire, or aversion, produces either rational volition, or sensitive appetite. The production of animal life arises from the union of the nutritive soul with animal heat. Life is the continuance of this union; death, its dissolution.<sup>88</sup>

The nature of the first principle of animal life, and of all perception, intelligence, and action, Aristotle, as well as all other philosophers, was at a loss to explain. Having no other way of judging concerning it, than by observing its operations as far as they are subjects of experience, he could only define the mind to be that principle by which we live, perceive, and understand. When he attempted to form an abstract conception of this principle, he saw that there must be some substance, which enjoys such perfection, as to be capable of performing this function; but he was wholly ignorant of the nature of this substance, and therefore, in defining it, he made use of a term expressive of the confused idea which he had formed to himself from observing its operations, and called it *ἐντελέχεια*, or *Perfect Energy*; that is, if he had confessed the truth, some substance, I know not what, which is adapted to produce sensitive and rational life in certain organized bodies. This term will afford the attentive reader a striking example of the manner in which Aristotle endeavoured to explain the principles of nature by vague notions and unmeaning words.

<sup>88</sup> De Vita et Morte, c. 17, 18.

Nothing is to be met with in the writings of Aristotle which decisively determines, whether he thought the soul of man mortal or immortal: but the former appears most probable, from his notion of the nature and origin of the human soul,<sup>89</sup> which he conceived to be an intellectual power, externally transmitted into the human body from an Eternal Intelligence, the common source of rationality to human beings. Aristotle does not inform his readers what he conceived this universal principle to be; but there is no proof that he supposed the union of this principle with any individual to continue after death.<sup>90</sup>

The third branch of the Aristotelian philosophy, the *Practical*, included his doctrine of Ethics, Politics, and Economics.

Aristotle, though sufficiently copious in his discourses on the subject of morals, yet, from causes which have been already hinted, affords the intelligent reader little satisfaction. Upon this branch of his philosophy, therefore, a brief enumeration of some of the leading heads of his doctrine may suffice.<sup>91</sup>

Moral felicity consists neither in the pleasures of the body, nor in riches, nor in civil glory, power, and rank, nor in the contemplation of truth, but in the virtuous exercise of the mind. A virtuous life is in itself a source of delight. External goods, such as friends, riches, power, beauty, and the like, are instruments by means of which illustrious deeds may be performed. Virtue is either the-

<sup>89</sup> De Gen. An. l. ii. c. 3. l. iii. c. 11. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. i. c. 10.

<sup>90</sup> In censuring Aristotle's speculative physics, his extensive practical knowledge of nature should not be overlooked. His writings on Natural History are a continued chain of physical and anatomical facts, which appear to have been the result of accurate observation. Aristotle relied less than any of the ancient naturalists on uncertain and fabulous report. He industriously collected and examined natural bodies; he appears to have himself dissected, or to have been present at the dissection of, many animals, particularly of fishes. There are in his writings \* references by letters to figures, by which he illustrated his observations. See, on this subject, Haller. Method. Stud. Med. p. iv. c. 2. Borrich. de Sap. Herm. c. 19. Schætz in Spec. Hist. Anat. v. ii. p. 6.

<sup>91</sup> Moral. Ecl. Phys. et Eth. l. ii. p. 184.

\* Hist. Anim. l. i. c. 17. l. iii. c. 1. l. iv. c.



theoretical or practical: theoretical virtue consists in the due exercise of the understanding; practical, in the pursuit of what is right and good. Practical virtue is acquired by habit and exercise.

Virtue, as far as it respects ourselves and the government of the passions, consists in preserving that mean in all things which reason and prudence prescribe: it is the middle path between two extremes, one of which is vicious through excess, the other through defect. Virtue is a spontaneous act, the effect of design and volition. It is completed by nature, habit, and reason. The first virtue is Fortitude; which is the mean between timidity and rash confidence. Temperance is the mean between the excessive pursuit and the neglect of pleasure. Liberality is the mean between prodigality and avarice. Magnificence preserves a due decorum in great expenses, and is the mean between haughty grandeur and low parsimony. Magnanimity respects the love of applause, and the judgment a man forms of his own merit; and holds the middle place between meanness of spirit and pride. Moderation respects distinction in rank, and is the mean between ambition and the contempt of greatness. Gentleness is the due government of the irascible passions, and observes a proper medium between anger and insensibility. Affability respects the desire of pleasing in the ordinary occurrences of life, and pursues the middle path between moroseness and servility. Simplicity in the practice of virtue is the mean between arrogant pretensions to merit and an artful concealment of defects. Urbanity respects sports and jests, and avoids rusticity and scurrility. Modesty is a certain apprehension of incurring disgrace, and lies in the middle way between impudence and bashfulness. Justice includes the observance of the laws for the preservation of society, and the discharge of obligations and debts between equals. Equity corrects the rigour of laws, or supplies their defects. Friendship is nearly allied to virtue; it consists in perfect affection towards an equal. Friendships are formed for the sake of pleasure, convenience, or virtue. Friendship is cherished by mutual acts of generosity; it is

<sup>22</sup> Arist. Mor. l. i. c. 3—6. 9, 10. l. x. c. 6.

begin in kindness, and preserved by concord; its end is the pleasant enjoyment of life.<sup>93</sup>

Pleasures are essentially different in kind. Disgraceful pleasures are wholly unworthy of the name. The purest and noblest pleasure is that which a good man derives from virtuous actions. Happiness, which consists in a conduct conformable to virtue, is either contemplative or active. Contemplative happiness, which consists in the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom, is superior to active happiness, because the understanding is the higher part of human nature, and the objects on which it is employed are of the noblest kind. The happiness which arises from external possessions, is inferior to that which arises from virtuous actions; but both are necessary to produce perfect felicity.<sup>94</sup>

Thus much may serve as a specimen of the moral philosophy which is to be found in Aristotle's *Book of Ethics*, dedicated to Nicomachus, in his *Greater Morals*, and his discourse *On the Virtues*. The truth is, that, though these writings contain many useful precepts and just observations, they are by no means to be considered as a perfect code of morals, adapted to produce genuine integrity and simplicity of manners. Aristotle's design, in his ethical writings, seems to have been to lay down precepts for civil life, introductory to his doctrine of political wisdom. In his treatise concerning Policy, he not only insists upon the general theory of government, but enters into a distinct consideration of its particular duties. Whence it appears, that Aristotle was intimately acquainted with the principles of government, as well as with those of philosophy. But for the particulars of his precepts on Policy, as well as on Economics, which do not admit of an easy application to the present times, we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to his works.

As the result of the brief survey which we have taken of the philosophy of Aristotle, it may be asserted, that it is rather the philosophy of words than of things; and that

<sup>93</sup> Mor. i. ii. c. 5—9. i. iii. c. 4, 5. 9—14. i. iv. c. 1. 7. 11. 13. 15. i. v. c. 2, 3, 8, 9. i. vi. c. 2—7. i. vii. c. 1. i. viii. c. 1. & i. ix. c. 4—9. 12.

<sup>94</sup> L. x. c. 5—8. Conf. Laert. l. v. § 30, &c. Orig. Phil. p. 130. Stob. l. c.

the study of his writings tends more to perplex the understanding with subtle distinctions, than to enlighten it with real knowledge.<sup>64</sup>

## SECT. II.

### *Of the Successors of Aristotle.*

WHEN Aristotle withdrew, as we have already related, to Chalcis, his disciples importuned him to nominate a successor in the school of the Lyceum. In compliance with

= Vidend. Ammon. Proleg. in Categ. Auct. anon. Vit. Arist. apud Vers. Lat. Op. Venet. 1496. Nummesii Instit. Phil. Perip. Id. de Genes. Obscurit. Arist. Helmsted. 1667. Vit. Arist. apud Menag. Comment. in Diog. Laert. p. 201. ed. Wetstein. Caurini, Aretini, et Gennasii Vit. Arist. Melanthonis Orat. de Arist. t. iii. Beureri Vit. Arist. Basil. 1581. Weinrichii Orat. Apol. Lips. 1611. Schotii Arist. et Demosth. Comp. Aug. Vend. 1603. Patricii Discuss. Perip. Basil. 1691. Cœringii Orat. de Arist. Bayle. Basnage Hist. des Juifs, t. iii. c. 7. Clerici Hist. Med. p. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 3. l. i. c. 2. Læetus de Piet. Arist. Paris. 1692. Jons. de Scr. His. Ph. l. ii. c. 13. l. ii. c. 15. Potter. Arch. Gr. l. i. c. 8. Schmid. Diss. de Gymn. Lit. Jons. Diss. de Hist. Perip. Gronov. Exerc. Acad. de Museo Alex. t. iii. Ant. Gr. Henmanni Act. Phil. v. l. p. 676. Voss. de Sectis. c. xvii. § 9. Horn. Hist. Phil. l. vii. c. 8. Procl. Intr. in Phil. Arist. c. 10. Paschius de var. Mod. Trad. Max. c. v. de Arist. Polyst. t. ii. l. i. c. 8. 11. l. ii. c. 12. Rachelius in Phil. Mor. Arist. Gron. Theas. Ant. t. ii. tab. xc. Budæi Hist. Ph. Heb. § 32. Id. Hist. Eccl. N. T. l. ii. p. 1973. Frederic. de Relig. Arist. Rhag. 1705. Lipsii Manud. l. i. Diss. iv. Malebranche de Inquir. Verit. l. ii. c. 7. Parker de Deo. Disp. i. et iv. Obs. Hal. t. viii. Obs. 10. Gaudent. Diss. de Arist. Vet. Contemptu. Pat. 1640. Blount. Cens. Beol. Auct. p. 82. Mæg. Spetymolog. Crit. p. 82. Tribbockov. de Disp. Schol. p. 218. Pachel. de opt. Gen. expl. Arist. Monlor. de Util. Anal. Arist. Franc. 1591. Ludov. Vives de Caus. Cor. Art. l. i. Gassendi Exercit. Parad. adv. Arist. Walsh. Hist. Log. l. ii. Parerg. Ac. 300. 135. Scip. Aquilanus de Plac. Phil. ante Arist. Medol. 1615. Cudworth Int. Syst. c. v. § 2. Barnet Arch. l. i. b. 11. Berigard. Circ. Pisan. p. 110. l. iv. y. Bar. Jugement des S. Peres, c. 17. Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. ix. c. 9. Lemaire de Var. Fort. Arist. c. 1. Oregii Arist. de Immort. Sententia. Rom. 1633. Pererius de Commun. Rer. Princip. l. vi. c. 19. Soner. Metaph. l. v. c. 6. Thomas de Exust. Mund. Stoic. Diss. 4. 14. Koenigsmah. et Maus de Mor. Arist. Kil. 1706. Du Hamel de Conf. Vet. et Nov. Phil. l. ii. c. 1. Hellman Phil. Nat. Prol. § 7. Dreierus de Philosophia prima.

their request, he appointed to this office, in the second year of the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad,<sup>90</sup> one of his favourite pupils, *Theophrastus*.<sup>91</sup>

This philosopher was a native of Eresium,<sup>92</sup> a maritime town in Lesbos. He was born in the second year of the hundred and second Olympiad,<sup>93</sup> and received the first rudiments of learning under Alcippus, in his own country; after which he was sent by his father, who was a wealthy man, to Athens, and there became a disciple of Plato, and after his death of Aristotle. Under these eminent masters, blessed by nature with a genius capable of excelling in every liberal accomplishment, he made great progress both in philosophy and eloquence. It was on account of his high attainments in the latter, that, instead of Tyrtamus, his original name, he was called, as some say by his master, but more probably by his own followers, *Theophrastus*.<sup>94</sup> When he undertook the charge of the Peripatetic school, he conducted it with such high reputation, that he had about two thousand scholars; among whom were, Nicomachus, the son of Aristotle, whom his father entrusted by will to his charge; Erasistratus, a celebrated physician; and Demetrius Phaleretus, who resided with him in the same house. His erudition and eloquence, united with engaging manners, recommended him to the notice of Cassander and Ptolemy, who invited him to visit Egypt. So great a favourite was he among the Athenians, that when one of his enemies accused him of teaching impious doctrines, the accuser himself escaped with difficulty the punishment which he endeavoured to bring upon Theophrastus.

Under the archonship of Xenippus, in the fourth year of the hundred and eighteenth Olympiad,<sup>95</sup> Sophocles, the son of Amphicledes, obtained a decree (upon what grounds we are not informed) making it a capital offence for any philosopher to open a public school without an express license from the senate. Upon this, all the philosophers left the city. But the next year, the person who had proposed this law was himself fined five talents, and the philosophers

<sup>90</sup> B. C. 322. <sup>91</sup> Suidas. Laert. l. v. § 36, &c.

<sup>92</sup> Strabo. l. xiii. p. 618. <sup>93</sup> B. C. 371.

<sup>94</sup> Cic. Quat. c. 49. 24. Plin. Pref. l. i. Laert. l. v. § 32.

<sup>95</sup> B. C. 305.

returned, with great public applause, to their respective schools. Theophrastus, who had suffered, with his brethren, the persecution inflicted by this oppressive decree, shared the honour of the restoration, and continued his debates and instructions in the Lyceum.<sup>3</sup>

Theophrastus is highly celebrated for his industry, learning, and eloquence; and for his generosity and public spirit.<sup>4</sup> He is said to have twice freed his country from the oppression of tyrants. He contributed liberally towards defraying the expense attending the public meetings of philosophers, which were held, not for the sake of show, but for learned and ingenious conversation. In the public schools he commonly appeared, as Aristotle had done, in an elegant dress, and was very attentive to the graces of elocution. He lived to the advanced age of eighty-five. Towards the close of his life, he grew exceedingly infirm, and was carried to the school on a couch. He expressed great regret on account of the shortness of life; and complained that nature had given long life to stags and crows, to whom it is of so little value, and had denied it to man, who, in a longer duration, might have been able to attain the summit of science, but now, as soon as he arrives within sight of it, is taken away.<sup>5</sup> His last advice to his disciples was, that, since it is the lot of man to die as soon as he begins to live, they would take more pains to enjoy life as it passes, than to acquire posthumous fame. His funeral was attended by a large body of Athenians. He wrote many valuable works, of which all that remain are, several treatises "On the Natural History of Plants and Fossils;" "Of Winds;" "Of Fire," &c.; a rhetorical work entitled "Characters," and a few Metaphysical Fragments.<sup>6</sup>

Although Theophrastus held the first place among the disciples of Aristotle, he did not so implicitly follow his master as to have no peculiar tenets of his own. In seven-

<sup>3</sup> Laert. Athen. l. xiii. p. 610.

<sup>4</sup> Laert. Athen. l. i. p. 21. l. v. p. 186. Plut. adv. Colot.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. iii. c. 28. Seneca (de Brev. Vit. c. 1.) ascribes this reflection to Aristotle; but it is inconsistent with his opinion, that man lives longer than any other animal except the elephant. De Sen. Anim. l. v. c. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Laert. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 241. His works were edited by Heinsius, Lugd. Bat. 1631. fol. His *Characters* by Needham, Cantab. 1772.

ral particulars he deviated from the doctrine of Aristotle; and he made some material additions to the system of the Peripatetic school. The following is a specimen of the tenets of this philosopher, where he appears to have followed his own judgment, or at least to have used language different from that of his master.

Theophrastus taught, that the Predicaments, or Categories, are as numerous as the motions and changes to which beings are liable; and that, among motions or changes are to be reckoned desires, appetites, judgments, and thoughts. In this opinion he deviated widely from Aristotle: for, if these actions of the mind are to be referred to motion, the First Mover, in contemplating himself, is not immoveable. He maintained that all things are not produced from contraries; but some from contraries, some from similar causes, and some from simple energy: that motion is not to be distinguished from action; and that there is one Divine Principle of all things, by which all things subsist.<sup>7</sup> By this Divine Principle, Theophrastus probably meant the First Mover, without whom other things could not be moved, and therefore could not subsist.

To these theoretical tenets might be added several moral apothegms,<sup>8</sup> which are ascribed to Theophrastus; but they are too trite and general to merit particular notice, except perhaps the following: "Respect yourself, and you will never have reason to be ashamed before others. Love is the passion of an indolent mind. Blushing is the complexion of virtue."

Theophrastus was succeeded by *Strato*,<sup>9</sup> of Lampsacus. He undertook the charge of the Peripatetic school in the third year of the hundred and twenty-third Olympiad,<sup>10</sup> and presided eighteen years with a high degree of reputation for learning and eloquence. Ptolemy Philadelphus made him his preceptor, and repaid his services with a royal present of eighty talents.

In his doctrine<sup>11</sup> concerning matter, Strato departed es-

<sup>7</sup> Conf. F. Patricii Discuss. Perip. t. i. l. xii. p. 154, &c.

<sup>8</sup> Eufert. Stobæus, &c.

<sup>9</sup> Laert. l. v. § 58. Suidas. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. ii. c. 38.

<sup>10</sup> B. C. 286.

<sup>11</sup> Cic. fb. et de Fin. l. v. c. 5. Phil. adv. Colot. t. iii. p. 418. Simpl. in Phys. l. iv. c. 58. l. vi. c. 23. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i.

entirely from the system both of Plato and Aristotle. His opinions, as far as they can be collected from the brief hints which remain, were—that there is inherent in matter a principle of motion, or force, without intelligence, which is the only cause of the production and dissolution of bodies; that the world has neither been formed by the agency of a Deity, distinct from matter, nor by an intelligent animating principle, but has arisen from a force innate in matter, originally excited by accident, and since continuing to act, according to the peculiar qualities of natural bodies.<sup>12</sup> It does not appear that Strato expressly either denied or asserted the existence of a Divine Nature; but in excluding all idea of Deity from the formation of the world, it cannot be doubted, that he indirectly excluded from his system the doctrine of the existence of a Supreme Being.<sup>13</sup> Strato also taught, that the seat of the soul is in the middle of the brain;<sup>14</sup> and that it only acts by means of the senses.<sup>15</sup>

After the death of Strato, which happened about the end of the hundred and twenty-seventh Olympiad, the Peripatetic school was continued, in succession, by *Dytos*,<sup>16</sup> of *Stoa*, who enjoyed the friendship of *Attalus* and *Eumenes*, and filled the chair till the hundred and thirty-eighth Olympiad;—by *Aristo*,<sup>17</sup> of the island of *Coos*, whom *Cicero* characterizes as more distinguished for the elegance of his language than the depth of his philosophy;—by *Arctus*,<sup>18</sup> a *Lydian*, who, with *Carnedes* and *Diogenes*, was depicted by the Athenians on an embassy to *Rome*, and who is said<sup>19</sup> to have held the doctrine of the eternity of the world;—and by *Diodorus*, in whom the peripatetic succession of the Peripatetic school terminated.

Among the followers of Aristotle, who, though not ranked

<sup>12</sup> Dic. De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Cudworth's Intell. Syst. c. iii. § 4. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. ii. p. 311.

<sup>14</sup> Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. v. c. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. § 350. Pyrrh. l. iii. c. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Laert. l. v. § 68. et Athen. l. xii. p. 546.

<sup>17</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 164. Strabo. l. x. p. 658. Cic. De Fin. l. ii. c. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Athen. l. x. p. 419. l. xv. p. 674.

<sup>19</sup> Plut. de Exil. l. ii. p. 527. Cic. l. c. Stobæus Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Philo. Munk. Incor. Op. p. 943.

With his two disciples in the chair, have both mentioned with distinction, are Diocarchus, Eramenes, and Demetrius Phalereus. Diocarchus, a Sicilian, acquired a distinguished name by his philosophical disputations and historical writings. Cicero speaks of him as a learned and eloquent writer. His tenets were, that there is no such thing as mind, or soul, either in man or beast; that the principle, by which animals perceive and act, is equally diffused through the body, inseparable from it, and expires with it; that the human race always existed; that it is impossible to foretell future events; and that the knowledge of them would be an infelicity.<sup>21</sup> He was an eminent geographer, and took great pains to measure the height of mountains, and to construct accurate maps of countries.<sup>22</sup>

*Erastemus*, of Rhodes, was a pupil of Aristotle. The *Ethics* of Aristotle are inscribed to him, and some suppose them to have been written by him.<sup>23</sup>

*Demetrius Phalereus*<sup>24</sup> was an illustrious ornament of the Peripatetic school. In the fourth year of the hundred and fifteenth Olympiad,<sup>25</sup> he was appointed by Cassander, king of Macedon, to the government of Athens. He conducted the government with so much wisdom and moderation, and rendered so many essential services to the citizens, that he acquired an unusual share of popularity. After he had enjoyed the supreme power in Athens ten years, the spirit of popular jealousy, for which the Athenians were so remarkable, was raised against him; he was condemned, during his absence from the city, to forfeit his life; his house and effects were given up to the populace, and all his statues were thrown down. To escape the resentment which raged against him in Athens, he fled to Ptolemy Soter, who afforded him protection, and admitted him to his confidence.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 10. Suidas.

<sup>22</sup> Cic. Tusc. Q. l. i. c. 20. 31. 34. De Off. l. ii. c. 5. Ep. ad Attic. l. xiii. ep. 31. 39. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. ii. c. 3. adv. Math. l. vii. § 349. Plut. contr. Colot. Euseb. Prep. l. xv. c. 9. Cic. de Div. l. i. c. 3. l. ii. c. 48. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Plin. l. ii. c. 65. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 295.

<sup>24</sup> Ib. p. 156.

<sup>25</sup> Laert. l. v. § 70, &c. Cic. de Leg. l. iii. Strabo. l. x. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

<sup>26</sup> B. C. 317.

<sup>27</sup> Laert. Aelian. l. iii. c. 17. Cic. Orat. pro Rabirio.



Being consulted by the king concerning the choice of a successor, he advised Ptolemy to choose the son which he had by his wife Eurydice, in preference to his son Beranices, afterwards called Philadelphus. The king rejected his advice, and during his life associated Philadelphus with him in the government. The young prince retained a settled enmity against Demetrius, for the counsel he had given his father, and when he assumed the throne, banished him to a distant province. Here Demetrius, after a short interval, unable to support the repeated misfortunes he had met with, put an end to his life by the bite of an asp.

This fact is supported by the concurrent testimony of the ancients. Hence it has, not without reason, been questioned, whether credit be due to the reports of Aristobulus, Philo, Josephus, and others, that Demetrius Phalerens was librarian to Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that it was by his advice, that this prince gave orders for a version of the Jewish Scriptures from the Hebrew into the Greek language. The truth is, that the whole story of a royal mandate for this undertaking is destitute of satisfactory proof, and probably first arose from Jewish vanity, and was afterwards hastily adopted by the Christian fathers. It is most probable, that the Septuagint version was the private labour of the Jews, who were at this time resident in Egypt.\*

Concerning Demetrius Phalerens, we have only to add,† that though he wrote many works on philosophy, history, and rhetoric, time has destroyed them all; for the elegant piece,‡ *De Interpretatione*, "On Interpretation," which some ascribe to him, is probably a work of later date.‡

\* Hody de Sept. Interp. c. 9. Vossius de Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 12. Prideaux Conn. p. ii. l. i. p. 19.

† Laert. ib. § 80.

‡ Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 423.

§ Vidend. Jons. de Script. Hist. Phil. l. i. c. 2. Schlasser. Spilog. de Stratone. Cudw. c. iii. § 4—6. et Not. Mosh. Leibnitz. Theodop. Budd. de Spinoz. p. 316. D'Argens Phil. des Bons Sens Rept. Thom. Hist. Ath. c. vi. Le Clerc. Bibl. Ch. t. ii. art. 1. § 7. Parker de Deo. Diss. vi. Schloser. de Hylozoismo Stratonis, Wittenb. 1720. Roman. Hist. Ath. s. ii. c. 27. Voss. Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 10, 11. Hody de Sept. Int. c. 9. Prideaux Conn. p. ii. l. i. Carpzov. Inst. Orat. l. ii. c. 98. Bayle.

## CHAP. X.

## OF THE CYNIC SECT.

**BEFORE** we dismiss the Ionic or Socratic school, two sects yet remain to be considered, the *Cynic* and the *Stoic*.

Whilst other philosophers, who professed themselves disciples of Socrates, taught systems of speculative opinions, which had little connexion with the doctrine of their master, Antisthenes, judging it more consonant to the spirit of the Socratic school to adhere in practice to the precepts of morality which Socrates had taught, than to prosecute the subtle disquisitions in which many of his followers were engaged, became the founder of a school, the sole object of which was, to support a rigid moral discipline.

*Antisthenes*,<sup>1</sup> an Athenian, was born about the ninetieth Olympiad.<sup>2</sup> In his youth he was engaged in military exploits, and acquired fame by the valour which he displayed in the battle of Tanagra. His first studies were under the direction of the Sophist Gorgias, who instructed him in the art of rhetoric. Soon growing dissatisfied with the futile labours of this school, he sought for more substantial wisdom from Socrates. Captivated by the doctrine and the manner of his new master, he prevailed upon many young men, who had been his fellow students under Gorgias, to accompany him. So great was his ardour for moral wisdom, that though he lived at the Piræum, which was at the distance of forty *stadia*<sup>3</sup> from the city, he came daily to Athens to attend upon Socrates. This wise man, as we have already seen, at the same time that he made morality the only subject of his instructions, powerfully recommended virtuous manners to his disciples by his own example. Despising the pursuits of avarice, vanity, and ambition, he sought the reward of virtue in virtue itself, and declined no labour or suffering which virtue required. This noble consistency of mind was the part of the character of

<sup>1</sup> Laert. l. vi. § 1, &c. Suidas. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 420.

<sup>3</sup> About five miles.

Socrates which Antisthenes chiefly admired; and he resolved to make it the object of his diligent imitation. Whilst he was a disciple of Socrates, he discovered his propensity towards severity of manners by the meanness of his dress.\* He frequently appeared in a threadbare and ragged cloak. Socrates, who had great penetration in discovering the characters of men, remarking that Antisthenes took pains to expose, rather than to conceal, the tattered state of his dress, said to him, "Why so ostentatious? Through your rags I see your vanity."

After the death of Socrates, whilst all good men were lamenting his fate, and were indignant against his persecutors, Antisthenes, by a seasonable jest, hastened the deserved punishment of Melitus and Anytas. Meeting with certain young men from Pontus, who came to Athens with a design of attending upon Socrates, whose fame had reached their country, he publicly introduced them to Anytas, assuring them, that he far exceeded Socrates in wisdom. This sarcastic encomium inflamed the resentment of the Athenians, who happened to be present, against the author of the disgrace which had been brought upon their city by the banishment of so excellent a man. The consequence was, that Anytas was soon banished, and Melitus sentenced to death.

Whilst Plato, and other disciples of Socrates, were, after his death, forming schools in Athens, Antisthenes chose, for his school, a public place of exercise without the walls of the city, called, The Cynosargum, or, The Temple of the White Dog;† whence some writers derive the name of the sect of which he was the founder. Others suppose, that his followers were called Cynics from the snarling humour of their master. Here he inculcated, both by precept and example, a rigorous discipline. In order to accommodate his own manners to his doctrine, he wore no other garment than a coarse cloak, suffered his beard to grow, and carried a wallet and staff like a wandering beggar. Renouncing all the splendid luxuries of life, he contented himself with the

\* *Ælian*, l. ix. c. 36.

† *Suidas*, f. ii. *Κυνόσαργος*. *Hezych.* p. 572. *Pausan.* in *Atticis*. *Potter's Antiq.* l. i. c. 9.

most simple diet; and refrained from every kind of effeminate indulgence. In his discourses, he censured the manners of the age with a degree of harshness, which procured him the surname of *The Dog*. He expressed the utmost contempt for pleasure, accounting it the greatest evil, and saying, that he would rather be mad than addicted to a voluptuous manner of living. Towards the close of his life, the gloomy cast of his mind, and the moroseness of his temper, increased to such a degree, as to render him troublesome to his friends, and an object of ridicule to his enemies. In his last illness he was fretful and impatient; tired of life, yet loth to die. When Diogenes, at that time, asked him; Whether he needed a friend? Antisthenes replied, "Where is the friend that can free me from my pain?" Diogenes presented him with a dagger, saying, "Let this free you:" but Antisthenes answered, "I wish to be freed from my pain, not from life." Neither his doctrine nor his manners were sufficiently inviting to procure him many followers. He paid little respect to the gods and the religion of his country; but, as might be expected from a disciple of Socrates, he thought justly concerning the Supreme Being. In his book, which treats on Physics, says Cicero,<sup>6</sup> he observes, that, *The gods of the people are many, but the God of nature is One*. Antisthenes wrote many books, of which none are extant, except two<sup>7</sup> declamations under the names of *Ajax* and *Ulysses*.<sup>8</sup>

The sect of the Cynics, founded by Antisthenes, is not so much to be regarded as a school of philosophy, as an institution of manners. It was formed rather for the purpose of providing a remedy for the moral disorders of luxury, ambition, and avarice, than with a view to establish any new theory of speculative opinions. The disciples of Antisthenes, and other leaders of this sect, considered their masters, not as authors of any new doctrine, but as patrons of strict and inflexible virtue; and were regarded by them rather as examples for their imitation in the conduct of life, than as preceptors to guide them in the search of truth. The sole end of the Cynic philosophy

<sup>6</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Laert. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 789.

<sup>8</sup> Conf. *Ælian*, l. x. c. 116. *Sext. Emp. Pyrrh.* l. iii. c. 23. *A. Gell.* l. ix. c. 5.

was to subdue the passions, and produce simplicity of manners. The characteristic peculiarities of the sect were, an indignant contempt of effeminate vices, and a rigorous adherence to the rules of moral discipline. A Cynic, according to the original spirit of the sect, was one who appeared in a coarse garb, and carried a wallet and staff as external symbols of severity, and who regarded every thing with indifference, except that kind of virtue which consists in a haughty contempt of external good, and a hardy endurance of external ill.<sup>9</sup> Simplicity and moderation were indeed in this sect carried to the extreme of austerity, and at last produced the Stoic system of apathy; but the real design of the founders both of the Cynic and the Stoic sect seems to have been to establish virtuous manners. The rigorous discipline which was practised by the first Cynics, and which afterwards degenerated into the most absurd severity, was at first adopted for the laudable purpose of exhibiting an example of moderation and virtuous self-command. If, in executing this praiseworthy design, a portion of vanity blended itself with the love of virtue, who will not be inclined to pardon the weakness out of respect to the merit of the character?<sup>10</sup>

That they might be perfectly at liberty to apply themselves to the cultivation of virtuous habits and manners, without interruption from the noisy contests of speculative philosophy, the Cynics renounced every kind of scientific pursuit; contending, that to those who are endued by nature with a mind disposed to virtue, the pursuits of learning are an unnecessary and troublesome interruption of the main business of life. Hence they entirely discarded all dialectic, physical, and mathematical speculations, and confined themselves to the study, or rather to the practice, of virtue. This was certainly injudicious; but it is some apology for their error that Socrates had taken pains to inspire his followers with a contempt of theoretical science when considered in comparison with practical wisdom. It may also be added, that the learning which flourished at

<sup>9</sup> Laert. l. vi. § 103, &c.

<sup>10</sup> Juliani Orat. vi. vii. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 21. Arrian. Diss. Epict. l. iii. Diss. 22. Lucian in Vit. Auct. et Cynico, et Demonacte.

that time in Greece, chiefly consisted in futile speculations, and an illegitimate kind of eloquence, which contributed little towards the happiness of society, or the real improvement of the human mind.<sup>11</sup>

Farther to account for, and excuse, the singularities of the Cynic sect, it should be recollected, that the manners of the Greeks were, at this time, strongly tending towards the extreme of effeminacy. So much attention was now paid to external appearance, especially among the Athenians; that not only the citizens at large were addicted to luxury and vanity, but even the philosophers themselves caught the infection, as sufficiently appears from what has been related concerning the dress and manners of Aristippus, Arcesilaus, Aristotle, Stilpo, and others. Socrates had endeavoured, by modest censure mingled with easy pleasantry, as well as by a laudable example of moderation, to correct the public taste and manners. Antisthenes, without possessing either judgment or moderation equal to his master, adopted the same plan, but carried it to an extreme, which passed beyond the limits of decorum. Judging all regard to external appearance to be unfavourable to virtue, he neglected every attention of this kind, and went back towards the simplicity of nature, nearer than was consistent with civilized life. His followers, observing the high degree of reputation for wisdom and fortitude, which the strictness of his manners had procured him, determined to follow his steps, and carried his peculiarities to a ridiculous and absurd extreme. At first, a Cynic philosopher, being nothing more than a severe public monitor,

*Virtutis veræ custos, rigidusque satelles*<sup>12</sup> \*

commanded attention and respect; but when the freedom of censure degenerated into scurrility, whilst the vulgar admired the boldness of these philosophers, the more judicious wondered at their impudence; and the whole order gradually fell into disesteem and contempt.

<sup>13</sup> These circumstances will account for the disgraceful tales which have been so industriously propagated con-

<sup>11</sup> Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 361. Arr. Epict. l. iii. p. 301.

<sup>12</sup> Hor. Ep. i. l. 17.

\* The stern defender of pure virtue's cause.

cerning this sect. The singularity of the early Cynics, and many gross violations of decorum, which, at a later period, rendered the sect not only ridiculous but infamous, furnished occasion to those who did not carefully distinguish between the first design of this institution and its subsequent abuses, to declaim against the Cynical philosophy, as nothing better than a compound of vulgarity, spleen, and malignity. An impartial inquirer will, therefore, in this part of the history of philosophy, be particularly cautious in giving credit to Athenæus, Lucian, and other writers, who, to display their own wit, or to bring philosophy into discredit, have, on every occasion, eagerly caught hold of stories disreputable to philosophers, without taking the pains, and perhaps without wishing, to distinguish truth from falsehood.

The sum of the moral doctrine of Antisthenes and the Cynic sect is this:<sup>13</sup> Virtue alone is a sufficient foundation for a happy life. Virtue consists, not in a vain ostentation of learning, or an idle display of words, but in a steady course of right conduct. Wisdom and virtue are the same. A wise man will always be contented with his condition, and will live rather according to the precepts of virtue, than according to the laws or customs of his country. Wisdom is a secure and impregnable fortress; virtue, armour which cannot be taken away. Whatever is honourable is good; whatever is disgraceful is evil. Virtue is the only bond of friendship. It is better to associate with a few good men against the vicious multitude, than to join the vicious, however numerous, against the good. The love of pleasure is a temporary madness.—The following maxims and apothegms are also ascribed to Antisthenes:<sup>14</sup>

As rust consumes iron, so doth envy consume the heart of man. That state is hastening to ruin, in which no difference is made between good and bad men. The harmony of brethren is a stronger defence than a wall of brass. A wise man converses with the wicked, as a physician with the sick, not to catch the disease, but to cure it. A philosopher gains at least one thing from his manner of life, a power of conversing with himself. The most necessary

<sup>13</sup> Laert. l. v. § 11, 12.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. Stobæus.

part of learning is to unlearn our errors. The man who is afraid of another, whatever he may think of himself, is a slave. Antisthenes being told that a bad man had been praising him, said, What foolish thing have I been doing?

*Diogenes*,<sup>15</sup> another celebrated Cynic, was born in the third year of the ninety-first Olympiad, at Sinope, a city of Pontus. His father, who was a banker, was convicted of debasing the public coin, and was obliged to leave his country. This circumstance gave the son an opportunity of visiting Athens, where he soon found in Antisthenes a preceptor of a disposition similar to his own. When Diogenes offered himself as a pupil of Antisthenes, that philosopher, having been mortified by neglect, was in a peevish humour, and refused to receive him. Diogenes still persisting to importune him for admission, Antisthenes lifted up his staff to drive him away; upon which Diogenes said, "Beat me as you please; I will be your scholar."<sup>16</sup> Antisthenes, overcome by his perseverance, received him, and afterwards made him his intimate companion and friend. Diogenes perfectly adopted the principles and character of his master. Renouncing every other object of ambition, he determined to distinguish himself by his contempt of riches and honours, and by his indignation against luxury. He wore a coarse cloak; carried a wallet and a staff; made the porticos, and other public places, his habitation; and depended upon casual contributions for his daily bread. A friend whom he had desired to procure him a cell, not executing his order so soon as he expected, he took up his abode in a tub,<sup>17</sup> or large open vessel, in the *Metroum*. It is probable, however, that this was only a temporary expression of indignation and contempt, and that he did not make a tub the settled place of his residence. This famous tub is indeed celebrated by Juvenal:<sup>18</sup>

— *Dolia nudi*

*Non ardent Cynici. Si fregeris altera fiet*

*Cras domus, aut eadem plumbo commissa manebit.\**

-idq. LAert. p. 420, col. 1. Gidas. with \* Athan. l. 1. c. 116.

s. 111. Athan. l. 1. c. 116. with \* Athan. l. 1. c. 116.

11622222 Safe in his tub, the naked Cynic lives

Fearless of fire: break up his house; next day

Brings him a new one, or repairs the old.



It is also ridiculed by Lucian,<sup>19</sup> and mentioned by Seneca:<sup>20</sup> but no notice is taken of so singular a circumstance by other ancient writers who have mentioned this philosopher; not even by Epictetus, who discourses at large concerning Diogenes, and relates many particulars respecting his manner of life. It may therefore be questioned, whether this whole story is not to be ranked among the numerous tales which have been invented to expose the sect of the Cynics to ridicule.

It cannot, however, be doubted, that Diogenes practised the most hardy self-control, and the most rigid abstinence;<sup>21</sup> exposing himself to the utmost extremes of heat and cold, and living upon the simplest diet, casually supplied by the hand of charity. That he might accomplish the end for which this sect was instituted, the correction of luxurious and profligate manners, he reprehended the Athenians, especially those of the higher ranks, with great freedom and sternness. His reproofs, though exceedingly pungent, discovered so much ingenuity, that they commanded the admiration even of those against whom they were immediately directed. He inculcated a hardy patience of labour and pain, frugality, temperance, and an entire contempt of pleasure. His rigid discipline, whilst it gained him respect and admiration from some, brought upon him contempt and indignity from others. He appeared, however, alike indifferent to both, and at all times preserved an entire command of himself.

It is said, that Diogenes, in his old age (it does not appear from what motive), sailed to the island of Ægina.<sup>22</sup> Upon his passage he was taken by a company of pirates, who carried him into Crete, and there exposed him to sale in the public market. When the auctioneer asked him what he could do, he said, "I can govern men, therefore sell me to one who wants a master." Xeniaes, a wealthy Corinthian, happening at that instant to pass by, was struck with the singularity of his reply, and purchased him. When he was delivered to his master, he said, "I shall be more useful to you as your physician than as your slave." On

<sup>19</sup> De Scrib. Hist.

<sup>20</sup> Epict. ap. Arr. l. iii. Diss. 24.

<sup>21</sup> Ep. 90.

<sup>22</sup> Laert.

their arrival at Corinth, Xeniades, remarking the singular character and genius of his new slave, gave him his liberty, and, at length, committed to him the education of his children, and the direction of his domestic concerns. Diogenes executed his trust with so much judgment and fidelity, that Xeniades used to say that the gods had sent a good genius to his house. He trained up his pupils in the discipline of the Cynic sect, and took more pains to give them habits of self-command, than to instruct them in the elements of science. He did not, however, neglect to teach them lessons of moral wisdom;<sup>23</sup> and for this purpose he chiefly made use of sententious maxims, written in verse by himself and others, which he required them to commit to memory. He allowed them the moderate use of athletic exercises and hunting. The young men were so well pleased with their preceptor, that they afterwards treated him with great respect, and recommended him to the attention of their parents.

During this period of his life, Diogenes frequently attended the assemblies of the people at the Craneum, a place of exercise in the vicinity of Corinth, and at the Isthmian games. Here he appeared in the character of a public censor, and, after his usual manner, severely lashed the follies of the times, and inculcated rigid lessons of sobriety and virtue. It was at one of these assemblies that the celebrated conference between Alexander the Great and this philosopher is said to have happened. The story, as it has been related on the authority of Plutarch,<sup>24</sup> is this: Alexander, at this general assembly, received the congratulations of all ranks, on being appointed, after the death of his father, to command the general army of the Grecians on their intended expedition against the Persians. The young prince, who was not unacquainted with the character of Diogenes, expressed his surprise, that whilst other philosophers were ready on this occasion to pay him respect, Diogenes, who resided at Corinth, was absent.

<sup>23</sup> A. Gellius, l. ii. c. 19.

<sup>24</sup> Vit. Alex. t. iv. p. 455. et de Fort. Alex. p. 352. Dion. Orat. 8. p. 131. Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 4. Arr. Exped. Al. l. vii. c. 1. Diss. Epict. l. iii. c. 22.

Curious to see a philosopher who had given so signal a proof of the haughty independence of his spirit, Alexander visited the Craneum, where he found the Cynic sitting in his tub in the sun. In the midst of a numerous crowd of attendants, the king came up to him and said, "I am Alexander the Great." The philosopher, without at all relaxing the tone of his surly humour, immediately replied, "And I am Diogenes the Cynic." Alexander then requested that he would inform him, if there were any service that he could render him. "Yes," says he, "not to stand between me and the sun." Struck with astonishment at the magnanimity of this reply, Alexander said to his friends who were ridiculing the whimsical singularity of the Cynic, "If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." The story is too good to be omitted; but there are several circumstances which in some degree diminish its credibility. It supposes Diogenes to live in his tub in the Craneum of Corinth; whereas it appears, from the preceding narrative, that at Corinth he lived in the house of Xenades, and that if he ever dwelt in a tub, he left it behind him at Athens. Alexander was at this time scarcely twenty years old, and could not call himself Alexander the Great, for he did not receive this title till his Persian and Indian expedition, after which he never returned into Greece; yet the whole transaction supposes him elated with the pride of conquest. This much, however, may be conceived to be probable, that Diogenes, who, at the beginning of the hundred and eleventh Olympiad, when Alexander held the general assembly of the Greeks, was upwards of seventy years old, might frequently appear in the public walks of Corinth, and that Alexander might have the curiosity to see a man celebrated for his singularity, and might for this purpose visit him in his usual public station. It is not unlikely too that the surly Cynic, to shew his contempt for kings, might treat him with some kind of rudeness, similar to that which is related above.

Some writers assert, that after the death of Antisthenes, Diogenes passed his summers in Corinth, and his winters in Athens. But there seems to be no better foundation for this story, than for the whole detail of small anecdotes and jests which have been ascribed to him. As to these they

are entirely contrary to the general scope of his philosophy, and to that authority and respect which he enjoyed with the wise men of his age; and are undoubtedly to be ascribed to that strong propensity to the fabulous which has so often disgraced the memoirs of celebrated men with idle and silly tales. If we can pay any credit to the representation of the ancients,<sup>25</sup> Diogenes was a philosopher of a penetrating genius, not unacquainted with learning, and deeply read in the knowledge of mankind. He moreover possessed a firm and lofty mind, superior to the injuries of fortune, hardy in suffering, and incapable of fear. Contented with a little, and possessing within himself treasures sufficient for his own happiness, he despised the luxuries of the age. From an earnest desire to correct and improve the public manners, he censured reigning follies and vices with a steady confidence which sometimes degenerated into severity. He spared neither the rich nor the powerful; and even ventured to ridicule the religious superstitions of the age. This freedom gave great offence to multitudes, who could not endure such harsh and reproachful lectures from the mouth of a mendicant philosopher. The consequence was, that he suffered much obloquy, and was made the subject of ludicrous and disgraceful calumny. It is wholly incredible, that a man, who is universally celebrated for his sobriety and contempt of pleasure, and who, for his vehement indignation against vice, and his bold attempts to reform the age in which he lived, has been represented by some of the most eminent philosophers<sup>26</sup> as one endued with Divine wisdom, should have been capable of committing the grossest indecencies.<sup>27</sup> The tale of his having obtained those favours from *Lais*, the celebrated courtesan, without reward, which *Aristippus* purchased at a great price, is wholly inconsistent with chronology; for *Lais* was seven years old when she was brought a captive by *Nicias* from Sicily to Corinth, in the ninety-first Olympiad, and *Diogenes* came to live there, as we have seen, about the hundred and tenth Olympiad;

<sup>25</sup> *Arrian. Epic. l. iii. Diss. 21. Laert.*

<sup>26</sup> *Epict. l. c. Max. Tyr. l. c. Le Vayer de Virt. Gent. t. v. p. 134.*

<sup>27</sup> *Laert. Plut. de Rep. Stoic. t. iii. p. 23. Athen. l. iv. p. 158. l. xiii p. 588.*

Lais must therefore have been fourscore years old, and Diogenes seventy, when this famous amour commenced, not to mention several insuperable difficulties in the history of Lais,<sup>28</sup> nor to urge, that for these stories we are chiefly indebted to Athenæus, a writer who seems to have ransacked every corner of antiquity, and of his own invention too, for tales to the discredit of philosophy.

But though we can, without difficulty, absolve Diogenes from the accusation of gross impudence, we cannot so easily acquit him of the charge of philosophical pride.<sup>29</sup> There can be no doubt that he valued himself too highly upon a singular ruggedness of manners, which, though some might admire, few would be inclined to imitate. It was owing to this haughty temper, that he treated other philosophers, and even magistrates and princes, with contempt, and that he reprehended vice wherever he found it, with bitterness and even scurrility. That neglect of civility and decorum which this humour produced, is certainly not to be justified. Wisdom did not require Diogenes to take the cloak and wallet of a mendicant.

Various accounts are given concerning the manner and time of his death. It seems most probable that he died at Corinth, of mere decay, in the ninetieth year of his age, and in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad.<sup>30</sup> His friends contended for the honour of defraying the expenses of his funeral; but the magistrates of Athens settled the dispute, by ordering him an honourable interment at the public expense. A column of Parian marble, terminated by the figure of a dog, was raised over his tomb; and his friends erected many brazen statues from respect to his memory.

Diogenes left behind him no system of philosophy. After the example of his master, he was more attentive to practical than theoretical wisdom. The chief heads of his moral doctrine may be thus briefly stated :<sup>31</sup>

Virtue of mind, as well as strength of body, is chiefly to be acquired by exercise and habit. Nothing can be accomplished without labour, and every thing may be accomplished with it. Even the contempt of pleasure may, by the force of habit, become pleasant. All things belong to

<sup>28</sup> Bayle, Lais.<sup>29</sup> Ælian; l. iii. c. 29.<sup>30</sup> Laert.<sup>31</sup> Laert.

wise men, to whom the gods are friends. The ranks of society originate from the vices and follies of mankind, and are therefore to be despised. Laws are necessary in a civilized state; but the happiest condition of human life is that which approaches the nearest to a state of nature, in which all are equal, and virtue is the only ground of distinction. The end of philosophy is to subdue the passions, and prepare men for every condition of life.

From the numerous maxims and apothegms which have been ascribed to Diogenes, we shall select the following, without staying to inquire what right he has to the credit of them:<sup>32</sup>

Diogenes, treading upon Plato's robe, said, "I trample under foot the pride of Plato." "Yes," said Plato, "with greater pride of your own." Being asked in what part of Greece he had seen good men, he answered, "No where; at Sparta I have seen good boys." To a friend who advised him, in his old age, to indulge himself, he said, "Would you have me quit the race, when I have almost reached the goal?" Observing a boy drink water out of the hollow of his hand, he took his cup out of his wallet, and threw it away, saying that he would carry no superfluities about him. Plato having defined man to be a two-legged animal without wings, Diogenes plucked off the feathers from a cock, and turned him into the Academy, crying out, "See Plato's man!" In reply to one who asked him at what time he ought to dine, he said, "If you are a rich man, when you will; if you are poor, when you can." "How happy," said one, "is Callisthenes, in living with Alexander!" "No," said Diogenes, "he is not happy; for he must dine and sup when Alexander pleases." Plato, discoursing concerning ideas, spoke of the abstract idea of a table and a cup (*τραπέζοντα, κυαθόντα*); Diogenes said, "I see the table and the cup, but not the idea of the table and the cup." Plato replied, "No wonder, for you have eyes but no intellect." His answer to an invitation from Craterus to come and live with him was, "I had rather lick salt at Athens, than sit down to the richest feast with Craterus." Being asked what countryman he was, he an-

<sup>32</sup> Laert. Stob. Plut.

swered, "A citizen of the world." To one that reviled him he said, "No one will believe you, when you speak ill of me, any more than they would me, if I were to speak well of you." Hearing one of his friends lament that he should not die in his own country, he said, "Be not uneasy; from every place there is a passage to the regions below." "Would you be revenged upon your enemy," said Diogenes, "be virtuous, that he may have nothing to say against you."

*Onesicritus*, of *Ægina*,<sup>33</sup> who afterwards accompanied Alexander in his Asiatic expedition, was an admirer of the doctrine and discipline of the Cynic sect, and a follower of Diogenes. *Monimus*,<sup>34</sup> a Syracusian, who was in the service of a Corinthian banker, feigning himself mad, left his master, that he might assume the character of a Cynic. His wisdom and hardy virtue were celebrated by Menander.<sup>35</sup> His doctrine was, *Τὸ ὑποληθὲν τύφον εἶναι πᾶν*,<sup>36</sup> "All the opinions of men are unsubstantial and fleeting as a vapour:" a sentiment which Sextus Empiricus presses into the service of Scepticism; but it was probably borrowed from Democritus, or some other of the Eleatic school; and only denotes, that material things, which are the objects of opinion, are too variable and mutable to be the ground of certain knowledge; a doctrine admitted by Plato, Pythagoras, and most other ancient philosophers. Monimus is also celebrated for the successful application of ridicule to the reprehension of vice, according to the maxim of Horace,<sup>37</sup>

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Ridiculum acri

Fortius ac melius magnas plerumque secat res.<sup>38</sup>

After Diogenes, the most distinguished professor of the Cynic philosophy was *Crates*, a Theban,<sup>39</sup> who flourished about the hundred and thirteenth Olympiad. He was of

<sup>33</sup> Laert. l. vi. § 76. Arrian. l. c. p. 149.

<sup>34</sup> Laert.

<sup>35</sup> Grot. in not. ad. Excerpt. ex. Tragic. p. 727.

<sup>36</sup> Antonin. de se ipso. l. ii. § 15. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. § 87, 53.

<sup>37</sup> Sat. i. x. 14.

<sup>38</sup> Oft will the edge of ridicule succeed

To cut the knot, where graver reasoning fails.

<sup>39</sup> Laert. l. vi. § 85. Suidas. Plut. de Vit. Acr. al. t. ii. p. 437.

honourable descent, and inherited a large estate : but when he devoted himself to philosophy, that he might be free from the dominion of those passions which are fostered by wealth, he distributed his whole property among the poorer citizens. Leaving his native city, where he had been a disciple of Bryso, an Achæan philosopher who has been reckoned among the Cynics,<sup>40</sup> he went to Athens, and there became a zealous disciple of Diogenes ; adopting, in the utmost extreme, the singularities of his master.<sup>41</sup> In his natural temper, however, he was not, like Diogenes, morose and gloomy, but cheerful and facetious. His mirthful humour gained him many friends, and procured him access to the houses of the most wealthy Athenians. He acquired so much confidence among the citizens at large, that he was freely admitted into their domestic circles, and frequently became an arbiter of disputes and quarrels among relations. His influence in private families is said to have had a great effect in correcting the luxuries and vices, which were at that time prevalent in Athens.<sup>42</sup>

The wife of Crates, *Hipparchia*,<sup>43</sup> must be mentioned in the list of Cynic philosophers. She was rich, of a good family, and had many suitors. She entertained, nevertheless, so violent a passion for this philosopher, that she was deaf to every other proposal, and threatened her parents, that if she were not permitted to marry Crates, she would put an end to her life. Crates, at the request of her parents, represented to Hipparchia every circumstance in his condition and manner of living, which might induce her to change her mind. Still she persisted in her resolution, and not only became the wife of Crates, but adopted all the peculiarities of the Cynic profession. Disgraceful tales have been industriously circulated concerning Crates and his wife ; but since they do not appear in any writings of the period in which they lived, and are neither mentioned by Epictetus, who wrote an apology for the Cynic philosophy, nor by Lucian or Athenæus, who were so industrious in accumulating calumnies against philosophers, they must

<sup>40</sup> Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 361.

<sup>41</sup> Laert. Apud. Apol. p. 202. Florid. p. 355.

<sup>42</sup> Laert. Plut. de Tranq. An. t. ii. p. 252. Sympos. 2. tom. iii. p. 150. Apul. ib.

<sup>43</sup> Laert. l. vi. c. 96. Apul. l. c.



unquestionably be set down among the malicious fictions of later writers, who were desirous to bring the Cynic and Stoic sects into discredit. Had either Diogenes or Crates been the beasts which some have represented them, it is wholly incredible that Zeno and the Stoics would have treated their memory with so much respect.<sup>44</sup>

*Metrocles*,<sup>45</sup> the brother of Hipparchia, was also a disciple of Crates. He had formerly been a follower of Theophrastus and of Xenocrates; but when he commenced Cynic, he committed their works to the flames, as the useless dreams of idle speculation. In his old age he became so dissatisfied with the world, that he strangled himself. *Menippus*, of Sinope, another Cynic, was the author of many satirical pieces, and is introduced by Lucian into several of his dialogues.<sup>46</sup> In *Menedemus*, of Lampsacus,<sup>47</sup> the spirit of the Cynic sect degenerated into downright madness. Dressed in a black cloak, with an Arcadian cap upon his head, on which were drawn the figures of the twelve signs of the zodiac, with tragic buskins on his legs, with a long beard, and with an ashen staff in his hand, he went about like a maniac, saying, that he was a spirit, returned from the infernal regions to admonish the world.<sup>48</sup> He lived in the reign of Antigonus, king of Macedon.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Laert. Sext. Emp. Pyrr. Hyp. l. i. c. 14. l. iii. c. 24. Apul. l. c. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iv. Lactant. l. iii. c. 15. Stob. Sermon. 143. p. 662.

<sup>45</sup> Laert. l. vi. § 94. Stob. S. 237. p. 778

<sup>46</sup> Laert. l. v. § 99. Luc. Char. et Men.

<sup>47</sup> Laert. l. vi. § 102.

<sup>48</sup> Suidas in φαιδρ., t. iii. p. 589. Athen. l. p. 15. l. iv. p. 162.

<sup>49</sup> Vidend. Potter Arch. Gr. l. i. c. 9. Jons. l. i. c. 8. et Diss. Perip. l. Voss. de Sect. c. 17. § 3. 9. August. Civ. Dei. l. xiv. c. 20. Stollii Diss. de Antisthene Cyn. Hist. Phil. Mor. p. 77. 83. 97. Ferrarius de Re Vestitaria, p. ii. l. iv. c. 19. Juliani Orat. de Cynicis. Lips. Manud l. i. Diss. 13. Horn. Hist. Ph. p. 209. Heuman. Diss. de Dolari hab. Pæcil. tom. i. l. iv. Reiman. Hist. Ath. c. 26. Cudworth, c. iv. § 22. Le Vayer de Virt. Gent. t. v. Op. p. 134. Fontenelle Dial. des Morts, p. 175. Menzius de Fastu Phil. Lips. 1712. Macrobian. Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 12. Bayle.

## CHAP. XI.

## OF THE STOIC SECT.

## SECT. I.

*Of Zeno and his Philosophy.*

THE Stoic sect was a branch from the Cynic, and, as far as respected morals, differed from it in words more than in reality. Its founder, whilst he avoided the singularities of the Cynics, retained the spirit of their moral doctrine: at the same time, from a diligent comparison of the tenets of other masters, he framed a new system of speculative philosophy. This sect rose to a great distinction among the Grecians, and gave birth to many illustrious philosophers, whose names and doctrines have been transmitted with great respect to the present times. This part of the history of philosophy will, therefore, require a diligent and minute discussion.

ZENO,<sup>1</sup> the father of the Stoic sect, was a native of Cit-tius, a maritime town of Cyprus. This place having been originally peopled by a colony of Phenicians, Zeno is sometimes called a Phenician.<sup>2</sup> His father was by profession a merchant, but discovering in the youth a strong propensity towards learning, he early devoted him to philosophy. In his mercantile capacity he had frequent occasion to visit Athens, where he purchased for his son several of the writings of the most eminent Socratic philosophers. These he read with great avidity; and when he was about thirty years of age, he determined to take a voyage to a city which was so celebrated both as a mart of trade and of science. Whether this voyage was in part mercantile, or wholly undertaken for the sake of conversing with those philosophers, whose writings Zeno had long ad-

<sup>1</sup> Laert. l. vii. Suidas.<sup>2</sup> Cic. de Fin. l. iv. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 12.

mired, is uncertain. If it be true, as some writers relate, that he brought with him a valuable cargo of Phenician purple, which was lost by shipwreck upon the coast of Piræus, this circumstance will account for the facility with which he at first attached himself to a sect, whose leading principle was the contempt of riches. Upon his first arrival in Athens, going accidentally into the shop of a bookseller, he took up a volume of the Commentaries of Xenophon, and after reading a few passages, was so much delighted with the work, and formed so high an idea of the author, that he asked the bookseller where he might meet with such men? Crates, the Cynic philosopher, happening at that instant to be passing by, the bookseller pointed to him and said, "Follow that man." Zeno soon found an opportunity of attending upon the instructions of Crates, and was so well pleased with his doctrine that he became one of his disciples.<sup>3</sup> But though he highly admired the general principles and spirit of the Cynic school, he could not easily reconcile himself to their peculiar manners. Besides, his inquisitive turn of mind would not allow him to adopt that indifference to every scientific inquiry, which was one of the characteristic distinctions of the sect. He therefore attended upon other masters, who professed to instruct their disciples in the nature and causes of things. When Crates, displeased at his following other philosophers, attempted to drag him by force out of the school of Stilpo, Zeno said to him, "You may seize my body, but Stilpo has laid hold of my mind." After continuing to attend upon the lectures of Stilpo several years, he passed over to other schools, particularly those of Xenocrates and Diodorus Chronus. By the latter he was instructed in dialectics. He was so much delighted with this branch of study, that he presented to his master a large pecuniary gratuity, in return for his free communication of some of his ingenious subtleties. At last, after attending almost every other master, he offered himself as a disciple of Polemo. This philosopher appears to have been aware, that Zeno's intention, in thus removing from one school to

<sup>3</sup> Laert. Senec. de Tranq. Anim. c. 14. Plut. de Cap. ex host. util. tom. ii. p. 200.

another, was to collect materials, from various quarters, for a new system of his own; for, when he came into Polemo's school, he said to him, "I am no stranger, Zeno, to your Phenician arts; I perceive that your design is, to creep slyly into my garden, and steal away my fruit."<sup>4</sup>

Polemo was not mistaken in his opinion. Having made himself master of the tenets of others, Zeno determined to become the founder of a new sect. The place which he made choice of for his school was called the *Poecile*, or Painted Porch; a public portico so called from the pictures of Polygnotus, and other eminent painters, with which it was adorned. This portico, which was the most famous in Athens, was called *Στοά*, The Porch. It was from this circumstance, that the followers of Zeno were called Stoics.<sup>5</sup>

Zeno excelled in that kind of subtle reasoning which was at this time popular. At the same time, he taught a strict system of moral doctrine, and exhibited a pleasing picture of moral discipline in his own life. It is not therefore at all surprising, that he obtained the applause and affection of numerous followers, and even enjoyed the favour of the great. Antigonus Gonates, king of Macedon, whilst he was resident at Athens, attended his lectures, and upon his return, earnestly invited him to his court. He possessed so large a share of esteem among the Athenians, that, on account of his approved integrity, they deposited the keys of their citadel in his hands. They also honoured him with a golden crown, and a statue of brass. Among his countrymen, the inhabitants of Cyprus, and with the Sidonians, from whom his family was derived, he was likewise highly esteemed.<sup>6</sup>

In his person, Zeno was tall and slender; his aspect was severe, and his brow contracted. His constitution was feeble; but he preserved his health by great abstemiousness. The supplies of his table consisted of figs, bread, and honey;<sup>7</sup> notwithstanding which, he was frequently honoured with the company of great men. It was a singu-

<sup>4</sup> Laert. § 35. Suidas.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. Hist. N. l. xxxv. c. 9. Pausan. l. i. p. 13. 27. 78. Suidas v. Polygnotus.

<sup>6</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 6, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. ii. p. 413. Conf. Laert. § 25.

lar proof of his moderation, mixed indeed with that high spirit of independence which afterwards distinguished his sect, that when Democharis, son of Laches, offered to procure him some gratuity from Antigonus, he was so offended, that from that time he declined all intercourse with him. In public company, to avoid every appearance of an assuming temper, he commonly took the lowest place. Indeed, so great was his modesty, that he seldom chose to mingle with a crowd, or wished for the company of more than two or three friends at once. He paid more attention to neatness and decorum in external appearance, than the Cynic philosophers. In his dress indeed he was plain, and in all his expenses frugal; but this is not to be imputed to avarice, but a contempt of external magnificence. He shewed as much respect to the poor as to the rich; and conversed freely with persons of the meanest occupations. He had only one servant, or, according to Seneca, none.<sup>8</sup>

Although Zeno's sobriety and continence were even proverbial, he was not without enemies. Among his contemporaries, several philosophers of great ability and eloquence employed their talents against him. Arcesilaus and Carneades, the founders of the Middle and New Academy, were his professed opponents. Towards the latter end of his life,<sup>9</sup> he found another powerful adversary in Epicurus, whose temper and doctrines were alike inimical to the severe gravity and philosophical pride of the Stoic sect. Hence mutual invectives passed between the Stoics and other sects, to which little credit is due. At least, it may be fairly presumed, that Zeno, whose personal character was so exemplary, never countenanced gross immorality in his doctrine.

Zeno lived to the extreme age of ninety-eight,<sup>10</sup> and at last, in consequence of an accident, voluntarily put an end to his life. As he was walking out of his school he fell down, and in the fall broke one of his fingers; upon which, he was so affected with a consciousness of infirmity, that, striking the earth, he said, "Why am I thus importuned? I obey thy summons;" and immediately went home, and strangled himself. He died in the first year of the hundred

<sup>8</sup> Laert. Sen. Consol. c. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Suidas. A. Gell. l. xvii. c. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Laert. Luc. Longev. t. ii. p. 821.

and twenty-ninth Olympiad.<sup>11</sup> The Athenians, at the request of Antigonos, erected a monument to his memory in the Ceramicum.<sup>12</sup>

From the particulars which have been related concerning Zeno, it will not be difficult to perceive what kind of influence his circumstances and character must have had upon his philosophical system. If his doctrines be diligently compared with the history of his life, it will appear, that having attended upon many eminent preceptors, and been intimately conversant with their opinions, he compiled, out of their various tenets, an heterogeneous system, on the credit of which he assumed to himself the title of the founder of a new sect. When he resolved, for the sake of establishing a school, to desert the philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato, in which he had been perfectly instructed by Xenocrates and Polemo, it became necessary, either to invent opinions entirely new, or to give an air of novelty to old systems by the introduction of new terms and definitions. Of these two undertakings, Zeno prudently made choice of the easier. Cicero says, concerning Zeno,<sup>13</sup> that he had little reason for deserting his masters, especially those of the Platonic school, and that he was not so much an inventor of new opinions as of new terms. The thorny logomachies of Zeno and his followers are thus ridiculed by a comic poet quoted by Athenæus:<sup>14</sup>

'Ακούσατ' ὦ Στοάκες ἔμποροι λόγου  
Λόγων ὑποκριτῆρες.<sup>15</sup>

That this was the real character of the Porch will fully appear, from an attentive perusal of the clear and accurate comparison, which Cicero has drawn between the doctrines of the Old Academy and those of the Stoics, in his Academic Questions. The dialectic arts which Zeno learned in the school of Diodorus Chronus, he did not fail to apply to the support of his own system, and to communicate to his followers. As to the moral doctrine of the Cynic sect,

<sup>11</sup> B. C. 264.

<sup>12</sup> Laert.

<sup>13</sup> De Fin. l. iii. Tusc. Q. l. v.

<sup>14</sup> L. xiii.

<sup>15</sup> Ye sages of the Porch, loquacious tribe,  
Traders in trifles, arbiters of words,  
And censors! hear!

to which Zeno strictly adhered to the last, there can be no doubt that he transferred it, almost without alloy, into his own school.

Et qui nec Cynicos, nec Stoica dogmata legit  
A Cynicis tunica distantia.<sup>16</sup> \*

In morals the principal difference between the Cynics and the Stoics was, that the former disdained the cultivation of nature, the latter affected to rise above it. On the subject of physics, Zeno received his doctrine from Pythagoras and Heraclitus, through the channel of the Platonic school,<sup>17</sup> as will fully appear from a careful comparison of their respective systems.

The Stoic philosophy being in this manner of heterogeneous origin, it necessarily partook of the several systems of which it was composed. The idle quibbles, jejune reasonings, and imposing sophisms, which so justly exposed the schools of the dialectic philosophers to ridicule, found their way into the Porch, where much time was wasted, and much ingenuity thrown away, upon questions of no importance. Cicero censures the Stoics<sup>18</sup> for encouraging in their schools a barren kind of disputation, and employing themselves in determining trifling questions, in which the disputants can have no interest, and which, at the close, leave them neither wiser nor better. And that this censure is not, as some modern advocates for Stoicism have maintained, a mere calumny, but grounded upon fact, sufficiently appears from what is said by the ancients, particularly by Sextus Empiricus, concerning the logic of the Stoics. Seneca, who was himself a Stoic, candidly acknowledges this.<sup>19</sup>

It may perhaps be thought surprising, that philosophers, who affected so much gravity and wisdom, should condescend to such trifling occupations. But it must be considered, that, at this time, a fondness for subtle disputations

<sup>16</sup> Juv. Sat. xiii. v. 121.

\* Not fetch'd from Cynic or from Stoic schools;  
In habit different, but alike in rules.

OWEN.

<sup>17</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 14.

<sup>18</sup> De Fin. l. iii. c. 1. l. iv. c. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Ep. 48. 82. 113.

so generally prevailed in Greece, that excellence in the arts of reasoning and sophistry was a sure path to fame. The Stoics, with whom vanity was unquestionably a ruling passion, were ambitious of this kind of reputation. Hence it was, that they engaged with so much vehemence in verbal contests, and that they largely contributed towards the confusion, instead of the improvement, of science, by substituting vague and ill-defined terms in the room of accurate conceptions. The moral part of the Stoical philosophy, in like manner, partook of the defects of its origin. It may be as justly objected against the Stoics as the Cynics, that they assumed an artificial severity of manners, and a tone of virtue above the condition of a man. Their doctrine of moral wisdom was an ostentatious display of words, in which little regard was paid to nature and reason. It professed to raise human nature to a degree of perfection before unknown; but its real effect was, merely to amuse the ear, and captivate the fancy, with fictions which can never be realized. Lastly, the physical and theoretical system of the Stoics, like those from which it had been borrowed, had, in its principles, a strong bias towards enthusiasm. If, as we have before shewn, the doctrine of Plato, which derives the human mind from the soul of the world, has this tendency; much more must this be the case with the Stoical doctrine, which supposes, as we shall afterwards see, that all human souls have immediately proceeded from, and will at last return into, the Divine Nature.

The extravagances and absurdities of the Stoical philosophy may also be in some measure ascribed to the vehement contests which subsisted between Zeno and the Academics on the one hand, and between him and Epicurus on the other. For, not only did these disputes give rise to many of the dogmas of Stoicism, but led Zeno and his followers, in the warmth of controversy, to drive their arguments to the utmost extremity, and to express themselves with much greater confidence than they would probably otherwise have done. This is perhaps the true reason why so many extravagant notions are ascribed to the Stoics, particularly upon the subject of morals. Whilst Epicurus taught his followers to seek happiness in tranquillity, or a freedom from labour and pain, Zeno imagined his wise man, not



only free from all sense of pleasure, but void of all passions and emotions, and capable of being happy in the midst of torture. That he might avoid the torpid indolence of the Epicureans, he had recourse to a meral institution, which bore indeed the lofty front of wisdom, but which was elevated far above the condition and powers of human nature.

The natural disposition of Zeno, and his manner of life, had, moreover, no inconsiderable influence in fixing the peculiar character of his philosophy. By nature severe and morose, and constitutionally inclined to reserve and melancholy, he early cherished this habit by submitting to the austere and rigid discipline of the Cynics. Those qualities which he conceived to be meritorious in himself, and which he found to conciliate the admiration of mankind, he naturally transferred to his imaginary character of a wise or perfect man. His followers, ambitious of acquiring reputation in the same way, put on an appearance of gravity and dignity, which they were more careful to support by external show, than by the real practice of sublime or useful virtues. Hence it happened, that the more eminent Stoics themselves saw reason to complain of the inconsistency of many of their own sect, who were philosophers in words, rather than in actions; and that their adversaries found so much room for satirical ridicule and invective against Stoical pride and hypocrisy.<sup>20</sup> Nor is it surprising, that this should have happened. For a system of philosophy which attempts to raise men above their nature, must commonly produce either wretched fanatics or artful hypocrites. It is no proof of the perfection which some have been willing to ascribe to the Stoic philosophy,<sup>21</sup> that there were among its professors many persons highly distinguished by genuine wisdom and virtue. For their uncommon merit was rather the effect of a happy temperament, or of fortunate circumstances, in concurrence with those moral principles which are common to all mankind, than to the peculiarities of the Stoical system, which, as we shall presently see, were not adapted to cherish the genuine sentiments either of virtue or piety.

<sup>20</sup> Arr. Epic. Diss. l. iv. c. 9. l. iii. c. 23. A. Gell. l. vii. c. 19. Juv. Sat. ii. Horat. Serm. l. ii. Sat. 2. Lucian in Hermotim. t. ii. p. 287.

<sup>21</sup> Lipsii Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. Gataker in Antonia.

In order to form an accurate judgment concerning the doctrine of the Stoics, besides a careful attention to the particulars already enumerated, it will be necessary to guard with the utmost caution against two errors, into which several writers, who have bestowed unlimited praise upon the Stoical philosophy, have fallen:

Great care should be taken, in the first place, not to judge of the doctrine of the Stoics from words and sentiments, detached from the general system, but to consider them as they stand related to the whole train of premises and conclusions. For want of this caution, many moderns, dazzled by the splendid expressions which they have met with in the writings of the Stoics concerning God, the soul, and other subjects, have imagined that they have discovered an invaluable treasure: whereas, if they had taken the pains to restore these brilliants to their proper places in the general mass, it would soon have appeared, that a great part of their value was imaginary. They who would not ascribe to the Stoics tenets which they never held, and affix to their language a modern meaning which they never conceived, must diligently examine their whole system, and explain detached passages in such a sense, as shall be most consistent with their general doctrine, and their fundamental principles.

The second caution is, not to confound the genuine doctrines of Zeno, and other ancient fathers of this sect, with the glosses or improvements of the later Stoics. Any one who attentively examines the writings of the philosophers after the promulgation of the Christian doctrine, will perceive that the Stoics, in order to support the credit of their system, artfully accommodated their language, and even their tenets, as far as they were able, to the Christian model. Out of the many proofs of this change which might be adduced, we shall select one, which is the more worthy of notice, as it has occasioned many disputes among the learned. The doctrine we mean is that concerning Fate. This doctrine, according to Zeno and Chrysippus (who herein meant to combat Epicurus's doctrine of the fortuitous concurrence of atoms), implies an eternal and immutable series of causes and effects, within which all events are included, and to which the Deity himself is subject: whereas, the

later Stoics, changing the term Fate into the Providence of God, discoursed with great plausibility on this subject, but still in reality retained the ancient doctrine of universal fate. From this example, a judgment may be formed concerning the necessity of using some caution, in appealing to the writings of Seneca, Antoninus, and Epictetus, as authorities, in determining what were the original doctrines of the Stoic philosophers.

If the remains of the Stoic philosophy, preserved by Cicero, Plutarch, Laertius, Sextus Empiricus, Simplicius, and Stobæus, be diligently and cautiously compared with the writings of Seneca, Antoninus, and Epictetus, the following will perhaps appear to be a faithful representation of the leading tenets of this celebrated sect, under the distinct heads of Philosophy in general, Logic, Physics, Metaphysics, and Morals.

Concerning *Philosophy in general*, the doctrine of the Stoics was,<sup>22</sup> that wisdom consists in the knowledge of things Divine and human; that philosophy is such an exercise of the mind as produces wisdom; that in this exercise consists the nature of virtue; and, consequently, that virtue is a term of extensive meaning, comprehending the right employment of the mind in reasoning, in the study of nature, and in morals. The wisdom of the Stoics is either progressive, through several stages; or perfect, when every weakness is subdued, and every error corrected, without the possibility of a relapse into folly or vice, or of being again enslaved by any passion, or afflicted by any calamity.<sup>23</sup> With Socrates and the Cynics, Zeno represented virtue as the only true wisdom; but, being disposed to extend the pursuits of his wise man into the regions of speculation and science, he gave, after his usual manner, a new signification to an old term, and comprehended the exercise of the understanding in the search of truth, as well as the government of the appetites and passions, under the general term, Virtue.<sup>24</sup> The propriety of this extensive definition of virtue, and the great importance of the united exercise of the intellectual and active powers of the mind,

<sup>22</sup> Plut. de Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 1. t. ii. p. 3. Sen. Ep. 89.

<sup>23</sup> Sen. Ep. 71, 72, 75.

<sup>24</sup> Plut. Sen. l. c. Laert. l. vii. § 40. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. § 17.

are thus beautifully asserted by the philosophical emperor<sup>35</sup> "Let every one endeavour so to think and act, that his contemplative and active faculties may at the same time be going on towards perfection. His clear conceptions and certain knowledge will then produce within him an entire confidence in himself, unperceived perhaps by others, though not affectedly concealed, which will give a simplicity and dignity to his character; for he will at all times be able to judge concerning the several objects which come before him, what is their real nature, what place they hold in the universe, how long they are by nature fitted to last, of what materials they are composed, by whom they may be possessed, and who is able to bestow them, or take them away."

The sum of the definitions and rules given by the Stoics concerning *Logic* is this:

*Logic* is either rhetorical or dialectic. Rhetorical logic is the art of reasoning and discoursing on those subjects which require a diffuse kind of declamation. Dialectic is the art of close argumentation in the form of disputation or dialogue. The former resembles an open, the latter a closed hand. Rhetoric is of three kinds, deliberative, judicial, and demonstrative. The dialectic art is the instrument of knowledge, as it enables a man to distinguish truth from error, and certainty from bare probability. This art considers things as expressed by words, and words themselves.<sup>36</sup>

External things are perceived by a certain impression made either upon some parts of the brain, or upon the percipient faculty, which may be called an image, *phantasia*, since it is impressed upon the mind, like the image of a seal upon wax.<sup>37</sup> This image is commonly accompanied with a belief of the reality of the thing perceived; but not necessarily, since it does not accompany every image, but those only which are not attended with any evidence of

<sup>35</sup> Antonin. l. x. § 9.

<sup>36</sup> Sen. Ep. 48. Lucian. Herm. t. ii. p. 390. Laert. l. vii. § 42. 47. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ii. § 6, 7. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 6. De Orat. c. 32. Quintil. l. ii. c. 20.

<sup>37</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 45. Cic. Acad. Q. l. i. c. 11. Boethius de Consol. l. v. Met. 3.

deception. Where only the image is perceived by itself the thing is apprehensible; where it is acknowledged and approved as the image of some real thing, the impression is called Apprehension, *κατάληψις*, because the object is apprehended by the mind, as a body is grasped by the hand. Such apprehension, if it will bear the examination of reason, is Knowledge; if it is not examined, it is mere Opinion; if it will not bear this examination, it is Misapprehension. The senses, corrected by reason, give a faithful report; not by affording a perfect apprehension of the entire nature of things, but by leaving no room to doubt of their reality. Nature has furnished us with these apprehensions, as the elements of knowledge, whence further conceptions are raised in the mind, and a way is opened for the investigations of reason.<sup>28</sup>

Some images are Sensible, or received immediately through the senses; others Rational, which are perceived only in the mind. These latter are called *ἐννοιαί*, notions or ideas. Some images are Probable, to which the mind assents without hesitation; others Improbable, to which it does not readily assent; and others Doubtful, where it is not entirely perceived, whether they are true or false. True images are those which arise from things really existing, and agree with them. False images, or phantasms, are immediately derived from no real object. Images are apprehended by Immediate Perception through the senses as when we see a man; Consequentially, by likeness, as when from a portrait we apprehend the original; by Composition, as when, by compounding a horse and man, we acquire the image of a Centaur; by Augmentation, as in the image of a Cyclops; or by Diminution, as in that of a pigmy.<sup>29</sup>

Judgment is employed either in determining concerning particular things, or concerning general propositions. In judging of things we make use of some one of our senses as a common criterion, or measure of apprehension, by which we judge whether a thing is, or is not; or whether or not

<sup>28</sup> Laert. § 45—52. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. § 29. 163. 228. Cic. Ac. Q. l. ii. c. 6. l. iv. c. 47.

<sup>29</sup> Laert. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. ii. Plut. Plac. l. iv. c. 12.

it exists with certain properties; or we apply to the thing, concerning which a judgment is to be formed, some artificial measure, as a balance, a rule, &c. or we call in other peculiar measures to determine things not perceptible by the senses. In judging of general propositions, we make use of our preconceptions, or universal principles, as *criteria* or measures of judgment.<sup>30</sup>

The first impressions from the senses produce in the mind an involuntary emotion; but a wise man afterwards deliberately examines them that he may know whether the image be true or false, and assents to or rejects them as the evidence which offers itself to his understanding appears sufficient or insufficient. This assent or approbation (*συγκατάθεσις*) will indeed be as necessarily given, or withheld, according to the ultimate state of the proofs which are adduced, as the scale of a balance will sink or rise according to the weights which are placed upon them; but while the vulgar give immediate credit to the reports of the senses, wise men suspend their assent till they have deliberately examined the nature of things, and carefully estimated the weight of evidence.<sup>31</sup>

The mind of man is originally like a blank leaf, wholly without characters, but capable of receiving any. The impressions which are made upon it, by means of the senses, remain in the memory after the objects which occasioned them are removed; a succession of these continued impressions, made by similar objects, produces experience; and hence arises permanent notions, opinions, and knowledge. Even universal principles, *προληψεις*, are originally formed by experience from sensible images. All men agree in their common notions or preconceptions; disputes only arise concerning the application of these to particular cases.<sup>32</sup>

These three things are mutually related; the expression, the notion or image in the mind which is expressed, and the external object. Under the head of expression, dialectics consider vocal sound as expressed by letters; the

<sup>30</sup> Cic. Acad. Q. l. i. Laert. Sext. Emp. adv. Log.

<sup>31</sup> Cic. Ac. Q. l. iv. A. Gellius, l. xix. c. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Plut. Plac. l. iv. c. 11, 12. Arrian, l. i. Diss. 22. Cic. Ac. Q. l. i. c. 11.

several parts of speech; the etymology, analogy, or anomaly of syntax; the signification of words, and other properties of language. The notion or image expressed is the *φαντασία*, phantasy, already explained.<sup>33</sup>

Dialectics consider things as capable of being classed under *species* and *genera*. The most comprehensive genus is that which includes all beings both real and imaginary. Things are subdivided into four kinds: 1. Substance. 2. Qualities, which are the differences of substances, not taken individually, but collected into one notion in the mind. 3. Modes respecting quantity, place, time, &c. 4. Relations, as those of father and son, right and left. Things considered with respect to speech are said to be *λεκτά*, capable of being expressed in words. This character includes what is imaginary as well as what is real. All notions residing in the mind, ready for expression, come under this description.<sup>34</sup>

Predicates are those things which are predicated, or declared, concerning another. When these are connected with the person or thing to whom the predicate is applied in a direct assertion, the sentence is called an axiom. An axiom may be either simple or compound; simple, which does not consist of several different axioms, or of one axiom twice taken; compound, consisting of one axiom diversified, or of more than one. In compound axioms, that which immediately follows the conjunction *if, since, &c.* is called the antecedent, the rest the consequent. Complex axioms are of various kinds, according to the nature of the conjunction which connects them, whence they are connective, conjunctive, disjunctive, casual, comparative, &c. Axioms admit of various other characters, as possible, probable, necessary, paradoxical, contrary. An argument (*λόγος*) commonly consists of a general truth admitted (*λημμα*); a particular case supposed (*προσλημμα*); and a conclusion (*ἐπιφορά*). For example: if it be day, it is light; but it is day; therefore it is light. An argument admits of more variety in its form than a syllogism. It may consist of one complex proposition, as, Thou livest, therefore thou breathest; or the conclusion may be such

<sup>33</sup> Sext. Emp. adv. Log. Laert.

<sup>34</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 60—3. Sext. Emp. ib. Simplic. in Categ.

as necessarily to follow from the premises, though there be not a major and minor. For example: The first is equal to the second, and the second is equal to the third; therefore the first is equal to the third. This argument, though conclusive, is not syllogistical, for want of this universal proposition, things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another.<sup>35</sup>

Besides these, and other technical modes of arguing, the Stoics amused themselves with quibbles and fallacies, of the same kind with those which we have before noticed in the Megaric School; but of this ridiculous method of trifling one example<sup>36</sup> shall suffice. Protagoras the Sophist agreed to instruct a young man in eloquence for a large sum, one half of which was to be paid in hand, the other half upon his first successful pleading in the courts. Neglecting to plead for a long time after Protagoras had completely instructed him in the art of rhetoric, the Sophist sued him for the remaining moiety of his stipend. Each pleaded his own cause. Protagoras urged, that which way soever the cause was determined the young man must complete the payment; for if the cause was determined *against* the defendant, the payment would be granted him by judgment; if *for* him, the payment would be due according to agreement. The young man, on the contrary, pleaded, that if the cause was determined in *his favour*, he should be excused from the payment by the decision of the court; if *against* him, Protagoras, by his own agreement, could have no demand upon him. The subtlety of these pleas perplexed the judges, and, without coming to any determination, they dismissed the court.

Such vagaries of human ingenuity, however trifling and ridiculous in themselves, afford an instructive example of the folly of attempting to excel in trifles, and of the mischief arising from philosophical vanity: they well illustrate the poet's doctrine,

————— Sapientia prima est  
Stultitiâ caruisse.\*

\* Laert. Alex. Aphrod. in Analyt. prior.

\*\* A. Gell. l. v. c. 10.

\* The beginning of wisdom is, to be free from folly.



What can we say concerning the whole business of dialectics, as it appears to have been conducted by the Stoics, but exclaim with Seneca—"O pueriles ineptias! in hoc, supercilia subduximus? in hoc, barbam demissimus? hoc est, quod tristes docemus, et pallidi?"<sup>36</sup>

Let us pass on to the Stoical doctrine concerning nature.

According to Zeno and his followers,<sup>37</sup> there existed from eternity a dark and confused chaos, in which was contained the first principles of all future beings. This chaos being at length arranged, and emerging into variable forms, became the world, as it now subsists. The world, or nature, is that whole which comprehends all things, and of which all things are parts and members. The universe, though one whole, contains two principles, distinct from elements—one passive, the other active. The passive principle is pure matter without qualities; the active principle is reason, or God. This is the fundamental doctrine of the Stoics concerning nature. In order to understand clearly wherein it differs from other systems, a brief review of the ancient doctrines upon this subject will be necessary.<sup>38</sup>

It appears from the preceding parts of this work, that almost all ancient philosophers agreed in admitting two principles in nature—one active, and the other passive; but that they differed in the manner in which they conceived these principles to subsist. Some held God and Matter to be two principles, which are eternally opposite, not only differing in their essence, but having no common principle by which they can be united. This was the doctrine taught by Anaxagoras, and, after him, by Plato, and the whole Old Academy. This system, for the sake of perspicuity, we will call *The Dualistic System*. Others were convinced, that nature consists of these two principles; but finding themselves perplexed by the difficulty with which they saw

<sup>36</sup> Childish trifling! Is it for this we contract our brows, and let our beards grow? Are these the lessons we teach with such pale and dismal looks?

<sup>37</sup> Laert. l. v. § 150. Stob. Ecl. Phys. c. 14. Senec. Consol. ad Pol. c. 20.

<sup>38</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. ii. Senec. Consol. ad Helv. c. 8. Lactant. Inst. l. vii. c. 3. Sext. ad Math. l. ix. § 332. Suidas in v.  $\pi\epsilon\iota$ . Stobæus Ecl. Phys. c. 13. 25. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 1. Laert. l. vii. § 143. Senec. Ep. 65. 97. Antonin. l. ii. § 2. l. iv. § 40, 41. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 16.

The Dualistic System to be sacrificed, that of supposing two independent and opposite principles, they supposed both these to be comprehended in one universe, and conceived them to be united by a necessary and essential bond. To effect this, two different hypotheses were proposed. Some thought God to have been eternally united to matter in one whole, which they called Chaos, whence it was sent forth, and at a certain time brought into form, by the energy of the Divine inhabiting Mind. This was the *System of Emanation*, commonly embraced by the ancient Barbaric philosophers, and afterwards admitted into the early theogonies of the Greeks. Others attempted to explain the subject more philosophically, and, to avoid the absurdity which they conceived to attend both the former systems, asserted, that God, the rational and efficient principle, is as intimately connected with the universe, as the human mind with the body, and is a forming power, so originally and necessarily inherent in matter, that it is to be conceived as a natural part of the original chaos. This system seems not only to have been received by the Ionic philosophers, Thales and Anaximander, but by the Pythagoreans, the followers of Heraclitus, and others. Zeno, determining to innovate upon the doctrine of the Academy, and neither choosing to adopt the Dualistic, nor the Emanative System, embraced the third hypothesis, which, though not originally his own, we shall distinguish by the name of the *Stoical System*. Unwilling to admit, on the one hand, two opposite principles, both primary and independent, and both absolute and infinite; or, on the other, to suppose matter, which is in its nature diametrically opposite to that of God, the active efficient cause, to have been derived by emanation from him; yet, finding himself wholly unable to derive these two principles from any common source, he confounded their essence, and maintained that they were so essentially united, that their nature was one and the same. That this was the real doctrine of the Stoics will appear from the sequel.

The Stoical system teaches that both the active and passive principles in nature are corporeal, since whatever acts or suffers must be so. The efficient cause, or God, is pure ether, or fire, inhabiting the exterior surface of the hea-

vens, where every thing which is Divine is placed. This ethereal substance, or Divine fire, comprehends all the vital principles by which individual beings are necessarily produced, and contains the forms of things, which, from the highest regions of the universe, are diffused through every other part of nature.<sup>39</sup>

Seneca, indeed, calls God Incorporeal Reason; but by this term he can only mean to distinguish the Divine ethereal substance from gross bodies; for, according to the Stoics, whatever has a substantial existence is corporeal; nothing is incorporeal, except that infinite vacuum which surrounds the universe; even mind and voice are corporeal, and, in like manner, Deity.

Matter, or the passive principle, in the Stoical system, is destitute of all qualities, but ready to receive any form; inactive, and without motion, unless moved by some external cause. The contrary principle, or the ethereal operative fire, being active, and capable of producing all things from matter, with consummate skill, according to the forms which it contains, although in its nature corporeal, considered in opposition to gross and sluggish matter, or to the elements, is said to be immaterial and spiritual.<sup>40</sup>

For want of carefully attending to this distinction, some writers have been so far imposed upon, by the bold innovations of the Stoics in the use of terms, as to infer from the appellations which they sometimes apply to the Deity, that they conceived him to be strictly and properly incorporeal. The truth appears to be, that, as they sometimes spoke of the soul of man, a portion of the Divinity, as an exceedingly rare and subtle body, *σῶμα ὑραιότερον καὶ λεπτομερέστερον* and sometimes as a warm or fiery spirit, *πνεῦμα ἐνθερμον*,<sup>41</sup> so they spoke of the Deity as corporeal, considered as distinct from the incorporeal vacuum, or infinite space; but as spiritual, considered in opposition to gross and inactive matter. They taught, indeed, that God is underived, incorruptible, and eternal; pos-

<sup>39</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 55. Plut. de Stoic Repugn. Senec. Ep. 89. 102. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 7. Orig. Philosophum. c. 21. p. 143.

<sup>40</sup> Laert. l. v. § 147. 150. Sen. Ep. 65. Stob. Ecl. Phys. c. 14. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 3. 6.

<sup>41</sup> Plut. de Repugn. Stoic. t. iii. p. 3. Laert. l. vii. § 140.

essed of intelligence; good and perfect; the efficient cause of all the peculiar qualities or forms of things; and the constant preserver and governor of the world; and they described the Deity under many noble images, and in the most elevated language. The hymn of Cleanthes,<sup>42</sup> in particular, is justly admired for the grandeur of its sentiments, and the sublimity of its diction. But if, in reading these descriptions, we hastily associate with them modern conceptions of Deity, and neglect to recur to the leading principles of the sect, we shall be led into fundamental misapprehensions of the true doctrine of Stoicism. For, according to this sect, God and Matter are alike underived and eternal, and God is the former of the universe in no other sense, than as he has been the necessary and efficient cause, by which motion and form have been impressed upon matter. What unworthy notions the Stoics entertained of God, sufficiently appears from the single opinion of his finite nature; an opinion which necessarily followed from the notion, that he is only a part of a spherical, and therefore a finite, universe.

On the doctrine of Divine Providence, which was one of the chief points upon which the Stoics disputed with the Epicureans, much is written, and with great strength and elegance, by Seneca, Epictetus, and other later Stoics. But we are not to judge of the genuine and original doctrine of this sect, from the discourses of writers, who had probably improved their notions, or at least corrected their language, on this subject, by visiting the Christian school.<sup>43</sup> The only way to form an accurate judgment of their opinions concerning Providence is, to compare their popular language upon this head with their general system, and explain the former consistently with the fundamental principles of the latter. If this be fairly done it will appear, that the agency of Deity is, according to the Stoics, nothing more than the active motion of a celestial ether, or fire, possessed of intelligence, which at first gave form to the shapeless mass of gross matter, and being always es-

<sup>42</sup> Clem. Alex. ad Gent. p. 47. Stob. H. Stephan. Poes. Phil. p. 49. Cudworth Int. Syst. c. iv. § 25.

<sup>43</sup> Arrian. Epict. l. i. Diss. 12.

essentially united to the visible world, by the same necessary agency, preserves its order and harmony. The Stoic idea of Providence is, not that of an infinitely wise and good being, wholly independent of matter, freely directing and governing all things, but that of a necessary chain of causes and effects, arising from the action of a power, which is itself a part of the machine which it regulates, and which equally with that machine is subject to the immutable law of necessity. Providence, in the Stoic creed, is only another name for absolute necessity, or fate, to which God and Matter, or the universe, which consists of both, is immutably subject.<sup>44</sup>

The rational, efficient, and active principle in nature, the Stoics called by various names—Nature, Fate, Jupiter, God. “What is nature,” says Seneca,<sup>45</sup> “but God; the Divine Reason inherent in the whole universe, and in all its parts? or you may call him, if you please, the Author of all things.” And again, “Whatever appellations imply celestial power and energy, may be justly applied to God; his names may properly be as numerous as his offices.” The term Nature, when it is at all distinguished in the Stoic system from God, denotes not a separate agent, but that order of things which is necessarily produced by his perpetual agency.

Since the active principle of nature is comprehended within the world, and with matter makes one whole, it necessarily follows, that God penetrates, pervades, and animates matter, and the things which are formed from it; or, in other words, that he is the Soul of the Universe. In this manner he is described by Manilius:<sup>46</sup>

——— Vivere mundum

Et rationis agi motu, cum spiritus unus

Per cunctas habitet partes, atque irriget orbem,

Omnia pervolitans corpusque animale figuret.<sup>47</sup>

The universe is, according to Zeno and his followers,

<sup>44</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. Antonin. l. vii. § 9.

<sup>45</sup> De Benef. l. iv. c. 7. Quæst. Nat. l. i. c. 45. Lactant. l. ii. § 148.

<sup>46</sup> Lib. ii.

<sup>47</sup> One source of life, one animating soul,

Dwells in each part, and forms and guides the whole.

*δοξα ἐμψυχος καὶ αἰσθητική*,<sup>40</sup> "a sentient and animated being." Nor was this a new tenet, but, in some sort, the doctrine of all antiquity. Zeno, however, understood this doctrine in a sense different from that in which it was conceived by many former philosophers. Plato, and other advocates of the Dualistic system, supposed the world to be endued with a soul, but conceived this soul to have been derived from the Deity, of an inferior nature, and united by the will and power of God, at a certain time, to matter, which till then had been without this animating principle. Those philosophers who held the System of Emanation, conceived God to have been eternally the source of matter, from whom it proceeded, and on whom it is inseparably dependent for motion and animation. But Pythagoras, Heraclitus, and after these Zeno, taking it for granted that there is no real existence which is not corporeal, conceived nature to be One Whole, consisting of a subtle ether and gross matter—the former the active, the latter the passive principle, as essentially united as the soul and body of man: that is, they supposed God, with respect to nature, to be, not a co-existing but an informing principle.

In fine, although the Deity of the Stoics is the efficient and intelligent cause of all the effects which are produced in the world, yet his nature and attributes are much less perfect than many admirers of this system have represented. Residing primarily in the superior celestial region, and being thence diffused, as a subtle fire, through a finite world, his universal presence falls far short of the attribute of immensity, as it belongs to the Divine Nature.<sup>41</sup> United to matter by the immutable chain of necessity, he wants that freedom of action, which appears to be one of the most essential characters of the Supreme Being. The original communication, and the perpetual preservation of forms and qualities, by the necessary action of a subtle fire upon matter, though this principle be supposed to be possessed of reason and intelligence as well as energy, is certainly an idea of Deity, which falls far short of that pure and sublime doctrine which represents God as cre-

<sup>40</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 139.

<sup>41</sup> Seneca Præf. Qu. Nat. A. Gellius, l. vi. c. 11.

ating and governing the world by voluntary agency and wise design. That the Deity is, according to the Stoic doctrine, subject to the law of necessity no less than matter and all subordinate beings, Seneca, and other writers of this sect, expressly assert. "Both gods and men are bound," says he, "by the same chain of necessity. Divine and human affairs are alike borne along in an irresistible current; cause depends upon cause; effects arise in a long succession; nothing happens by accident, but every thing comes to pass in the established order of nature."<sup>50</sup>

Portions of the etherial soul of the world being distributed throughout all the parts of the universe, and animating all bodies, hence arise, in the system of the Stoics, inferior gods or demons, with which all nature is peopled. All these divinities they considered as derived from the soul of nature, and as limited in their duration. "Chrysippus and Cleanthes," says Plutarch,<sup>51</sup> "taught that the heavens, the earth, the air, and the sea, are full of gods; but that none of them are immortal, except Jupiter, to whom all the rest will at length return, and in whom they will lose their separate existence." Demons were divided by the Stoics into superior and inferior; the superior, those which inhabited the sun and stars, which they considered as *ὁσίστας ψυχὰς*, animated substances; the inferior, human souls separated from the body, or heroes. "Illustrious men," says Cicero,<sup>52</sup> "whose souls survive and enjoy immortality, are justly esteemed to be gods, since they are of an excellent and immortal nature." Besides this, there seems little reason to doubt that the Stoics acknowledged the existence of other inferior divinities, portions of the soul of the world, and taught that they are endued with human passions, and therefore are proper objects of sacrifice and worship.<sup>53</sup>

As the Stoics held that all inferior divinities are portions separated from the soul of the world, so they conceived,

<sup>50</sup> Seneca de Providentia, c. 5. Anton. l. iv. § 10. 24. 34. A. Gell. l. vi. c. 2.

<sup>51</sup> De Repugn. Stoic. t. iii. p. 29, &c. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 8.

<sup>52</sup> Nat. D. l. ii. c. 24. Laert. l. vii. § 151.

<sup>53</sup> Plut. ib. Senec. Ep. 110. Q. Nat. l. vii. c. 31. Plin. l. ii. c. 7. Arrian. l. i. Diss. 14. Laert. l. vii. § 147.

that a period would arrive, when they would return into the first celestial fire, and supposed that, at the same time, the whole visible world would be consumed in one general conflagration.<sup>54</sup>

The Stoics, as well as all other ancient philosophers, were much perplexed with the great question concerning the origin of evil. Some of them adopted the notion of the Platonists, and ascribed it to the defective nature of matter, which it was not in the power of the Great Artificer to change; asserting, that imperfections appear in the world, not through any defect of skill in its Author, but because matter will not admit of the accomplishment of his designs.<sup>55</sup> But it was perceived by others, that this hypothesis was inconsistent with the fundamental doctrine of Stoicism concerning nature. For since, according to this system, matter itself receives all its qualities from God, if its defects be the cause of evil, these defects must be ultimately ascribed to him. No other way of relieving this difficulty remained, but to have recourse to fate, and say, that evil was the necessary consequence of that eternal necessity, to which the great Whole, comprehending both God and Matter, is subject. Thus, when Chrysippus was asked,<sup>56</sup> whether diseases were to be ascribed to Divine Providence, he replied, that it was not the intention of nature, that those things should happen, nor were they conformable to the will of the Author of nature and parent of all good things; but that, in framing the world, some inconveniences had adhered, by necessary consequence, to his wise and useful plan.

Concerning the Second Principle in the universe, Matter, and concerning the visible world, the doctrine of the Stoics is briefly this: Matter is the first essence of all things, destitute of, but capable of receiving, qualities. Considered universally, it is an eternal whole, which neither increases nor decreases. Considered with respect to its parts, it is capable of increase and diminution, of collision and separation, and is perpetually changing. Bodies are continually tending towards dissolution; matter always remains the same. Matter is not infinite, but finite, being circum-

<sup>54</sup> Plut. Rep. Stoic. t. iii. p. 29. Senec. Ep. 9.

<sup>55</sup> Senec. de Provid. c. 5.

<sup>56</sup> A. Gell. l. vi. c. 1.



scribed by the limits of the world; but its parts are infinitely divisible.<sup>57</sup>

The world is spherical in its form, and is surrounded by an infinite vacuum. The action of the Divine Nature upon matter first produced the element of moisture, and then the other elements, fire, air, and earth, of which all bodies are composed. Air and fire have essential levity, or tend towards the exterior surface of the world; earth and water have essential gravity, or tend towards the centre. All the elements are capable of reciprocal conversion; air passing into fire, or into water; earth into air and water; but there is this essential difference among the elements, that fire and air have within themselves a principle of motion, while water and earth are merely passive.<sup>58</sup>

The sun is a sphere larger than the earth, consisting of fire of the purest kind: it is therefore an animated being, and the first of the derived divinities. The stars too are of the same kind, fiery bodies endued with perception and intelligence, and therefore to be ranked among the gods. They are nourished by exhalations from the seas and rivers.<sup>59</sup>

Because the heavenly bodies are animated, they are capable of foreseeing future events, and of declaring to mankind, by certain signs, the appointments of fate. Manilius expresses the doctrine of his sect, when he says,

———Conscia fati

Sidera diversos hominum variantia casus.<sup>60</sup>

The foundation of this notion is, that the stars being pure and perfect portions of the Divine Nature, must be acquainted with the degrees of fate.<sup>61</sup>

The celestial bodies move, in their orbits, in the following order: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, the

<sup>57</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 150. Ant. l. iv. § 4. Sen. Ep. 36. 38. 58. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. 14.

<sup>58</sup> Plut. Plac. Phil. l. ii. c. 1, 2. 18. Laert. l. vii. § 136, 141, 142. Stob. Ecl. Phys. c. 17. 24. Sen. Nat. Qu. l. iii. c. 20. Lucret. l. i. v. 781.

<sup>59</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 142. 144. Anton. l. iii. § 26. Arrian. l. i. c. 14. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. ii. c. 15. Nat. Deor. l. ii. c. 15.

<sup>60</sup> The conscious stars, vers'd in the will of fate,  
Unfold what good or ill on mortals wait.

<sup>61</sup> Sen. Nat. Q. l. ii. c. 32. Ep. 80.

**Sun, the Moon.** The moon, which occupies the lowest part of the ethereal region, is, like the rest, a fiery luminary possessed of intelligence; but the fire is mixed with air; whence the spots upon its surface. Its form is spherical, and its motion spiral, and of two kinds; the one, from East to West, with the heavens; the other, from West to East, through the signs of the Zodiac.<sup>62</sup>

Below the sphere of the moon is the region of the air. The earth is the most dense part of the world, and is the main support of nature, like the bones of an animated body. The earth, with its waters, forms a globe, which is the centre of the world: it always remains immoveable.<sup>63</sup>

The world, including the whole of nature, God and Matter, subsisted from eternity, and will for ever subsist; but the present regular frame of nature had a beginning, and will have an end. The parts tend towards a dissolution, but the whole remains immutably the same. The world is liable to destruction from the prevalence of moisture, or of dryness; the former producing an universal inundation, the latter an universal conflagration. These succeed each other in nature, as regularly as winter and summer. When the universal inundation takes place, the whole surface of the earth is covered with water, and all animal life is destroyed; after which, nature is renewed and subsists as before, till the element of fire, becoming prevalent in its turn, dries up all the moisture, converts every substance into its own nature, and at last, by an universal conflagration, reduces the world to its pristine state. At this period, all material forms are lost in one chaotic mass: all animated nature is reunited to the Deity, and nature again exists in its original form, as one whole, consisting of God and Matter. From this chaotic state, however, it again emerges, by the energy of the Efficient Principle, and gods and men, and all the forms of regulated nature, are renewed, to be dissolved and renewed in endless succession.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Cic. Nat. D. l. ii. c. 20. Laert. l. vii. § 145. Stob. p. 59. Plut. de Plac. Phil. l. ii. c. 25. De Fac. Lun. t. iii. p. 353.

<sup>63</sup> Stob. l. c. p. 48. Laert. l. vii. § 140. 155. Plut. l. c. c. 9, 10.

<sup>64</sup> Laert. Philo de Mund. incorr. p. 940. Euseb. Prep. l. iv. p. 816. Cic. de N. Deor. l. iii. c. 46. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. 24. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. iii. c. 27. 29. Ep. 9. 36. 71. Anton. l. v. § 13. l. x. § 7. l. xi. § 1.

The general inundation, which is admitted into the Stoic system, however similar in terms to the ancient tradition concerning the deluge, differs from it in this material respect, that it happens at regular intervals by the same necessary law which produces the succession of the seasons. The doctrine of conflagration is a natural consequence of the general system of Stoicism. For since, according to this system, the whole process of nature is carried on in a necessary series of causes and effects, when that operative fire which at first, bursting from chaos, gave form to all things, and which has since pervaded and animated all nature, shall have consumed its nutriment; that is, when the vapours which are the food of the celestial fires shall be exhausted, a deficiency of moisture must produce an universal conflagration. This grand revolution in nature is, after the doctrine of the Stoics, thus elegantly described by Ovid.<sup>65</sup>

Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur affore tempus  
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaue regio cœli  
Ardeat, et mundi moles operosa laboret.<sup>66</sup>

Seneca, speaking of the same event, says,<sup>67</sup> the time will come when the world will be consumed, that it may be again renewed; when the powers of nature will be turned against herself; when stars will rush upon stars, and the whole material world, which now appears resplendent with beauty and harmony, will be destroyed in one general conflagration. In this grand catastrophe of nature, all animated beings, (excepting the universal Intelligence) men, heroes, demons, and gods, shall perish together. Seneca, the tragedian, who was of the same school with the philosopher, writes:<sup>68</sup>

Cœli regia concidet,  
Certos atque obitus trahet,

<sup>66</sup> Metam. l. i. v. 256.

<sup>67</sup> Rememb'ring in the fates a time when fire  
Should to the battlements of heaven aspire,  
When all his blazing worlds above should burn,  
And all th' inferior globe to cinders turn. DRYDEN.

<sup>68</sup> Ad Marciam, c. ult.

<sup>66</sup> Herc. Oct. v. 1112.

*Atque omnes pariter deos  
Perdet mors aliqua et chaos.*<sup>69</sup>

During the course of this vast conflagration, the Stoics conceived that the world would expand, and in its chaotic state continue to fill a much larger portion of infinite space than it had required, or would again require, in a state of orderly arrangement.<sup>70</sup> After an interval of rest, says Seneca,<sup>71</sup> in which the Deity will be intent upon his own conceptions, the world will be entirely renewed; every animal will be reproduced; and a race of men, free from guilt, and born under happier stars, will repeople the earth. Degeneracy and corruption will, however, again creep into the world; for it is only whilst the human race is young, that innocence remains upon the earth. The grand course of things, from the birth to the destruction of the world, which, according to the Stoics, is to be repeated with endless succession, is accomplished within a certain period. This period, or fated round of nature, is probably what the ancients meant by the Great Year.

From this brief account of the Stoic doctrine of the final conflagration, it evidently appears, that it differs in several essential particulars from the Christian doctrine on this head. It is the work of fate, performed by natural and mechanical laws, and repeated eternally at certain periods, without any good reason, since with every revolution the same disorders and vices return. Philo justly ridicules this dogma; remarking,<sup>72</sup> that the Stoics make their deities act like children, who raise up piles of sand only for the pleasure of beating them down. Several of the Stoics themselves were aware of the absurdity of this system, and rejected it; particularly Boethius, Posidonius, Diogenes the Babylonian, and Panætius.

It is a necessary consequence of this doctrine, of the conflagration and subsequent restoration of all things, that

<sup>69</sup> The mighty palace of the sky,  
In ruin fall'n is doom'd to lie,  
And all the gods, its wreck beneath,  
Shall sink in chaos and in death.

<sup>70</sup> Plut. Repug. t. iii. p. 462.

<sup>71</sup> Ep. 9. Qu. Nat. c. ult.

<sup>72</sup> L. c.

the race of men will return to life. Whence it appears in what sense we are to understand the Stoic doctrine of a resurrection, upon which Seneca has written with so much elegance; and what meaning we are to annex to his words, when he says,<sup>73</sup> "Death, of which we are so much afraid, and which we are so desirous to avoid, is only the interruption, not the destruction, of our existence; the day will come, which will restore us to life." This tenet is not to be confounded with the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body; for, according to the Stoics, men return to life, not by the voluntary appointment of a wise and merciful God, but by the law of fate; and are not renewed for the enjoyment of a better and happier condition, but drawn back into their former state of imperfection and misery. Accordingly Seneca says, "This restoration many would reject, were it not that their renovated life is accompanied with a total oblivion of past events."<sup>74</sup>

Man, according to the Stoics, is an image of the world; one whole, composed of body and mind. The mind of man is a spark of that Divine fire, which is the soul of the world. That Eternal Reason, by which all nature is animated, and which, by its productive power, communicates essential qualities to every thing that exists, impressed the forms, qualities, and powers of man, upon certain portions of matter. The soul of man, being a portion of the Deity, is then of the same nature; a subtle fiery substance, endued with intelligence and reason: but the energy of this principle is confined and restrained, in the birth of man, by its union with grosser matter.<sup>75</sup>

Concerning the duration of the soul of man, the Stoics entertained very different opinions. Cleanthes thought, that all souls would remain till the final conflagration. Chrysippus was of opinion, that this would only be the lot of the wise and good;<sup>76</sup> and Seneca<sup>77</sup> seems to have enter-

<sup>73</sup> Ep. 36.<sup>74</sup> L. c.

<sup>75</sup> Manil. l. ii. Cic. de Leg. l. i. Sen. Ep. 90. Qu. Nat. l. ii. c. 6. l. iii. c. 29. ad Helv. c. 6. Plut. de Repug. Stoic. t. iii. p. 31. Cic. in Somn. Scip. Plin. l. ii. c. 26. Arrian. l. i. Diss. 14. iii. 24. Anton. l. iv. § 4. l. ii. § 4. l. ix. § 8. Laert. l. vii. § 158.

<sup>76</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 157. Plut. Plac. l. iv. c. 7.<sup>77</sup> Senec. Cons. ad Marc. c. ult. Ep. 63.

tained the same notion. Epictetus and Antoninus<sup>78</sup> asserted, that as soon as the soul is released from the body, it returns to the soul of the world, or is lost in the universal principle of fire. Some were so absurd as to believe, that the human soul, consisting of a fiery spirit condensed by its union with air, is capable of being extinguished.<sup>79</sup> Whilst others, with equal absurdity, conceived that the human soul, shut up within the gross body, could not, at death, find a free passage, but remained with the body till it was entirely destroyed. The only idea of the immortality of the soul, which seems to have been entertained by the Stoics, was that of a renovation of being, in that fated circuit of things which we have seen to be one of their fundamental doctrines. In the universal restoration of nature, some imagined that each individual would return to its former body; whilst others conceived, that, after a revolution of the Great Year, similar souls would be placed in similar bodies.

The soul, which, as appears from what has been said concerning its origin, was conceived by the Stoics to have been material, they represented as consisting of eight distinct parts; namely, the five senses, the productive faculty, the power of speech, and the ruling part, τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, or reason.<sup>80</sup> Those who held the existence of the soul after death, supposed it to be removed into the celestial regions of the gods, where it remains, till, at the general conflagration, all souls, both human and Divine, shall be lost in the Deity. But many supposed, that before they were admitted among the divinities, they must purge away their inherent vices and imperfections, by a temporary residence in the aerial region between the earth and the moon, or in the moon itself.<sup>81</sup> With respect to depraved and ignoble souls, it was a common opinion, that after death they were agitated in the lower region of the air, till the fiery parts were separated from the grosser, and rose by their natural levity to the orbit of the moon, where they were still further purified and

<sup>78</sup> Arr. l. iii. Diss. 13. Ant. l. iv. § 13. 21.

<sup>79</sup> Sen. Ep. 57. Thomasius de Morte.

<sup>80</sup> Laert. l. v. § 157. Plut. Plac. l. iv. c. 2—4.

<sup>81</sup> Sen. ad Marc. c. 25. Plut. de Fac. Lun. t. iii. 383. Lact. l. vii.

refined : a kind of mechanical purgatory, which very well agreed with the mechanical principles of the Stoic philosophy. These fancies are treated with ridicule by Epictetus and Seneca,<sup>82</sup> who frequently speak of the happiness of good men after death in terms which might have suited a better system. Seneca, consoling Marcia under the loss of her son, says,<sup>83</sup> "The sacred assembly of the Scipios and Catos, who have themselves despised life, and obtained freedom by death, shall welcome the youth to the region of happy souls. Your father himself (for all are there known to all) shall embrace his grandson, and shall direct his eyes, now furnished with new light, along the courses of the neighbouring stars, with delight explaining to him the mysteries of nature, not from conjecture, but from certain knowledge. Like a welcome guide in an unknown city, he will unfold to the inquiring stranger the causes of the celestial appearances."

Upon the preceding principles of physics depends the whole Stoic doctrine of *Morals*. Conceiving God to be the principal part of nature, by whose energy all bodies are formed, moved, and arranged, and human reason to be a portion of the Divinity, it was their fundamental doctrine in ethics, that in human life, one ultimate end ought for its own sake to be pursued ; and that this end is, to live agreeably to nature, that is, to be conformed to the law of fate by which the world is governed, and to the reason of that Divine and celestial fire, which animates all things. Since man is himself a microcosm, composed, like the world, of matter and a rational principle, it becomes him to live as a part of the great whole, and to accommodate all his desires and pursuits to the general arrangement of nature.<sup>84</sup>

Various terms were made use of, by different philosophers of the Porch, to express this doctrine. Chrysippus taught, that we ought to live according to our experience of natural events ; Cleanthes, that we should follow the nature common to all men ; Diogenes the Babylonian, that

<sup>82</sup> Arr. l. iii. Diss. 13. Sen. ad Marc. c. 19. Ep. 117.

<sup>83</sup> Ad Marc. c. 25.

<sup>84</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 84, &c. Stob. Ecl. Eth. l. ii. c. 3. p. 172. edit. Canteri. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 11. Sen. Ep. 41. Anton. l. vi. § 15. Hor. Ep. i. 18.

we should conform to the reason and law of life, choosing those things which are naturally eligible, and rejecting those things which nature instructs us to reject; Panætius, that we should yield to the impressions of nature; and Posidonius, that we should contemplate truth, follow nature, and imitate God, by making the eternal reason, and immutable law of the universe, the rule of our actions.

Thus to live according to nature, as the Stoics teach, is virtue;<sup>85</sup> and virtue is itself happiness; for the Supreme Good is, to live according to a just conception of the real nature of things, choosing that which is in itself eligible, and rejecting the contrary. Every man, having within himself a capacity of discerning and following the law of nature, hath his happiness in his own power, and is a divinity to himself. Horace seems to have adopted this notion when he says,<sup>86</sup>

Sed satis est orare Jovem quæ ponit et aufert :  
Det vitam, det opes ; æquum mî animum ipse parabo.<sup>87</sup>

Wisdom consists in distinguishing good from evil.<sup>88</sup> Good is that which produces happiness according to the nature of a rational being. As the order of the world consists in an invariable conformity to the law of fate, so the happiness of man is εὖποια,<sup>89</sup> that course of life which flows in an uninterrupted current according to the law of nature. Since those things only are truly good which are becoming and virtuous, and virtue, which is seated in the mind, is alone sufficient for happiness, external things contribute nothing towards happiness, and therefore are not in them-

<sup>85</sup> Stob. l. c. Anton. l. vi. § 15. Arr. l. i. Diss. 1. l. iii. Diss. 24. Epict. Enchir. c. 1, 2. Sen. Ep. 16. 31. 41. 74. 76. Vit. Beat. c. 15.

<sup>86</sup> Ep. l. i. 18. ult.

<sup>87</sup> For life and wealth to Jove I'll pray ;  
These Jove can give or take away :  
But for a firm and equal mind,  
This blessing in myself I'll find.

FRANCIS.

<sup>88</sup> Sen. Ep. 71. 118. Laert. l. vii. § 88. 102. Cic. de Fin. l. iii. c. 10. Anton. l. ii. § 3:

<sup>89</sup> Epict. Ench. c. 13. Anton. l. x. Sext. Emp. Pyr. l. iii. c. 21.



selves good. The wise man will only value riches, honour, beauty, and other external enjoyments, as means and instruments of virtue; for, in every condition, he is happy in the possession of a mind accommodated to nature.<sup>90</sup> Pain, which does not belong to the mind, is no evil. The wise man will be happy in the midst of torture. All external things are indifferent, since they cannot affect the happiness of man: nevertheless, some of these are conducive, others unfavourable, to the life which is according to nature, and as such are proper objects of preference or rejection, *προσφύκεται ἢ ἀπεναντιοφύκεται*.<sup>91</sup> Every virtue being a conformity to nature, and every vice a deviation from it, all virtues and vices are equal.<sup>92</sup> One act of beneficence, or justice, is not more truly so than another; one fraud is not more a fraud than another; therefore there is no other difference in the essential nature of moral actions, than that some are vicious, and others virtuous. This is the doctrine to which Horace refers, when he says,<sup>93</sup>

Nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque  
 Quī teneros caules alieni fregerit horti,  
 Et quī nocturnus sacra divum legerit.<sup>94</sup>

The Stoics advanced many extravagant assertions concerning their wise man.<sup>95</sup> For example, that he feels neither pain nor pleasure; that he exercises no pity; that he is free from faults; that he is Divine; that he can neither deceive nor be deceived; that he does all things well; that he alone is great, noble, ingenuous; that he is the only friend; that he alone is free; that he is a prophet, a priest, and a king; and the like. These paradoxical vauntings are humorously ridiculed by Horace:<sup>96</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Laert. § 92—102. Cic. de Fin. l. iii. c. 10. 34. Sext. Emp. ib. c. 20—24. Stob. Ecl. Eth. c. 4. p. 166, &c.

<sup>91</sup> De Fin. l. iii. c. 12. 15, 16. Senec. Ep. 74.

<sup>92</sup> Laert. § 120. Cic. Parad. 3. Stob. Ecl. Eth. p. 174.

<sup>93</sup> Serm. l. i. Sat. 4.

<sup>94</sup> Nor can we judge, compar'd by reason's eye,  
 Pilf'ring and sacrilege of equal die.

<sup>95</sup> Cicero. Paradoxa. Laert. l. vii. § 117, &c. Stob. l. c.

<sup>96</sup> Serm. l. i. Sat. iii. apud fin.

—Si dives, qui sapiens est,  
Et sutor bonus, et solus formosus, et est rex,  
Cur optas quod habes ?<sup>97</sup>

In order to conceive the true notion of the Stoics concerning their wise man, it must be clearly understood, that they did not suppose such a man actually to exist, but that they framed in their imagination an image of perfection, towards which every man should continually aspire. All the extravagant things which are to be met with in their writings on this subject, may be referred to their general principle of the entire sufficiency of virtue to happiness, and the consequent indifference of all external circumstances. Or they may, perhaps, be placed to the account of mere logomachy ;<sup>98</sup> for nothing was more common with the philosophers of the Porch, than to depart from the usual definition of terms, that they might excite admiration by positions, which, when fairly explained, appeared either perfectly obvious, or exceedingly trifling. Seneca himself honestly confesses this : “ You boast that you are capable of great attainments, far beyond what is commonly to be desired, or even credited. In your vaunting, you assert, that a wise man cannot be poor ; and yet you do not deny that he is often destitute of attendants, clothing, and habitation. Remove the mask of your swelling words, by restoring to things their proper names, and you are immediately brought down to a level with others.”

It is one of the boasts of the Stoics, that their wise man is perfectly free, and can do whatever he pleases without restraint or compulsion :<sup>99</sup> and yet, nothing is more certain, than that they understood this freedom to consist merely in the superiority of virtue to all external circumstances. For, according to the fundamental doctrine of the Porch, the human mind is bound by the indissoluble chain of nature, and subject to the eternal law of fate ; and all human actions are a necessary consequence of that order, by which all

<sup>97</sup> Is not the wise a shoemaker profess'd,  
Handsome and rich, of monarchy possess'd ?  
Why wish for what you have ? FRANCIS.

<sup>98</sup> Εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐσίων καὶ ψυχρῶν ἀγορᾶν. Plut. Logom.

<sup>99</sup> Sen. Ep. 41. 51.

beings in nature are irresistibly impelled. Notwithstanding the lofty things which Seneca sometimes says in praise of human liberty, he acknowledges,<sup>100</sup> that man is subject to the law of necessity. "Whatever happens, think that it ought to happen, and cast no reproach upon nature. It is best to endure patiently what you cannot mend, and to concur with the Divine Being, by whom all things are directed, without murmuring. He is a bad soldier who follows his commander reluctantly; let us receive the orders of our leader with cheerfulness, and execute them with alacrity; and let us never desert the path marked out for us in the course of nature, because it is perplexed with difficulties. That man possesses a truly great mind, who delivers himself up entirely to God."

Concerning the progress of virtue, and the several species of virtuous actions, the doctrine of the Stoics is as follows:

Nature impels every man to pursue whatever appears to him to be good. Self-preservation and defence is the first law of animated nature. All animals necessarily derive pleasure from those things which are suited to them; but the first object of pursuit is, not pleasure, but conformity to nature. Every one, therefore, who has a right discernment of what is good, will be chiefly concerned to conform to nature in all his actions and pursuits. This is the origin of moral obligation. False conceptions of good produce violent emotions and passions, which are contrary to right reason and nature. Of these the principal are, animal desires, joy, fear, and sorrow. Passions are the desires of the mind, which it is the office of reason to prevent or cure. Wisdom subjects the mind to the control of reason, and thus produces a conformity to nature and virtue.<sup>1</sup>

Of virtues, some are contemplative, others practical; some primary, others subordinate. The contemplative or scientific virtues are those which consist in just conceptions and principles; the practical, those which concern the conduct of life. The primary virtues are, prudence, temperance,

<sup>100</sup> Ep. 107. Conf. Arr. l. iii. Diss. 26. Anton. l. vii. § 31. l. viii. § 41. l. x. § 32. l. iv. § 32. l. v. § 3.

<sup>1</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 85—90. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. iv. c. 6. De Fin. l. iv. c. 5, 6, 9, 10, 20, 23. Stob. l. c. p. 175, 6.

fortitude, and justice. Prudence respects the choice and pursuit of goods; temperance, the government of the appetites; fortitude, the endurance of that which is commonly esteemed evil; and justice, the offices of social life.<sup>2</sup>

All virtues, being the same in their origin and end, are mutually related and dependant; so that he who possesses one possesses all. As there is no medium between a right and a curve line, so there is no mean between virtue and vice; virtue and vice admit of no degrees, either of excess or defect. Virtue may be taught, and bad men may become good men. Virtue is to be sought for its own sake; not through the fear of punishment, or the hope of reward; for virtue, being a conformity to nature, is in itself happiness.<sup>3</sup>

Of actions which proceed from desire, some are good, some are bad, and others indifferent. Good actions are either *κατ' ὁρίσματα*, actions in themselves right, or, *καθ' ἡκοντα*, those concerning which it may be asserted with probability, that they are convenient, and conducive to happiness. Bad actions are those which nature and reason teach us to avoid. Indifferent actions are such as reason neither prescribes nor prohibits.<sup>4</sup>

Duties may be divided into three classes, as they respect God, ourselves, and our neighbour.<sup>5</sup>

The duties of religion are, to think justly concerning God, and to worship him piously. He thinks justly of God, who believes him to be the supreme director of human affairs, and the author of all that is good or fitting in human life. He worships God piously, who reveres him above all beings; who perceives and acknowledges him in all events; who is in every thing resigned and obedient to his will; who patiently receives whatever befalls him, from a persuasion that whatever God appoints must be right; and in fine, who cheerfully follows wherever Divine Provi-

<sup>2</sup> Laert. § 92, 3. Stob. p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> Laert. § 125—7. Stob. l. c. Plut. de Stoic. Rep. t. v. p. 10. De Fin. l. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Laert. § 108. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 17. De Offic. l. i. c. 3. Stob. l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Epict. Ench. c. 17. Arrian. l. ii. Diss. 14. l. iii. Diss. 2. Simplic. ad Enchir. Anton. l. i. § 12; viii. 27. ix. 22.

dence leads him, even though it be to suffering and death.<sup>6</sup>

The sum of a man's duty with respect to himself is, to subdue his passions of joy and sorrow, hope and fear, and even pity. He who is, in this respect, perfectly master of himself, is a wise man; and in proportion as we approach towards a state of apathy, we advance towards perfection. Virtuous self-command consists, not in preventing the casual impressions of external objects upon the senses, in which the mind is rather passive than active; but in not giving a voluntary assent to those passions, which external objects excite. A wise man may justly and reasonably withdraw from life whenever he finds it expedient; not only because life and death are among those things which are in their nature indifferent, but also because life may be less consistent with virtue than death. Since all duty arises from a conformity to nature, it may happen that a man may be in such circumstances, that to remain in life may be more contrary to nature than to depart. A wise man will, at the close of every day, take a retrospect of his words and actions, that he may confess his errors and amend. The first and noblest office of wisdom is, to examine ourselves, and regulate our dispositions and actions by the law of virtue. Hence will arise self-denial, and a contempt of pleasure. A wise man will never suffer himself to be diverted from his duty by any prospect of indulgence, or any fear of loss, pain, or death.<sup>7</sup>

The duty we owe towards others, is to love all men, even our enemies. A good man will love his neighbour from his heart, will refrain from injuring, and take pleasure in protecting and serving him. He will not think himself born for himself alone, but for the common good of mankind, and will shew himself kind to all according to his ability. He will think himself sufficiently rewarded by the consciousness of well doing, and will never cease to do good

<sup>6</sup> Epict. l. c. Arr. l. i. Diss. xii. 14. 16. Anton. l. ii. § 11. l. vi. § 43. Seneca de Tranquil. Animi, &c. passim.

<sup>7</sup> Senec. de Ira. l. i. c. 8. iii. 37. Arr. l. iii. Diss. 2. 22. 25. Cic. Ac. Q. l. i. Laert. § 130, &c. Cic. de Fin. l. iii. c. 17. Stob. l. c. Anton. l. iii. § 1. 37. vii. 44. Plut. Rep. Stoic. l. c. Sen. Ep. 16, 17. 55. 58. 60. 68. 70. 77. 80.

although he has no witness of his good deeds, nor is ever likely to receive any applause or recompence for his beneficence. The wise man never remits the punishment due to a criminal through pity, which is a weakness not to be indulged; nevertheless, in cases where reason suggests sufficient grounds for clemency, he will not treat a delinquent with rigour. He will relieve the sick, assist the shipwrecked, afford protection to the exile, or supply the hungry with food, but with an undisturbed mind, and a cheerful countenance; disdaining all sorrow arising from sympathy, as well as from personal sufferings. No one is more ready than the wise man to exercise lenity and benignity, and to attend to the welfare of other individuals, and to the general interest of mankind.<sup>8</sup>

Concerning the whole moral system of the Stoics, it must be remarked, that, although it be highly deserving of praise for the purity, extent, and variety of its doctrines, and although it must be confessed, that in many select passages of the Stoic writings it appears exceedingly brilliant, it is nevertheless founded in false notions of nature and of man, and is raised to a degree of refinement which is extravagant and impracticable. The piety which it teaches is nothing more than a quiet submission to irresistible fate. The self-command which it enjoins annihilates the best affections of the human heart. The indulgence which it grants to suicide is inconsistent, not only with the genuine principles of piety, but even with that constancy which was the height of Stoic perfection. And even its moral doctrine of benevolence is tinged with the fanciful principle, which lay at the foundation of the whole Stoic system, that every being is a portion of one Great Whole, from which it would be unnatural and impious to attempt a separation.

We must then conclude, that the Ethics of Zeno and his followers, however splendid, and in many particulars well-founded, deviated, as a system, from the true principles of nature, and had a tendency to produce artificial characters, and to encourage moral affectation and hypocrisy.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Anton. l. iv. § 37. vii. 26. 44. ix. 28. xi. 8, 9. 13. Sen. de Clem. l. ii. c. 6. 7. Conf. Gataker. Præloq. ad Anton. et Lipsii Masud. et Diss.

<sup>9</sup> Vidend. Jous. l. ii. c. 1. 18. Burnet. Arch. l. i. c. 13. Heuman. Act.

SECT. II.

*Of the Disciples and Successors of Zeno in the Stoic School.*

AFTER having insisted so largely upon the life of Zeno, and the doctrines of his school, a brief account of his disciples and successors will suffice.

During his life, Zeno had many disciples, among whom may be particularly mentioned, Persæus, Aristo the Chian, Herillus, and Sphærus.

*Persæus*,<sup>10</sup> the son of Demetrius, flourished in the hundred and thirtieth Olympiad.<sup>11</sup> He was sent by Antigonus Gonata to Zeno, for the purpose of copying his writings, and for a long time remained with him as his companion and friend. On his return to Antigonus, he was entrusted with the charge of the citadel of Corinth; but he was probably more attentive to philosophy, than to civil or military affairs; for he suffered this important fortress to be taken by Aratus.

*Aristo*<sup>12</sup> of Chios, the son of Miltiades, was an intimate associate of Persæus, and with him attended upon the lec-

Ph. v. i. p. 741. v. ii. p. 168. Lipsii *Manuductio ad Phil. Stoic. et Diss. de Phys. Stoic.* Lugd. Bat. 1644. Scioppii *Manud. ad Phil. Mor. Stoic.* Gataker in Antonin. Heinsii *Orat. de Phil. Stoic.* Meursii *Athen. l. ii. c. 29.* Bochart. *Sac. Geog. p. ii. l. i. c. 3.* Voss. *de Sect. c. xix.* Morhoff. *Polyhistor. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 8.* Crophii *Diss. de Gymn. Lit. p. 49.* Parker *de Deo, Disp. vi.* Fabricii *Diss. de Cavillationibus Stoicorum in Syllog. Diss.* Werenfels. *de Meteor. Orat.* Morini *Diss. de Stoicis hirciscundiis. Vos. de Theol. Gent. l. ii. c. 49.* Otium *Vindel. Mcl. i. 11.* Thomas *de Exust. Mund. Stoic. De Stoicis subdolis Christ. imit. Temp. Helvet. t. iii.* Buddæi *Diss. de Error. Stoic. Ot. Vind. Diss. ii. De Fat. Stoic. ap Amoen. Lit. t. viii.* Wolf. *de Manich. ante Manich. § 36.* Cudworth, *c. iv. § 25.* Zimmerman. *Mus. Hist. Brem. v. i.* Budd. *Ann. Hist. Ph. p. 147.* Epist. ad Schellhorn. *Amoen. Lit. t. viii.* Burgmann. *Diss. de Stoa a Spinosa. Exculp. Windet de Vit. Funct. Statu. a. 3.* Thomas *Diss. de Morte. Obs. Hal. t. vii.* Diss. *de Sect. Elp. Hist. Misc. Berol. t. v.* Thomas *de Loco Anim. Sap. t. i. p. 70.* Roetenbecchii *Diss. de Stoic. et Arist. Moral. Werenfels. de Logomach. Erudit. Op. p. 461.* Centner *de Meteor. Phil. Dantz. 1744. 8vo.*

<sup>10</sup> Laert. *l. vii. § 36.* Suidas. *Athen. l. iv. p. 162.* A. Gell. *l. ii. c. 18.* Pausan. *Corinth. c. 8. p. 130.* Ach. *c. 8. p. 511.* Plut. *Vit. Arati, t. vi. p. 296.*

<sup>11</sup> B. C. 260.

<sup>12</sup> Laert. *l. vii. § 160—2.*

tures of Zeno; but he discovered a disposition to loquacity, and a propensity to pleasure, which were displeasing to his master, whom he left, and went over to the school of Polemon. He soon after attempted, but with little success, to institute a school of his own. He was a violent opponent of the Academic philosophers, and particularly of Arcesilaus. The chief points in which he innovated upon the Stoic philosophy were, that there is a certain limit between virtue and vice, in which consists indifference; that all physical and logical studies are to be rejected; the former, as above all human comprehension, the latter as not interesting to human nature; that a wise man will not speculate on opinions; that the nature of the Deity is unknown; and that it is doubtful whether he is a percipient being. This last opinion seems rather to have been advanced in opposition to the Stoic idea of Deity, than to imply a general denial of the existence of God. Aristo probably conceived the questions concerning the nature of the universe, and of God, to be above the human understanding, and maintained, that the doctrine of Zeno, who asserted God to be a subtle ether, or fire, diffused through the world, was inconsistent with the notion of an intelligent nature. Eratosthenes, a Cyrenian, born in the first year of the hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad,<sup>13</sup> a man highly distinguished by his logical, mathematical, and philosophical learning, was his pupil. He was appointed by Ptolemy Philopater, keeper of the Alexandrian library.<sup>14</sup>

*Herillus*, the Carthaginian, submitted the correction of his morals to Zeno, and, deserting the school of pleasure, became his disciple. His peculiar tenet was, that science is the end of life; which he probably understood not, as Cicero every where interprets his opinion, the mere knowledge of abstract truth, but, as Laertius and Suidas explain it, that the conduct of life ought always to be conformable to truth. His followers are mentioned by Cicero as a distinct sect; but, if it existed at all, it was of short duration; and has left nothing worthy of remembrance.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> B. C. 276.

<sup>14</sup> Laert. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 30. 41. Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 14. Tus. Qu. l. v. c. 30. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. Suidas in Eratosthene. Sen. Ep. 89.

<sup>15</sup> Laert. l. vii. 165—7. Suidas in τῆλε. Tusc. Qu. l. iv.



*Sphaerus* of Boristhenes was at first a follower of Zeno, and afterwards of Cleanthes. He taught philosophy at Sparta, and had among his pupils the illustrious Cleomenes. He afterwards removed to Alexandria, where he enjoyed the protection of Ptolemy Philopater.<sup>16</sup>

After the death of Zeno, his school was continued by *Cleanthes*,<sup>17</sup> of Assus, in Lydia. His first appearance was in the character of a wrestler. In this capacity he visited Athens, where the love of philosophy was diffused through all ranks of people. He soon caught the general spirit; and though he was possessed of no more than four drachmas, he determined to put himself under the tuition of some eminent philosopher. His first master was Crates, the Academic. He afterwards became a disciple of Zeno, and a celebrated advocate for his doctrines.

The patient industry with which Cleanthes applied himself to labour, that he might procure himself the necessary supports of life without interrupting his philosophical studies, was highly meritorious. By night he drew water as a common labourer, in the public gardens, that he might have leisure, in the day time, to attend the schools of philosophy. The Athenian citizens observing that, though he appeared strong and healthy, he had no visible means of subsistence, summoned him before the court of Areopagus, according to the custom of the city, to give an account of his manner of living. Upon this he produced the gardener for whom he drew water, and a woman for whom he ground meal, as witnesses to prove that he subsisted by the honest labour of his hands. The judges of the court were so much struck with admiration of this singular example of industry and perseverance, that they ordered ten *minæ* to be paid him out of the public treasury; which, however, Zeno would not suffer him to accept.<sup>18</sup> Antigonus afterwards presented him with three thousand *minæ*. From the manner in which this philosopher supported himself, he was called *φειννλος*, the well-drawer.

Cleanthes was for many years so poor, that he was obliged to write the heads of his master's lectures upon

<sup>16</sup> Ib. § 177. Athen. l. viii. c. 13. p. 354.

<sup>17</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 168. Suidas.

<sup>18</sup> Laert. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7. Sen. Ep. 44.

shells and bones, for want of money to buy paper.<sup>19</sup> But, notwithstanding all his poverty, he persevered in the study of philosophy, and remained a pupil of Zeno nineteen years. His natural faculties were slow; but resolution and perseverance enabled him to overcome every difficulty; and he at last became so complete a master of the Stoic system, that he was perfectly qualified to succeed Zeno in his school. His fellow-disciples often ridiculed him for his dulness, by calling him an ass; but he took no other notice of the sarcasm, than by saying in his defence, that if he was an ass, he was the better able to bear the burthen of Zeno's doctrine. Being reproved for his timidity, he replied, "It is to this quality that I am indebted for my innocence." Though he was not of the school of Arcesilaus, when he heard him condemned for undermining by his doctrine the foundations of virtue, he candidly apologized for him, by remarking, that though he might seem an enemy to virtue in his discourses, he shewed himself her friend in his conduct. Arcesilaus being informed of the handsome apology which Cleanthes had made for him, said to him, "You know how much I dislike flattery; why will you flatter me?" "Is it then flattery," replied Cleanthes, "to say of you, that you speak one thing and do another?"<sup>20</sup> Cleanthes frequently advised his pupils to conceive of pleasure as a deity sitting on her throne, attended by the virtues, who are ready on every occasion to whisper in her ear, "Do nothing which will occasion pain or grief to yourself or others."<sup>21</sup> A friend, observing him silent in company, said, "One would think, Cleanthes, from your silence, that you took no pleasure in conversing with your friends:" Cleanthes replied, "It is because I know the value of this pleasure that I am silent; for I wish my friends to enjoy it as well as myself."<sup>22</sup> The reason which he assigned for the superiority of former philosophers above the present, was, that formerly philosophers studied things, whereas now they study only words. When he was old he still retained the entire use of his faculties, and often said, that he should always think life worth preserving, as long as he should be

<sup>19</sup> Laert. § 170.<sup>20</sup> Laert.<sup>21</sup> Cic. de Fin. l. ii.<sup>22</sup> Stob. Serm. 126.

able to write and study. He wrote much, but none of his writings remain, except the hymn already mentioned. Long after his death the Roman Senate paid respect to his memory, by ordering a statue to be erected in honour of him at Assus.<sup>23</sup>

After Zeno, no philosopher more truly exhibited the character, or more illustriously displayed the doctrine of the Stoic sect, than *Chrysippus*.<sup>24</sup> He was a native of Solis, a town of Cilicia, afterwards called Pompeiopolis. His father, Apollonius, was of Tarsus. Having spent his paternal fortune (as some writers say, in the public service) he devoted himself to philosophy, and fixing his residence at Athens, became a disciple of Cleanthes; from whom, however, even during his life, he in many particulars dissented. The natural powers of his mind soon enabled him to distinguish himself above his brethren of the Porch. The ancients agree in ascribing to Chrysippus an uncommon share of acuteness and penetration.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, he was indefatigably industrious. It is said, that he seldom suffered a day to pass without writing five hundred lines.<sup>26</sup> In disputation, in which he spent the greatest part of his life, he discovered a degree of promptitude and confidence which approached towards audacity. He often said to his preceptor, "Give me doctrines, and I will find arguments to support them." It was a singular proof of his haughty spirit, that when a certain person asked him, What preceptor he would advise him to choose for his son, he said, "Me; for if I thought any philosopher excelled me, I would myself become his pupil." With so much contempt did he look down upon the distinctions of rank, that he would never, as other philosophers did, pay his court to princes or great men, by dedicating to them any of his writings. The vehemence and arrogance with which he supported his tenets, created him many adversaries, particularly in the Academic and Epicurean sects. Even his friends of the Stoic school complained, that in the warmth of dispute, whilst he was attempting to load his adversary with the reproach of

<sup>23</sup> Strabo. l. xiii. p. 610.

<sup>24</sup> Laert. l. vii. 179, &c. Suidas. Strabo. l. xii. p. 462. Solin. c. 42. Orig. cont. Cels. l. iv. p. 202.

<sup>25</sup> Cic. de Nat. D. l. iii. c. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Laert.

obscurity and absurdity, his own ingenuity often failed him, and he adopted such unusual and illogical modes of reasoning, as gave his opponents great advantage against him.<sup>27</sup> It was also a common practice with Chrysippus, at different times, to take the opposite sides of the same question, and thus furnish his antagonists with weapons, which might easily be turned, as occasions offered, against himself. Carneades, who was one of his most able and skillful adversaries, frequently availed himself of this circumstance, and refuted Chrysippus by convicting him of inconsistency. Plutarch, in his piece, "On Stoic Contradictions," has collected many examples of inconsistent opinions, most of which are ascribed to Chrysippus. His skill in the arts of sophistry, and particularly his frequent use of the figure *sorites*, is noticed by the satirist Persius, who, on this account, alluding to the *sorites*, calls it the heap of Chrysippus:

Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi.<sup>28</sup>

Although it cannot be questioned that this philosopher possessed great ingenuity and extensive learning, so that, after Zeno, he might justly be considered as the main pillar of the Stoic Porch, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that as far as we are able at present to form a judgment of them, his discourses abounded more in curious subtleties and nice distinctions, than in solid arguments. It was the prejudice of party, or the pride of Stoicism, rather than sound judgment and just criticism, which dictated the encomium that was passed upon him, that, if the gods themselves were to hold disputations, they would adopt the manner of Chrysippus.<sup>29</sup>

Some writers have charged this philosopher with indecent freedom of language. But it is not improbable, that what he advanced of this kind was merely in the way of paradoxical assertion, thrown out in the course of disputation, for the sake of displaying his ingenuity. It has been said too, that Chrysippus taught doctrines entirely subver-

<sup>27</sup> Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 27. Plut. Repugn. Stoic. t. iii. p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Thou who couldst once so happily assign

Bounds to *thy heap*, now limit this of mine. BREWSTER.

<sup>29</sup> Lact. § 180.

sive of religion. Plutarch asserts,<sup>30</sup> concerning Chrysippus and Cleanthes, that when they had filled heaven, earth, the air, and the sea, with divinities, they allowed none of them to be exempt from death, except Jupiter alone, into whom they thought that all the other deities would at last be resolved. From this passage it has been inferred, that it was a doctrine of the Stoics, that the Divine Nature is mutable and corruptible. But it appears from the Stoic system of nature, as it has been already explained, that this conclusion from the passage in question is without foundation. According to this system, the inferior deities, which are portions of that Divine fire by which all nature is animated, will, in the general conflagration of the universe, return to the source from which they were originally derived, till a general renovation shall take place. That Chrysippus did not recede from the idea of the Stoic school concerning nature, the following passage from Cicero<sup>31</sup> fully proves: "Chrysippus, who is esteemed the most ingenious interpreter of Stoic dreams, has assembled a numerous band of unknown gods; indeed, so perfectly unknown, that the human mind, though it be capable of forming conceptions of every kind, is unable to frame a conjecture concerning their nature. He says, that the Divine energy is placed in reason, and in the soul or mind of the universe. The world itself he maintains to be God, or a universal effusion of his spirit, and asserts, that the superior part of this spirit, which consists in mind and reason, is the common nature of things, containing the whole, and every part. Sometimes he speaks of God as the power of fate, and the necessary chain of events; sometimes he calls him fire, or the ether which I mentioned above; and sometimes he deifies the fluid parts<sup>32</sup> of nature, as water and air; and again, the earth, the sun, the moon, and stars, and the universe, in which these are comprehended, and even those men who have obtained immortality." There is nothing in this account which is not perfectly consonant to the physics and theology of the Stoic system, in the sense in which they have been already explained. It seems, therefore, reasonable to exculpate Chrysippus from any

<sup>30</sup> De comm. notionibus, t. iii. p. 459.

<sup>31</sup> De Nat. D. l. i. c. 15.

<sup>32</sup> Vid. loc. Davisii edit. p. 37. n. 8.

other kind of impiety, than that which may be charged upon the sect, of which he was one of the chief supporters.

Chrysippus wrote about seven hundred books, three hundred of which were upon logical subjects; but in all his works he made large and numerous quotations from the writings of others. Of these nothing remains, except a few extracts which are preserved in the works of Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and Aulus Gellius. He died in the hundred and forty-third Olympiad,<sup>33</sup> eighty-three years of age. A statue was erected to his memory by Ptolemy.<sup>34</sup>

The immediate successor of Chrysippus in the Stoic school was *Zeno of Tarsus*,<sup>35</sup> or, as some say, of Sidon. He does not appear to have receded in any respect from the Stoic tenets, except that he withheld his assent to the doctrine of the final conflagration.

*Diogenes*, of Seleucia, called also the *Babylonian*,<sup>36</sup> from the vicinity of Babylon to his native place, next assumed the chair, and applied himself so diligently to the study and propagation of the Stoic doctrine, that Cicero<sup>37</sup> calls him a great and respectable Stoic. This was unquestionably the reason for which he was sent with Carneades and Critolaus on the celebrated embassy from Athens to Rome, of which we have already taken notice in our account of the life of Carneades. Seneca relates,<sup>38</sup> that as he was one day discoursing upon anger, a foolish youth, in hopes of raising a laugh against the philosopher by making him angry, spit in his face; upon which Diogenes meekly and prudently said, "I am not angry, but I am in doubt whether I ought not to be so." He lived to the age of eighty-eight years.<sup>39</sup> *Antipater*, of Tarsus,<sup>40</sup> the disciple and successor of Diogenes the Babylonian, is applauded both by Cicero and Seneca, as an able supporter of the Stoic sect. His chief opponent was Carneades.

*Panætius*, a Rhodian, was a polite and respectable philosopher. He enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with several

<sup>33</sup> B. C. 208.

<sup>34</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 189. 202. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 10. Cic. Fin. l. i. c. 11.

<sup>35</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 38. Suidas. Euseb. Prep. l. xv. c. 18.

<sup>36</sup> Laert. l. vi. § 81.

<sup>37</sup> Tusc. Q. l. iii. c. 12.

<sup>38</sup> De Ira.

<sup>39</sup> Lucian. Longev. t. ii. p. 829.

<sup>40</sup> Cic. de Offic. l. iii. c. 12. Sen. Ep. 92. Plut. de Garrul. t. ii. p. 319.

eminent Romans, particularly Scipio and Lælius; and Cicero says,<sup>41</sup> that his abilities and accomplishments rendered him highly worthy of their friendship. He disliked the Stoic doctrine of apathy;<sup>42</sup> was a great admirer of Plato, and freely borrowed opinions and sentiments from philosophers of every sect. His moral doctrines were, doubtless, excellent, since they are so highly extolled by Cicero, in his admirable treatise *De Officiis*. He passed a considerable part of his life at Rome, where he had many illustrious disciples; but towards the latter end of his days he removed to Athens, where he died. He treated astrological predictions, and divinations of every kind, with contempt, and seems to have rejected the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.<sup>43</sup>

*Posidonius*,<sup>44</sup> a native of Apama in Syria, the last of that series of Stoics which belongs to the history of the Greek philosophy, taught at Rhodes with such reputation, that Pompey came thither, on his return from Syria, to attend his lectures. When he arrived at his house, he forbade his lictor to knock, as was usual, at the door. The hero who had subdued the eastern and western world, paid homage to philosophy, by lowering the *fascæ* at the gate of Posidonius. When he was informed that he was at that time sick of the gout, he visited him in his confinement, and expressed great regret that he could not attend upon his school. Upon this Posidonius, forgetting his pain, gratified his guest by delivering a discourse in his presence, the subject of which was to prove, that nothing is good which is not honourable.<sup>45</sup> He studied natural as well as moral science; and in order to represent the celestial *phenomena*, he constructed a kind of *planetarium*,<sup>46</sup> by means of which he exhibited the apparent motions of the sun, moon, and planets round the earth. Cicero says<sup>47</sup> that he himself attended upon this philosopher; and a later

<sup>41</sup> De Off. l. iv. c. 9.

<sup>42</sup> A. Gell. l. xii. c. 5.

<sup>43</sup> Cic. De Off. l. ii. c. 14. Ac. Q. l. iv. 33. De Fin. l. i. c. 2. l. iv. c. ult. Tusc. Q. l. i. c. 32. De Div. l. i. c. 3. 7. l. ii. c. 42.

<sup>44</sup> Laert. l. vii. § 38. Strabo. l. vii. p. 316. l. xiv. p. 655.

<sup>45</sup> Cic. Tusc. Q. l. ii. c. 25. Plin. l. vi. Ep. 30.

<sup>46</sup> Cic. De Nat. Deor. l. ii. c. 34.

<sup>47</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 3.

writer<sup>40</sup> asserts, that he was brought to Rome by Marcellus in the seven hundred and second year from the building of the city.<sup>41</sup>

Thus much concerning the Stoic sect, the last branch of the *Ionic School*.<sup>42</sup>

## CHAP. XII.

### OF THE ITALIC OR PYTHAGORIC SECT.

#### SECT. I.

#### *Of the Life and Philosophy of Pythagoras.*

IN tracing the progress of the *Ionic School*, from *Thales*, its founder, through all its branches, the *Ionic*, *Socratic*, *Cynæaic*, *Megaric*, *Eliac*, *Eretriac*, *Academic*, *Peripatetic*, *Cynic*, and *Stoic Sects*, we have completed one principal part of the history of the Grecian philosophy. Another main branch of this philosophy, namely, that which sprung from *Pythagoras*, and afterwards sprouted out into the *Eleatic*, *Heracitean*, *Epicurean*, and *Sceptic Sects*, yet remains to be considered. This school, having been first instituted in that part of Italy which, from the Grecian colonies which had been settled there, was called *Magna Græcia*, has taken the appellation of the *ITALIC SCHOOL*.<sup>1</sup>

Before we enter upon the history of the celebrated founder of the *Italic School*, some notice must be taken of *Pherecydes*, one of the wise men of Greece, who, though he himself instituted no sect, is distinguished as the first preceptor of *Pythagoras*.

<sup>40</sup> Suidas in Posid.

<sup>41</sup> B. C. 52.

<sup>42</sup> Vidend. Cudworth. c. iv. § 25. Bayle. Sciopp. Elem. Phil. Mor. p. 165. Zwinger. Theatr. Vit. Hum. v. 19. § 3360. Thomas. de Plagio Lit. § 388. Euseb. Prep. Ev. l. vi. c. 6. Gassend. Vit. Epic. l. iii. c. 2. Schmid. de Chrysip. Log. Jons. l. i. c. 13. l. ii. c. 8. Meurs. de Ceramic. Voss. de Nat. Log. c. viii. § 18. Hist. Gr. l. iii. p. 324. Weidler. Hist. Astr. c. vi. § 18.

<sup>1</sup> Laert. l. i. § 13. Arist. de Cælo. c. 1.



*Pherecydes*,<sup>2</sup> a native of the island of Scyrus, one of the Cyclades near Delos, flourished about the forty-fifth Olympiad.<sup>3</sup> It has been maintained, with great erudition, that *Pherecydes* derived his principles of philosophy and theogony from the sacred books of the Phenicians; but little dependance is to be placed, in a question of this kind, upon the authorities by which this opinion is supported; and it will appear, upon inquiry, that the tenets of this philosopher were not less similar to those of the most ancient Grecian and Barbaric philosophers, than to the doctrine of the Phenicians. The opinion of *Josephus*,<sup>4</sup> that *Pherecydes* studied philosophy in Egypt, seems more probable: for Egypt was, at that time, universally resorted to as the seat of learning: the symbolical method of teaching, which was made use of by *Pherecydes*, was perfectly after the Egyptian manner; and the general aspect of his doctrine bears a strong resemblance to the dogmas of the Egyptian school.

The particulars which remain of the life of *Pherecydes* are few and imperfect. Marvellous circumstances have been related of him, which only deserve to be mentioned, in order to shew, that what has been deemed supernatural, by ignorant spectators, may be easily conceived to have happened from natural causes. A ship, in full sail, was at a distance, approaching its harbour; *Pherecydes* predicted that it would never come into the haven, and it happened accordingly; for a storm arose which sunk the vessel. After drinking water from a well, he predicted an earthquake, which happened three days afterwards.<sup>5</sup> It is easy to suppose that these predictions might have been the result of a careful observation of those *phenomena* which commonly precede storms or earthquakes, in a climate where they frequently happen. This is the more probable, as it is well known to have been a usual practice with the ancients, and particularly with *Pythagoras*, the pupil of *Pherecydes*, to impose upon the ignorant multitude, by pretending to powers which they did not possess, and particularly by applying their knowledge of

<sup>2</sup> Laert. l. i. Suidas.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. 600.

<sup>4</sup> Contr. Apion. l. i.

<sup>5</sup> Laert.

nature to the purposes of imposture. Pherecydes is said to have been the first among the Grecians who wrote concerning the nature of the gods; but this can only mean, that he was the first who ventured to write upon these subjects in prose. For, before his time, Orpheus, Musæus, and others, had written theogonies in verse. Some have ascribed to him the invention of the sun-dial; but the invention was of more ancient date; for this instrument is mentioned in the Jewish history of Hezekiah, king of Judea.<sup>6</sup> Concerning the manner in which Pherecydes died, nothing certain is known; for as to the story<sup>7</sup> of his having been gradually consumed for his impiety by the loathsome disease called *Morbus pedicularis*, it must, doubtless, be set down in the long list of idle tales by which the ignorant and superstitious have always endeavoured to bring philosophy into contempt. His disciple Pythagoras is said to have erected a tomb to his memory. He lived to the age of eighty-five years.

It is difficult to give, in any degree, an accurate account of the doctrines of Pherecydes; both because he delivered them, after the manner of the times, under the concealment of symbols; and because very few memoirs of this philosopher remain. It is most probable that Pherecydes taught those opinions concerning the gods, and the origin of the world, which the ancient Grecian theogonists borrowed from Egypt. On the ground of this opinion, it may perhaps be possible to explain the fragment of his book concerning the origin of things which is preserved by Laertius.<sup>8</sup> The words are, Ζεὺς μὲν καὶ χρόνος εἰς αἶψα, καὶ χθὼν ἦν. Χθονὶν δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο γῆ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζεὺς γέρας διδοῖ.

If by χθὼν we understand what the ancient philosophers understood by *Mot*, the chaos, which was admitted into all the ancient theogonies, and by γέρας διδοῖ, the communication or grant of form to the chaotic mass, the meaning of the passage will be this: "Jupiter, and Duration, and Chaos, are eternal: from the time when Jupiter communicated form to chaos, it was called the earth:" a doctrine which agrees with that which was commonly received among the Oriental and

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings, c. xx. v. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Ælian. l. iv. c. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Laert. l. i. § 119.

**Egyptian philosophers.** Perfectly consonant to this doctrine is the tenet which Aristotle<sup>9</sup> ascribes to Pherecydes, τὸ γυναικῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰναι, that the first cause of all things is most excellent.

Another tenet which is, by the universal consent of the ancients, ascribed to Pherecydes, is that of the Immortality of the Soul, for which he was, perhaps, indebted to the Egyptians. Cicero says,<sup>10</sup> that he was the first philosopher in whose writings this doctrine appeared. He is also said, and not improbably,<sup>11</sup> to have taught the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul; for this was a tenet commonly received among the Egyptians, and afterwards taught by Pythagoras. Whether it was that Pherecydes instituted no sect; or that his writings fell into disuse through their obscurity; or that Pythagoras designedly suppressed them, that he might appear the original author of the doctrines which he had learned from his master; or whatever else might be the cause; we are left without further information concerning his philosophy. We therefore proceed to the history of the life and opinions of his celebrated pupil, the founder of the Italic School.

The history of Pythagoras, beyond that of any other ancient philosopher, abounds with difficulties and contradictions, and is enveloped in fable and mystery. Pythagoras himself, and his followers through a long succession, were so far from committing their doctrines to writing, for the information of posterity, that they made use of every expedient to conceal them from their contemporaries. Hence the first records of the life and doctrines of this philosopher, which were only such as could be casually gathered up from tradition, were not less defective in probable and well authenticated facts, than they were abundant in absurd fictions. It was not till many ages after the time in which Pythagoras flourished, that Porphyry and Jamblichus undertook to digest these scattered materials into a regular narrative. And these writers themselves were too credulous, too careless, and too much biassed by prejudice, to be capable of giving a judicious and impartial representation of what was at that time known concerning Pythagoras. They were of the school of Ammonius and

<sup>9</sup> Metaph. l. xii. c. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Suidas in Phor.

Plotinus; in which, as we shall afterwards find, it was the common practice to misrepresent and falsify every thing, and to obtrude upon the world marvellous tales instead of real facts, for the sake of supporting the credit of their sect and religion in opposition to Christianity. In order to be convinced that Jamblichus was nothing better than an impudent trifler, the reader needs only peruse the introduction to his life of Pythagoras. The labours of subsequent writers, though sufficiently numerous, cast little new light upon this part of the history of philosophy. Notwithstanding all that has been done, it resembles a wood, which after many trees are cut down, and many thickets cleared away, still remains dark, rugged, and pathless. We shall therefore hope for indulgence, if, in this part of our work, the reader should frequently find it necessary to suspend, and sometimes even to withhold, his assent.

The ancients are by no means agreed concerning the birth-place of PYTHAGORAS:<sup>12</sup> but the more common opinion is, that he was a native of the island of Samos. Of his extraction nothing further is known, than that his father's name was Mnesarchus, probably a merchant of Tyre, or some other maritime city, who, trading to Samos, was admitted to the rights of citizenship, and settled his family in this island. As to the tale of Jamblichus,<sup>13</sup> which makes him a descendant of Jupiter, and relates a prediction of his birth and character from the Delphian priest, barely to mention is to refute it.

The time of the birth of Pythagoras is covered with inextricable obscurity. Three English critics of great eminence have employed their profound erudition in endeavouring to settle this point. Bentley, in his dispute with Boyle<sup>14</sup> concerning the age of Phalaris, investigates with his usual industry the time of the birth of Pythagoras, and (chiefly on the testimony of Eratosthenes, who relates, that whilst he was young he was a victor at the Olympic games, in the forty-eighth Olympiad<sup>15</sup>) determines the date to be the fourth year of the forty-third Olympiad.<sup>16</sup> Lloyd,

<sup>12</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 1. Conf. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 300. Plut. Qu. Conv. l. viii. c. 7. t. iii. p. 286.

<sup>13</sup> Vit. Pyth. c. 2. Porph. n. 1

<sup>14</sup> Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris.

<sup>15</sup> B. C. 588.

<sup>16</sup> B. C. 608.

in his dissertation concerning the chronology of Pythagoras,<sup>17</sup> endeavours to prove, that the Olympic victor was not the same person with the philosopher; and insists upon several particulars, which make it probable, that he was born about the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad.<sup>18</sup> Dedwell discusses the same subject at large, in two dissertations on the age of Phalereus and Pythagoras,<sup>19</sup> and places the birth of Pythagoras in the fourth year of the fifty-second Olympiad.<sup>20</sup> His opinion chiefly rests on the authority of Porphyry and Jamblichus. Le Clerc has given a summary of their arguments.<sup>21</sup> We must content ourselves with observing, that, after carefully examining what has been written upon this question, we find the authorities so feeble and inconsistent, that we dare not give a decisive judgment; for where we cannot arrive at certain proof, we think it better honestly to confess our ignorance, than to impose an unsupported opinion upon our readers. We are however inclined to think, that the preponderancy of argument is in favour of Lloyd, whose opinion is, that Pythagoras was born about the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad,<sup>22</sup> and died about the third year of the sixty-eighth Olympiad.<sup>23</sup> It seems pretty certain, that he was not born earlier than the fourth year of the forty-third Olympiad,<sup>24</sup> nor later than the fourth year of the fifty-second.<sup>25</sup>

If we dismiss the tales of Jamblichus concerning the early wisdom, gravity, and temperance of Pythagoras, which are said to have been such as to have filled all men with admiration, to have commanded respect and reverence from grey hairs, and even to have led many to assert that he was the Son of God,<sup>26</sup> we meet with no other credible particulars of his childhood and early education, but that he was first instructed in his own country by Creophilus, and afterwards by Pherecydes in the island of Scyrus.<sup>27</sup> When he had paid the last honours to his preceptor, for whom he appears to have entertained a high respect, he

<sup>17</sup> Ed. Lond. 1699.

<sup>18</sup> B. C. 586.

<sup>19</sup> London, 1704. 8.

<sup>20</sup> B. C. 569.

<sup>21</sup> Bibliotheque Choisie, t. x. p. 81, &c.

<sup>22</sup> B. C. 586.

<sup>23</sup> B. C. 506.

<sup>24</sup> B. C. 605.

<sup>25</sup> B. C. 569.

<sup>26</sup> Jamb. Vit. P. n. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Laert.

returned to Samos, and again studied under the direction of his first master.

Much is said by Jamblichus, and other later biographers, of Pythagoras's early journey into Ionia, and his visits to Thales and Anaximander; but we find no ancient record of this journey, nor any traces of its effects on his doctrine, which differs essentially from that of the Ionic school. It is probable, that his first journey from the Grecian islands was to Egypt, the country at that time celebrated, above all others, for that kind of wisdom which best suited the genius and temper of Pythagoras.

On his way to Egypt, Jamblichus asserts,<sup>28</sup> that he visited Phenicia, and conversed with the descendants of Mochus, and other priests of that country, and was initiated into their peculiar mysteries. And it may seem not entirely improbable, that he might wish to be further acquainted with the Phenician philosophy, of which he had, doubtless, heard a general report from his father, and other merchants who traded to this coast. But it is certainly a fiction of the Alexandrian school, that Pythagoras received his doctrine of numbers from the Phenicians; for we have already seen, that their knowledge of numbers extended no further than to the practical science of arithmetic. Whatever be thought of this journey to the East (which, by the way, Le Clerc discredits<sup>29</sup>) we must dismiss, as wholly incredible, the stories of his visiting the temple on Mount Carmel, and remaining there several days without food, passing among the inhabitants for a good demon, and obtaining from them religious honours; and of his proceeding into the country of Judea, and there going through several ceremonies of the Mosaic law.

In Egypt,<sup>30</sup> Pythagoras was introduced, by the recommendation of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, to Amasis, king of Egypt, a great patron of learned men, particularly those of Greece, that he might the more easily obtain access to the colleges of the priests. The king himself could scarcely, with all his authority, prevail upon the priests to admit a stranger to the knowledge of their sacred mysteries.<sup>31</sup> The

<sup>28</sup> L. ii. n. 13.

<sup>29</sup> L. c. p. 98.

<sup>30</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 3. Porphy. n. 5.

<sup>31</sup> Herodot. l. ii. c. 172. Diodor. Sic. l. i. c. 2.

college of Heliopolis, to whom the king's instructions were sent, referred Pythagoras to the college of Memphis, as of greater antiquity; from Memphis he was dismissed, under the same pretence, to Thebes. The Theban priests, not daring to reject the royal mandate, yet loth to comply with it, prescribed Pythagoras many severe and troublesome preliminary ceremonies, among which was that of circumcision,<sup>32</sup> hoping hereby to discourage him from prosecuting his design. Pythagoras, however, executed all their injunctions with such wonderful patience and perseverance, that he obtained their entire confidence, and was instructed in their most recondite doctrines. He passed twenty-two years in Egypt.<sup>33</sup> During this time he made himself perfectly master of the three kinds of writing, which were in use in Egypt, the epistolary, the hieroglyphical, and the symbolical; and, having obtained access to the most learned men in every celebrated college of priests, he became intimately conversant with their ancient records,<sup>34</sup> and gained an accurate acquaintance with their doctrine concerning the origin of things, with their astronomy and geometry, and, in short, with Egyptian learning in its whole extent.

Many writers, who flourished after the commencement of the Christian era, both Pagan and Christian, have related, that Pythagoras, immediately after he left Egypt, visited the Persian and Chaldean magi, and travelled so far into the East as to converse with the Indian Gymnosophists. The occasion of this journey is thus related by Jamblichus:<sup>35</sup> "After spending twenty-two years in Egypt, he was conveyed by the victorious army of Cambyeses, among a numerous train of captives, to Babylon, where he made himself perfectly acquainted with the learning and philosophy of the East; and after the expiration of twelve years, when he was in the sixtieth year of his age, he returned to Samos." Cicero,<sup>36</sup> Eusebius,<sup>37</sup> Lactantius,<sup>38</sup> and Valerius Maximus,<sup>39</sup> though they say nothing of the cap-

<sup>32</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 302.

<sup>33</sup> Jamblich. c. 4. n. 18.

<sup>34</sup> Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Vit. Pyth. c. iv. n. 19.

<sup>36</sup> De Fin. l. v. c. 9.

<sup>37</sup> Prep. Ev. l. viii. c. 6. l. x. c. 4.

<sup>38</sup> L. iv. c. 2.

<sup>39</sup> L. viii. c. 7. Conf. Apul. Flor. l. i. p. 357. Lact. l. iv. c. 7.

tivity, agree that he visited the Persian magi. Some have maintained, that in this journey he attended upon the instructions of the celebrated Persian sage, Zoroaster;<sup>40</sup> whilst others, who have placed the life of Zoroaster in an earlier period than that of Pythagoras, have asserted, that he conversed with certain Jewish prophets, who were at that time in captivity at Babylon, and by this means became intimately conversant with the Jewish laws and customs.<sup>41</sup> After all, however, we must confess, that we see much reason to suspect the truth of the whole narrative of Pythagoras's journey into the East; for the relation is encumbered with inextricable chronological difficulties. It is unanimously agreed by chronologists, that Cambyses invaded Egypt in the fifth year of his reign, or the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad. According to Jamblichus,<sup>42</sup> Pythagoras, after staying twelve years in Babylon, and visiting several other countries, went into Italy in the sixty-second Olympiad. Diodorus<sup>43</sup> and Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>44</sup> affix nearly the same date to this journey; and others place it fourteen years earlier. Now, it is evident, that if Pythagoras left the East before the sixty-second Olympiad, after remaining there twelve years, he could not have been carried thither by Cambyses in the sixty-third Olympiad. The whole narration of Pythagoras's journey into the East is also contradicted by the express authority of Antiphon (quoted by Porphyry),<sup>45</sup> who says, that Pythagoras, after his residence in Egypt, returned into Ionia, and opened a school in his own country; and that, *at the age of forty years*, finding himself harassed by the tyranny of Polycrates, he withdrew into Italy; an account which evidently leaves no interval for the supposed eastern expedition. The whole proof of the reality of this expedition rests either upon the evidence of certain Alexandrian Platonists, who were desirous of exalting as much as possible the reputation of those ancient philosophers to whom they looked back as the first oracles of wisdom, or upon that of

<sup>40</sup> Porph. n. 10. 12. Suidas in Pyth. Cyril. contr. Jul. l. iv. p. 133. Beausobre Hist. Manich. p. i. l. i. c. 2. § 2.

<sup>41</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. l. i. p. 304. Huet. Dem. Pr. iv. p. 54. 83. 186. 224.

<sup>42</sup> C. vii. n. 35.

<sup>43</sup> Excerpt. Peiresc. p. 241.

<sup>44</sup> Strom. l. i. p. 302. 330.

<sup>45</sup> N. 8. 9. p. 12, 13.



certain Jewish and Christian writers, who were willing to credit every tale, which might seem to render it probable, that the Pythagorean doctrine was derived from the Oriental philosophers, and ultimately from the Hebrew Scriptures. There is, therefore, some reason to suspect, that these writers admitted a story so favourable to their respective views, without scrupulously inquiring into its authenticity. The relation concerning Pythagoras's preceptor in the East, under the several names of Zabditus, Namasatus, and Zares or Zoroaster, rests upon uncertain rumours. Nor is there any probable argument to prove, that he received instruction from any prophet of the Hebrew nation during his supposed residence in Babylon. It seems, therefore, on the whole, most reasonable, to look upon the story of this eastern journey as a mere fiction, and to conclude, that Pythagoras never passed over from Egypt to the East, but returned thence immediately to Samos. The story of his having visited the Northern Druids, is as improbable in itself, and so ill supported by evidence, that it may be confidently dismissed without particular examination.

Pythagoras, returning from Egypt to his native island, after an absence of more than twenty years, was desirous that his fellow-citizens should reap the benefit of his travels and studies; and, for this purpose, attempted to institute a school for their instruction in the elements of science, but chose to adopt the Egyptian method of teaching, and communicate his doctrines under a symbolical form. The Samians were either too indolent or too stupid to profit by his instructions. The number of his followers was so inconsiderable, that he was obliged for the present to relinquish his design. Loth, however, entirely to abandon the project, he determined, if possible, to find other means of engaging the attention of his countrymen. With this idea he repaired to Delos, and after presenting himself

<sup>10</sup> Hermipp. ap. Joseph. cont. Ap. l. i. p. 1046. et Orig. cont. Cels. l. i. p. 195. <sup>11</sup> Aristotul. ap. Clem. Al. Str. l. ii. p. 342. <sup>12</sup> Euseb. Prep. Ev. l. ix. c. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Lloyd, Bentley, Le Clerc, Fabricius, L'Enfant, &c. gave no credit to the tale of this eastern journey.

<sup>14</sup> Samb. c. vi. a. 20. 25. Laert. l. vii. c. 13.

springing, as it is said, to Apollo, then removed, or pretended to be removed, from the priests, which he afterwards delivered to his disciples under the character of Delphic precepts. With the same design he also visited the island of Crete, so celebrated in mythological history; where he was conducted by the Corybantes, or priests of Cybele, into the cave of Mount Ida, in which Jupiter is said to have been buried.<sup>50</sup> Here he conversed with Epimenides, an eminent pretender to prophetic powers, and was by him initiated into the most sacred mysteries of Greece. About the same time he visited Sparta and Elis, and was present during the celebration of the Olympic games,<sup>51</sup> where he is said to have exhibited a golden thigh to Alabris, in order to convince him that he was Apollo. Amongst the places which he visited during his stay in Greece, was Phlius, the residence of Leon, king of the Phliastines. Here he first assumed the appellation of philosopher.<sup>52</sup>

Thus furnished, not only with fresh stores of learning, but with a kind of authority which was still more likely to procure him respect, he returned to Samos, and made a second more successful attempt to institute among his countrymen a school of philosophy.<sup>53</sup> The place which he chose for his purpose was a semicircular building, in which the Samians had been accustomed to meet for public business. Here he chiefly employed himself in delivering, with an air of sacred authority, popular precepts of morality, which might contribute to the general benefit of the people. Besides this, he provided himself with a secret cave, into which he retired with his intimate friends and professed disciples, and here, not without a wonderful parade of mystery, gave them daily instructions in the more abstruse parts of philosophy.<sup>54</sup> These arts, which unquestionably rank this celebrated philosopher among impostors, proved successful, and procured him a great multitude of followers. What he had been unable to ef-

<sup>50</sup> Porphyr. n. 41. Laert. § 8. <sup>51</sup> Porphyr. n. 17. Laert. § 3.

<sup>52</sup> Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Cic. Tusc. Q. l. v. c. 3. Conf. Laert. l. i. § 12. Jamb. c. viii. p. 44. xii. 58.—See introduction to this work, p. 24.

<sup>54</sup> Jamb. c. v. n. 26. Porph. n. 9. Jamb. c. viii. n. 27.

fast by the mere force of learning and ability, who so much accomplished by concealing his doctrines under the veil of mysterious symbols, and by issuing forth his precepts as dispensations from a divine oracle.<sup>65</sup> He is said to have spent

Having for some time successfully executed his plan of instruction in Samos, whether the Samians began to defect his friends, or to be apprehensive of his increasing popularity, or whether Pythagoras wished to escape the tyranny of the governor, Syllaeon, the brother of Polycrates, he suddenly left Samos, and passing over into Italy, attempted to establish his school among the colonies of Magna Graecia.<sup>66</sup> The time of this expedition is uncertain; but it seems most probable that it happened about the beginning of the fifty-ninth Olympiad.<sup>67</sup> It is more certain that when Pythagoras arrived in this country, in order to obtain credit with the populace, he pretended to a power of performing miracles, and practised many arts of imposture.

The first place at which Pythagoras arrived was Crotona, a city in the bay of Tarentum, whose inhabitants were at this time exceedingly corrupted in their manners. Upon his first arrival, Plutarch and Apuleius relate, that observing a large draught of fish, which had just been taken, he bade the whole capture of the fishermen, and ordered them to throw them again into the water, as a lesson to the spectators to spare the lives of fishes, and to refrain from this as well as every other kind of animal food. Porphyry and Jamblichus relate the same story, with the addition of this marvellous circumstance, that Pythagoras, while the fishermen were drawing up the net, told them the exact number of fishes which it contained.<sup>68</sup>

By these and other arts, Pythagoras obtained such a degree of respect and influence in Crotona, that people of all classes assembled to hear his discourses. The effect was, that an entire change was produced in the manners of the citizens, so that from great luxury and licentiousness, they were converted to strict sobriety and frugality. In that

<sup>65</sup> Vid. Van Dale de Oraculis Gent. Diss. li. c. 1. §. 1. p. 1. §. 1. p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Jamb. c. v. n. 18.

<sup>67</sup> Comp. Dodwell and Stanley.

<sup>68</sup> Ib. n. 30. Porphy. n. 25.

<sup>69</sup> Plut. Symp. l. viii. qu. 8. Apul. Apolog. p. 209.

most of the disciples, that in Crotona there were more than six hundred persons (some say two thousand) who were prevailed upon to submit to the strict discipline which he required, and to throw their effects into a common stock for the benefit of the whole fraternity. Pythagoras did not confine the influence of his philosophy to Crotona. He taught his doctrine in many other cities of Magna Græcia with so much energy and effect, that he established a large and extensive interest throughout the country, and obtained from his followers a degree of respect little short of adoration. Had Pythagoras contented himself with teaching such secular precepts of wisdom, and instructing his select disciples in the speculative doctrines of philosophy, it is probable he might have continued his labours, without interruption, to the end of his life. But he discovered on many occasions, a strong propensity towards political innovations. Not only at Crotona, but at Metapontus, Rhegium, Agrigento, and many other places, he obtained great influence over the people, and employed it in urging them to the strenuous assertion of their rights, against the encroachments of their tyrannical governors. These attempts, together with the singularities of his school, excited a general spirit of jealousy, and raised a powerful opposition against him. At the head of this opposition was Cylon, a man of wealth and distinction in Crotona, who had been refused admission into the society of the Pythagoreans; and whose temper was too haughty and violent to endure with patience such an indignity. The party thus raised against the Pythagoreans, hearing that they were assembled in a large body at the house of Milo, one of their chief friends, surrounded the house and set it on fire. About forty persons perished in the flames. Archippus and Lysis, two natives of Tarentum, alone escaped; the former withdrew to his own city; the latter fled to Elis.

Pythagoras, himself, if he was not present at the assembly, was probably in Crotona at the time when this fatal

<sup>60</sup> Justin. l. xx. c. 4. Jambl. c. v. n. 29. Porphyri. a 2038 n. 41.

<sup>61</sup> Jamb. n. 33.

<sup>62</sup> Porphy. n. 20. Jamb. c. 31. n. 214. Conf. Diodor. l. xii.

asked him to stay upon his school, not the report of his having been then upon a journey to Delos, to visit his master Pherecydes, is inconsistent with chronology; that philosopher having died before Pythagoras left Samos. He was, however, wholly incapable of resisting the tempest of jealousy and enmity which rushed upon him. His remaining friends fled to Rhegium; and he was himself obliged to retire to Metapontum, after having in vain sought for protection from the Locrians. At Metapontum, Pythagoras found himself still surrounded with enemies, and was obliged to take refuge in the temple of the Muses; where, not being able to procure from his friends the necessary supply of food, he perished with hunger.<sup>63</sup> This is the most probable account we are able to collect of the last incidents in the life of Pythagoras. The time of his death is uncertain. According to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, which we are inclined to follow, he died in the thirtieth year of the sixty-eighth Olympiad,<sup>64</sup> after having lived, according to the most probable statement of his birth, to the age of eighty years. After his death his disciples paid a superstitious respect to his memory. They erected statues in honour of him, converted his house in Crotona into a temple of Ceres, and appealed to him as a divinity, swearing by his name.<sup>65</sup>

Many tales are related of Pythagoras which carry with them their own refutation. That, by speaking a word, he tamed a Darnian bear, which had laid waste the country; that he prevented an ox from eating beans by whispering in its ear; that he called down an eagle from the sky; that he was, on the same day, present, and discoursed in public, at Metapontum in Italy, and at Tauromenium in Sicily; that he predicted earthquakes, storms, and other future events; and that a river, as he passed over it with his friends, cried out, Hail, Pythagoras! are wonders, which would require much clearer and better evidence to

<sup>63</sup> Jamb. c. xxxv. n. 248, &c. Porphy. n. 54, &c. Laert. l. viii. § 39, &c. S. 2 B. C. 506.

<sup>64</sup> Laert. § 44, &c. Justin. l. xx, c. 4. Porph. n. 4. 20. Hierocl. in Aur. Carm. p. 225. 230. Jamb. n. 28.

<sup>65</sup> Porph. n. 23. Jamb. c. 28, n. 134. Laert. l. viii. § 11, &c. Apollon. Hist. c. 6. Philost. l. iv. c. 10. Plin. l. xxiv. c. 17. l. xxx. c. 1.

gain them credit; than the testimony of Apollonius, Demophry, and Jamblichus; or even of Laertius and Pliny. It appears, upon the face of the history of this philosophy, that he owed much of his celebrity and authority to his postart. Why did he so studiously court the society of Egyptian priests, so famous in ancient times for their arts of deception; why did he take so much pains to be initiated in religious mysteries; why did he retire into a subterraneous cavern in Crete; why did he assume the character of Apollo at the Olympic games; why did he boast that his soul had lived in former bodies, and that he had been first Ethalides, the son of Mercury, then Euphorbus, then Pyrrhus of Delos, and at last Pythagoras;<sup>60</sup> but that he might the more easily impose upon the credulity of an ignorant and superstitious people? His whole manner of life, as far as it is known, confirms this opinion. Clothed in a long white robe, with a flowing beard, and, as some relate, with a golden crown on his head;<sup>61</sup> he presided among the people, and in the presence of his disciples, a commanding gravity and majesty of aspect. He made use of music to promote the tranquillity of his mind, frequently singing for this purpose hymns of Thales, Hesiod, and Homer.<sup>62</sup> He had such an entire command of himself that he was never seen to express, in his countenance, grief, or joy, or anger. He refrained from animal food, and confined himself to a frugal vegetable diet, excluding from his simple bill of fare, for sundry mystical reasons, pulse or beans. By this artificial demeanour, Pythagoras passed himself upon the vulgar as a being of an order superior to the common condition of humanity, and persuaded them that he had received his doctrine from Heaven.

Pythagoras married Theano,<sup>63</sup> of Crotona; or, as some relate, of Crete,<sup>64</sup> by whom he had two sons, Telanges and Mnesarchus; who, after his death, took the charge of his school.

Whether Pythagoras left behind him any writings, is a

<sup>60</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 4. Porphyr. l. c. Lucian in Gallo. t. ii. p. 613.

<sup>61</sup> Laert. § 19. Jamb. c. 21. p. 100. Alian. l. xii. c. 82.

<sup>62</sup> Porph.

<sup>63</sup> Suidas in Thean. Laert. § 11.

<sup>64</sup> Porphyr. n. 4.

point much disputed. Lactius<sup>78</sup> enumerates many pieces which appeared under his name; and Jamblichus<sup>79</sup> and Philo<sup>80</sup> increase the list. But Plutarch,<sup>81</sup> Josephus,<sup>82</sup> Lucian,<sup>83</sup> and others, confess that there were no genuine works of Pythagoras extant; and from the pains which Pythagoras took to confine his doctrine to his own school during his life, it appears highly probable, that he never committed his philosophical system to writing, and that those pieces to which his name was early affixed, were written by some of his followers according to the principles and tenets which they had learned in his school. Among the pieces attributed to Pythagoras, no one is more famous than the Golden Verses, which Hierocles has illustrated with a Commentary. It is generally agreed that they were not written by Pythagoras: perhaps they are to be ascribed to Epicharmus, or Empedocles.<sup>84</sup> They may be considered as a brief summary of his popular doctrines.

*The Method of Instruction* adopted by Pythagoras was twofold, exoteric and esoteric,<sup>85</sup> or public and private. This distinction he had seen introduced with great advantage by the Egyptian priests, who found it admirably adapted to strengthen their authority and increase their enrolment. He therefore determined, as far as circumstances would admit, to form his school upon the Egyptian model. For the general benefit of the people, he held public assemblies, in which he delivered discourses in praise of virtue, and against vice; and in these he gave particular instructions, in different classes, to husbands and wives, parents and children, and others who filled the several relations of society. The auditors who attended these public lectures did not properly belong to his school, but continued to follow their usual mode of living. Besides these he had a select body of disciples, whom he called his companions and friends,<sup>86</sup> who submitted to a peculiar

<sup>78</sup> L. viii. §. 7.

<sup>79</sup> C. 19. n. 30.

<sup>80</sup> L. xxiv. c. 17. Conf. l. xix. c. 6.

<sup>81</sup> De Fort. Alex. l. 4.

<sup>82</sup> Contr. Apian. t. i. p. 1046.

<sup>83</sup> De Lapsu, t. iii. p. 103.

<sup>84</sup> Stanley's Lives of Phil. p. viii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. i. p. 120. 400.

<sup>85</sup> Jamb. c. viii. xxxii. Justin. l. xx. c. 4.

<sup>86</sup> Jamb. c. xxxv. n. 237. Suidas ιταίης.

plan of discipline, and were admitted by a long course of instruction into all the mysteries of his esoteric doctrine. Before any one could be admitted into this fraternity, Pythagoras examined his features and external appearance;<sup>82</sup> inquired in what manner he had been accustomed to behave towards his parents and friends;<sup>83</sup> remarked his manner of conversing, laughing, and keeping silence; and observed what passions he was most inclined to indulge, with what kind of company he chose to associate, how he passed his leisure moments, and what incidents appeared to excite in him the strongest emotions of joy or sorrow. From these and other circumstances, Pythagoras formed an accurate judgment of the qualifications of the candidate, and he admitted no one into his society, till he was fully persuaded of the docility of his dispositions, the gentleness of his manners, his power of retaining in silence what he was taught, and, in fine, his capacity of becoming a true philosopher.

Upon the first probationary admission the fortitude and self-command of the candidate was put to the trial by a long course of severe abstinence and rigorous exercise.<sup>84</sup> In order to subdue every inclination towards luxurious enjoyment, Pythagoras accustomed those who were admitted to this initiatory discipline to abstain from animal food, except the remains of the sacrifices, and to drink nothing but water; unless in the evening, when they were allowed a small portion of wine. That he might effectually inure them to self-denial, he sometimes ordered a table, richly covered with dainties to be spread before them, and, when they were impatiently expecting to gratify their appetites, he commanded the whole entertainment to be taken away, and dismissed them without any refreshment.<sup>85</sup> He suffered them to wear no other garments but such as were suited to express the utmost purity and simplicity of manners. Of which he required them to be exceedingly frugal; and, in short, indulged them in nothing which could be supposed to inflame their passions, or cherish voluptuous desires.

<sup>82</sup> *Εἰσδορὸν ἔχοντες*, A. Gell. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>83</sup> Jambl. l. c. c. xxi. n. 94. Porphyr. n. 33.

<sup>84</sup> Jambl. c. xxiv. n. 106. Porph. n. 34. Laert. l. viii. § 10.

<sup>85</sup> Jambl. n. 108. Diodor. in Excerpt. Valer. p. 245.



To correct an effeminate dread of labour or suffering, he prescribed them exercises which could not be performed without pain and fatigue. To teach them humility and industry, he exposed them for three years to a continued course of contradiction, ridicule, and contempt, among their fellows.<sup>66</sup> The powerful passion of avarice he opposed by requiring his disciples to submit to voluntary poverty. He not only taught them to be contented with a little, but even deprived them of all command over their own property, by casting the possessions of each individual into a common stock, to be distributed by proper officers, as occasion should require. From the time of this sequestration of their goods, as long as they continued members of this society, they lived upon the footing of perfect equality, and sat down together daily at a common table. If any one, however, repented of the connexion, he was at liberty to depart, and might reclaim, from the general fund, his whole contribution.<sup>67</sup>

That he might give his disciples an habit of entire docility, Pythagoras also enjoined upon them, from their first admission, a long time of silence, called *ἔχευσις*. This exoteric silence is not to be confounded with that sacred reserve<sup>68</sup> with which all the disciples of Pythagoras were bound, upon oath, to receive the doctrines of their master, that they might, from no inducement whatever, suffer them to pass beyond the limits of the sect. The initiatory silence probably consisted in refraining from speech, not only during the hours of instruction, but through the whole term of initiation. It continued from two to five years, according to the degree of propensity which the pupil discovered towards conceit and loquacity.<sup>69</sup> The restraint which Pythagoras put upon the *ἑκτα πρεσβεία*, "winged words," of his pupils, might possibly be of great use to them; it was certainly a judicious expedient with respect

<sup>66</sup> Jambl. c. xvi. n. 68. c. xvii. n. 72. c. xxviii. n. 149. c. xxxi. n. 204, &c. c. xxxii. n. 225. Porph. p. 8. Athen. l. iv. p. 161.

<sup>67</sup> Jambl. c. v. n. 29. c. vi. n. 30. c. xvii. n. 72. c. xviii. n. 81. c. xxt. n. 168. A. Gell. l. c. Porph. n. 20.

<sup>68</sup> Jambl. c. xxxi. n. 188. c. xxxii. n. 226. Porph. n. 19.

<sup>69</sup> Jambl. c. xvi. n. 68. A. Gell. l. c. Ælian. l. iv. c. 6. Lucian. Vit. Auct. Laert. l. viii. § 10.

to himself, as it restrained impertinent curiosity, and prevented every inconvenience of contradiction. Accordingly we find, that his disciples silenced all doubts, and refuted all objections, by appealing to his authority. *Αἰὲς ἄα, ἅπασι δίδει*, decided every dispute.<sup>90</sup> Nor was this preparatory discipline deemed sufficiently severe, without adding, during the years of initiation, an entire prohibition of seeing their master, or hearing his lectures, except from behind a curtain.<sup>91</sup> And even this privilege was too great to be commonly allowed; for in this stage of tuition they were usually instructed by some inferior preceptor, who barely recited the doctrine of Pythagoras, without assigning the reasonings or demonstrations upon which they were grounded, and required the obedient pupil to receive them as unquestionable truths, upon their master's word.<sup>92</sup> Those who had sufficient perseverance to pass these several steps of probation, were at last admitted among the Esoterics, and allowed to hear and see Pythagoras behind the curtain. But if it happened that any one, through impatience of such rigid discipline, chose to withdraw from the society before the expiration of his term of trial, he was dismissed with a share of the common stock, the double of that which he had advanced; a tomb was erected for him as for a dead man; and he was to be as much forgotten by the brethren as if he had been actually dead.<sup>93</sup>

It was the peculiar privilege of the members of the Esoteric school (who were called *γνήσιοι ἀμύλαται*,<sup>94</sup> genuine disciples) to receive a full explanation of the whole doctrine of Pythagoras, which to others was delivered in brief precepts and dogmas, under the concealment of symbols. They were also permitted to take minutes of their master's lectures, in writing, and to propose questions, and offer remarks upon every subject of discourse.<sup>95</sup> These disciples were particularly distinguished by the appellation of the Pythagoreans; they were also called Mathematicians, from the studies upon which they entered immediately after their initiation. After they had made a sufficient progress

<sup>90</sup> Jambl. c. xviii. n. 81. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. ii. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 6.

<sup>91</sup> Jambl. c. xvii. n. 72.

<sup>92</sup> Jambl. c. xviii. n. 81, 82. Porphy. n. 37.

<sup>93</sup> Jambl. c. xvii. n. 37. n. 75.

<sup>94</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 575.

<sup>95</sup> A. Gell. l. i. c. 9. Anon. Photil, p. 56. Porphy. n. 56.

in geometrical science, they were conducted to the study of nature, the investigation of primary principles, and the knowledge of God. Those who pursued these sublime speculations were called Theorists; and such as more particularly devoted themselves to theology were styled *ἀσθεταί*, Religious. Others, according to their respective abilities and inclinations, were engaged in the study of Morals, Economics, and Policy; and were afterwards employed in managing the affairs of the fraternity, or sent into the cities of Greece, to instruct them in the principles of government, or assist them in the institution of laws.<sup>66</sup>

The brethren of the Pythagorean college at Crotona, who were about six hundred in number, lived together, as in one family, with their wives and children, in a public building called *βουλευτήριον*, the common auditory. The whole business of the society was conducted with the most perfect regularity.<sup>67</sup> Every day was begun with a distinct deliberation upon the manner in which it should be spent; and concluded with a careful retrospect of the events which had occurred, and the business which had been transacted.<sup>68</sup> They rose before the sun, that they might pay him homage;<sup>69</sup> after which they repeated select verses from Homer, and other poets, and made use of music, both vocal and instrumental, to enliven their spirits and fit them for the duties of the day.<sup>70</sup> They then employed several hours in the study of science. These were succeeded by an interval of leisure, which was commonly spent in a solitary walk for the purpose of contemplation. The next portion of the day was allotted to conversation. The hour immediately before dinner was filled up with various kinds of athletic exercises. Their dinner consisted chiefly of bread, honey, and water; for after they were perfectly initiated they wholly denied themselves the use of wine. The remainder of the day was devoted to civil and domestic affairs, conversation, bathing, and religious ceremonies.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Jambl. c. xvii. n. 72. c. xix. n. 90. c. xxiv. n. 108. c. xxx. n. 172.

<sup>67</sup> Jambl. c. vi. n. 30. Porph. n. 20. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i.

<sup>68</sup> Jambl. c. xxix. n. 165. <sup>69</sup> Ib. n. 256. Porph. n. 46.

<sup>70</sup> Ib. c. xxv. n. 20. Senec. de Ira, l. iii. c. 9. Æl. Var. Hist. l. xiv. c. 23.

<sup>71</sup> Jambl. c. xxi. n. 96. c. xxiv. 106. c. xxviii. n. 153. xxxi. 200. Athen. Photii, l. c. Plut. de Esu. Carn. t. ii. p. 371. Sen. Ep. 108. Porph. de

The Exoteric disciples of Pythagoras were taught, after the Egyptian manner, by images and symbols, which must have been exceedingly obscure to those who were not initiated into the mysteries of the school. And they who were admitted to this privilege, were trained, from their first admission, to observe invariable silence with respect to the secret doctrines of their master. That the wisdom of Pythagoras might not pass into the ears of the vulgar, they committed it chiefly to memory, and where they found it necessary to make use of writing, they were careful not to suffer their minutes to pass beyond the limits of the school.<sup>2</sup>

After the dissolution of their assembly by Cylo's faction, Lysis and Archippus thought it necessary, in order to preserve the Pythagorean doctrine from total oblivion, to reduce it to a systematic summary; at the same time, however, strongly enjoining their children to preserve these memoirs secret, and to transmit them in confidence to their posterity. From this time books began to multiply among the followers of Pythagoras, till at length, in the time of Plato, Philolaus exposed the Pythagorean records to sale, and Archytas, of Tarentum,<sup>3</sup> gave Plato a copy of his commentaries upon the aphorisms and precepts of his master.

It is sufficiently evident, from this account of the manner in which Pythagoras taught his followers, that the sources of information concerning his doctrine must be very uncertain. Instructions designedly concealed under the veil of symbols, and chiefly transmitted by oral tradition, must always have been liable to misrepresentation. Of the imperfect records of the Pythagorean philosophy left by Lysis, Archytas, and others, nothing has escaped the wreck of time, except perhaps sundry fragments collected by the diligence of Stobæus, concerning the authenticity of which there are some grounds for suspicion;† and which, if ad-

Abstin. l. i. c. 24. 27. Vit. Pyth. n. 34. Jambl. n. 98. Laert. l. viii. § 25. Athen. l. iv. c. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Jambl. c. xxii. n. 101, &c. c. xxxv. 252. Porph. n. 57, 58.

<sup>3</sup> Plat. Ep. 12a.

† Conf. Herm. Conring. in Propol. c. xv. p. 104. Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. i. p. 513.

mitted as genuine, will only exhibit an imperfect view of the moral and political doctrine of Pythagoras under the disguise of symbolical and enigmatical language. The strict injunction of secrecy, which was given by oath to the initiated Pythagoreans, has effectually prevented any original records of their doctrine concerning nature and God from passing down to posterity. We are entirely to rely for information on this head, and indeed concerning the whole doctrine of Pythagoras, upon Plato and his followers. Plato himself, whilst he enriched his system with stores from the magazine of Pythagoras, accommodated the Pythagorean doctrines, as he also did those of his master Socrates, to his own system, and thus gave an imperfect, and we may suppose, in many particulars, a false representation of the doctrines of the Samian philosopher. It was further corrupted by the followers of Plato, even in the Old Academy, and afterwards in the Alexandrian school. The latter, especially, made no scruple of obtruding their own dogmas upon the world, under the sanction of Pythagoras, or any other ancient sage, and were chiefly employed in attempting to reconcile, or rather confound the doctrines of the ancient philosophers with later systems. What confidence can be placed in such authorities? what satisfactory information can we expect from such sources? especially when it is added, that the doctrine of Pythagoras itself, probably in its original state, certainly in every form in which it has been transmitted to us, was obscured, not only by symbolical, but by mathematical language, which is rather adapted to perplex than to illustrate metaphysical conceptions. In this fault Pythagoras was afterwards imitated by Plato, Aristotle, and others.<sup>5</sup>

If the unconnected and doubtful records which remain can enable us to form any judgment upon this subject, the following may perhaps be considered as a faint delineation of the Pythagorean philosophy.

The end of philosophy is to free the mind from those incumbrances which hinder its progress towards perfection, and to raise it to the contemplation of immutable truth, and the knowledge of Divine and spiritual objects.

<sup>5</sup> Burnet. Archæol. l. i. c. 11. Arist. Metap. l. xiii. c. 4.

This effect must be produced by easy steps, lest the mind, hitherto conversant only with sensible things, should revolt at the change. The first step towards wisdom is the study of mathematics, a science which contemplates objects that lie in the middle way between corporeal and incorporeal beings, and as it were on the confines of both, and which most advantageously inures the mind to contemplation. The whole course of mathematical science may be divided into four parts; two respecting numbers, and two respecting magnitude. Number may be considered either abstractedly in itself, or as applied to some object. The former science is Arithmetic; of the latter kind is Music. Magnitude may be considered as at rest, or as in motion; the science which treats of the former is Geometry, that which treats of the latter is Astronomy.<sup>6</sup>

Arithmetic is the noblest science; numbers the first object of study, and a perfect acquaintance with numbers, the highest good.<sup>7</sup> Numbers are either scientific or intelligible.

Scientific number is the production of the powers involved in unity, or the progression of multitude from the monad or unity, and its return to the same.<sup>8</sup> *Unity* and *one* are to be distinguished from each other; the former being an abstract conception, the latter belonging to things capable of being numbered. Number is not infinite, but is the source of that infinite divisibility into equal parts, which is the property of all bodies.<sup>9</sup>

Intelligible numbers are those which subsisted in the Divine Mind before all things, from which every thing hath received its form, and which always remain immutably the same. It is the model, or archetype, after which the world, in all its parts, is framed.<sup>10</sup> Numbers are the Cause of Essence to Beings: *τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι τῆς οὐσίας.*<sup>11</sup>

The Monad, or unity, is that quantity which, being de-

<sup>6</sup> Porph. n. 46. Proclus in Euclid. l. i. p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 8. 12. Pseudo Orig. c. ii. p. 30. Theodoret. Therap. l. xi. p. 152. Ælian, l. iv. c. 17. Stob. Ecl. Phys. c. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Jambl. ad Nicom. p. 5. Stob. ib.

<sup>9</sup> Anon. Photii, l. c. Nicomach. apud Phot. Themist. in Phys. l. iii. § 25. p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> Jambl. ad Nic. p. 11. Porph.

<sup>11</sup> Arist. Metaph. l. i. c. 6. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 3. Athenag. Apol. p. 49. Hierocl. in Aur. Carm. p. 224.

prived of all number, remains fixed; whence called *Monad*, from *εἰς μόνον*. It is the fountain of all number. The Duad is imperfect and passive, and the cause of increase and division. The Triad, composed of the Monad and Duad, partakes of the nature of both. The Tetrad, Tetractys, or quaternion number, is the most perfect. The Decad, which is the sum of the four former, comprehends all arithmetical and musical proportions.<sup>12</sup>

According to some writers, the Monad denotes the active principle in nature, or God; the Duad, the passive principle, or matter; the Triad, the world formed by the union of the two former; and the Tetractys, the perfection of nature. Some have understood by this mysterious number, the four elements; others, the four faculties of the human mind; others, the four cardinal virtues; and others have been so absurd as to suppose that Pythagoras made use of this number to express the name of God, in reference to the word *יהוה*, by which that name is expressed in the Hebrew language. But every attempt to unfold this mystery has hitherto been unsuccessful.

The most probable explanation of the Pythagoric doctrine of numbers is, that they were used as symbolical or emblematical representations of the first principles and forms of nature, and particularly of those eternal and immutable essences, to which Plato afterwards gave the appellation of Ideas. Not being able, or not choosing, to explain in simple language the abstract notions of principles and forms, Pythagoras seems to have made use of numbers as geometricians make use of diagrams—to assist the conceptions of scholars. More particularly, conceiving some analogy between numbers and the Intelligent Forms, which subsist in the Divine Mind, he made the former a symbol of the latter. As numbers proceed from unity, or the Monad, as a simple root, whence they branch out into various combinations, and assume new properties in their progress, so he conceived the different forms of nature to recede, at different distances, from their common source, the pure and

<sup>12</sup> Jambl. ad Nic. p. 13. Stob. Ecl. Phys. c. ii. Jambl. Vit. Pyth. c. xxviii. A. Gell. l. j. c. 10. Orig. Philos. p. 33. Hieroc. ad Aux. Carm. v. 47. p. 227. Iren. l. i. c. 1. Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. i. p. 457. Athenag. Leg. p. 6.

simple essence of Deity, and at every degree of distance to assume certain properties in some measure analogous to those of number; and hence he concluded, that the origin of things, their emanation from the first being, and their subsequent progression through various orders, if not capable of a perfectly clear explanation, might however be illustrated by symbols and resemblances borrowed from numbers.<sup>14</sup>

Next to numbers, music had the chief place in the preparatory exercises of the Pythagorean school, by means of which the mind was to be raised above the dominion of the passions, and inured to contemplation. Pythagoras considered music, not only as an art to be judged of by the ear, but as a science to be reduced to mathematical principles and proportions.<sup>15</sup> The musical chords are said to have been first discovered by Pythagoras in the following manner: As he was one day reflecting on this subject, happening to pass by a smith's forge, where several men were successively striking with their hammers a piece of heated iron upon an anvil, he remarked, that all the sounds produced by their strokes were harmonious except one. The sounds, which he observed to be chords, were the octave, the fifth, and the third; but that sound which he perceived to lie between the third and the fifth he found to be discordant. Going into the workshop, he observed, that the diversity of sounds arose, not from the form of the hammers, nor from the force with which they were struck, nor from the position of the iron, but merely from the difference of weight in the hammers. Taking, therefore, the exact weight of the several hammers, he went home, and suspended four strings of the same substance, length, and thickness, and twisted in the same degree, and hung a weight at the lower end of each, respectively, equal to the

<sup>14</sup> Conf. Meursii Theolog. Arithm. Nicomach. apud Phot. Alexand. in Metaph. c. 5. Macrobian. Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 6. Anon. Vit. Pyth. apud Phot. Cudworth Syst. Int. c. iv. § 20. Weigelius in Tetract. Pyth. p. 650. Huet. Dem. Pr. iv. c. ii. § 8. Selden de Diis Syriis, l. ii. c. 1. Burnet. Arch. l. i. c. 11. Hen. More de Cabb. Phil. c. ii. p. 125, &c. Plat. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 3. Gassend. Phys. l. i. c. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Jambl. c. xxv. n. 110. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 257. Theon. Smyrn. Math. c. i. p. 15. Ptolem. Harm. c. 2. Porphy. in Harm. Ptol. Nicom. Manual. Harm. l. i. c. 2.



weight of the hammers ; upon striking the strings, he found that the musical chords of the strings corresponded with those of the hammers. Hence it is said, that he proceeded to form a musical scale, and to construct stringed instruments. His scale was, after his death, engraved in brass, and preserved in the temple of Juno at Samos.<sup>16\*</sup>

Pythagoras conceived that the celestial spheres in which the planets move, striking upon the ether through which they pass, must produce a sound ; and that this sound must vary according to the diversity of their magnitude, velocity, and relative distance. Taking it for granted, that every thing respecting the heavenly bodies is adjusted with perfect regularity, he further imagined, that all the circumstances necessary to render the sounds produced by their motion harmonious, were fixed in such exact proportions, that the most perfect harmony is produced by their revolutions. This fanciful doctrine respecting the music of the spheres gave rise to the names which Pythagoras applied to musical tones. The last note in the musical octave he called *Hypate*, because he supposed the sphere of Saturn, the highest planet, to give the deepest tone ; and the highest note he called *Neate*, from the sphere of the moon, which, being the lowest, or nearest the earth, he imagined produced the shrillest sound. In like manner of the rest. It was said of Pythagoras by his followers, who hesitated at no assertion, however improbable, which might seem to

<sup>16</sup> Jambl. c. xxvi. n. 115. Nicom. c. vi. n. 10. Boeth. de Music. c. 10. Macrob. in Somn. Scip. l. ii. c. 6. Censorin. de Die Nat. c. 10.

\* Dr. Burney discredits the whole of this story, and humorously says : " Though both hammers and anvil have been swallowed by ancients and moderns, and have passed through them from one to another with an ostrich-like digestion, upon examination and experiment it appears, that hammers of different size and weight will no more produce different tones upon the same anvil, than bows or clappers of different size will, from the same string or bell." He adds, however, that though modern incredulity and experiment have robbed Pythagoras of the glory of discovering musical ratios by accident, he has been allowed the superior merit of arriving at them by meditation and design. At least the invention of the Harmonical Canon, or Monochord (an instrument of a single string furnished with moveable bridges, and contrived for the measuring and adjusting the ratios of musical intervals by accurate divisions) has been ascribed to him both by ancient and modern writers. See Burney's History of Music, vol. i. p. 441.

exalt their master's fame, that he was the only mortal as far favoured by the gods as to be permitted to hear the celestial music of the spheres.<sup>17</sup> Pythagoras applied music to the cure of diseases both bodily and mental.<sup>18</sup> It was, as we have seen, the custom of his school, to compose their minds for rest in the evening, and to prepare themselves for action in the morning, by suitable airs, which they performed upon the lute, or other stringed instruments. The music was, however, always accompanied with verse, so that it may be doubted whether the effect was to be ascribed more to the musician or to the poet. It is said of Clinius,<sup>19</sup> a Pythagorean, that whenever he perceived himself inclined to anger, spleen, or other restless passions; he took up his lute, and that it never failed to restore the tranquillity of his mind. Of Pythagoras himself it is related,<sup>20</sup> that he checked a young man, who, in the midst of his revels, was meditating some act of Bacchanalian madness, by ordering the musician, who had inflamed his passions by Phrygian airs, to change the music on a sudden into the slow and solemn Doric mood. If the stories which are related by the ancients concerning the wonderful effects of music are to be credited, we must acknowledge we are strangers to the method by which these effects were produced.

Besides arithmetic and music, Pythagoras cultivated geometry, which he had learned in Egypt; but he greatly improved it by investigating new theorems, and by digesting its principles, in an order more perfectly systematical than had before been done. Several Grecians, about the time of Pythagoras, applied themselves to mathematical learning, particularly Thales in Ionia. But Pythagoras seems to have done more than any other philosopher of this period towards reducing geometry to a regular science.<sup>21</sup> His definition of a point is, a monad or unity with position. He taught that a geometrical point corresponds to unity in arithmetic, a line to two, a superficies to three, a solid to four. Of the geometrical theorems ascribed to

<sup>17</sup> Jambl. Vit. Pyth. c. xiv. n. 65. Voss. de Mathem. c. xx. p. 81. Gebhard de Harm. Cael. Pythag. Macrob. l. ii. c. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Porph. n. 30. Jambl. c. xxv. n. 65.

<sup>19</sup> *Ælian*, l. xiv. c. 23.

<sup>20</sup> *Boeth.* de Mus. l. iv. c. 14.

<sup>21</sup> Proclus in Euclid. l. ii. iii. Laert.

Pythagoras, the following are the principal: that the interior angles of every triangle are together equal to two right angles; that the only polygons which will fill up the whole space about a given point, are the equilateral triangle, the square, and the hexagon; the first to be taken six times, the second four times, and the third three times; and that, in rectangular triangles, the square of the side which subtends the right angle is equal to the two squares of the sides which contain the right angle. Upon the invention of this latter proposition (Euclid, i. i. Prop. 47.) Plutarch says, that Pythagoras offered an ox, others, an hecatomb, to the gods. But this story is thought by Cicero<sup>22</sup> inconsistent with the institutions of Pythagoras, which, as he supposes, did not admit of animal sacrifices. Pythagoras inferred the stature of Hercules from the length of the Olympic course,<sup>23</sup> which measured six hundred of his feet. Observing how much shorter a course six hundred times the length of the foot of an ordinary-sized man was than the Olympic course, he inferred, by the law of proportion, the length of Hercules's foot; whence the usual proportion of the length of the foot to the height of a man enabled him to determine the problem. Pythagoras also applied geometrical ideas as symbolical expressions of bodies and of natural principles; but nothing certain or intelligible is preserved on this head.

On astronomy, the doctrine of Pythagoras, or, however, of the ancient Pythagoreans, was as follows:

The term Heaven either denotes the sphere of the fixed stars, or the whole space between the fixed stars and the moon, or the whole world, including both the celestial spheres and the earth.<sup>24</sup> There are ten celestial spheres, nine of which are visible to us; namely, that of the fixed stars, those of the seven planets, and that of the earth; the tenth is the Antichthon, or an invisible sphere opposite to the earth, which is necessary to complete the harmony of nature, as the Decad is the completion of numerical harmony. And this Antichthon may be the cause of the greater number of the eclipses of the sun than of the moon.<sup>25</sup> Fire

<sup>22</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. iii.

<sup>23</sup> A. Gell. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Anon. Phot. l. c.

<sup>25</sup> Plut. de an. Procr. t. iii. p. 98. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 614. Simplic. ad Arist. de Cælo. l. ii. c. 13.

holds the middle place in the universe;<sup>66</sup> or, in the midst of the four elements is placed the fiery globe of unity; the earth is not without motion, nor situated in the centre of the spheres, but is one of those planets which make their revolution about the sphere of fire. The revolution of Saturn is completed in thirty years, that of Jupiter in twenty, that of Mars in two, that of the Sun, and of Mercury and Venus, in one year. The distances of the several celestial spheres from the earth correspond to the proportion of notes in the musical scale. The moon and other planetary globes are habitable. The earth is a globe, which admits of Antipodes.<sup>67</sup>

From several of these particulars respecting the astronomical doctrine of Pythagoras, it has been inferred, that he was possessed of the true idea of the solar system, which was revived by Copernicus, and has since been fully established by Newton.

The pupils of the Pythagorean school were conducted from this preparatory study to the knowledge of natural, theological, and moral science.

Concerning Wisdom in general, Pythagoras taught, that it is a science which is conversant with those objects, which are in their nature immutable, eternal, and incorruptible, and therefore alone can properly be said to exist. The man who applies himself to this kind of study is a philosopher. The end of philosophy is, that the human mind may, by such contemplation, be assimilated to the Divine, and at length be qualified to join the assembly of the gods. In the pursuit of wisdom, the utmost care must be taken to raise the mind above the dominion of the passions, and the influence of sensible objects, and to disengage it from all corporeal impressions, that it may be inured to converse with itself, and to contemplate things spiritual and Divine.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Stob. Ecl. Ph. l. i. c. 25. Plut. in Num. x. t. i. p. 123. Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 12. Laert. l. viii. § 85. Plut. Plac. Qu. et in Num. Clem. Alex. p. 556. Arist. t. i. p. 363.

<sup>67</sup> Jambl. c. vi. n. 31. Plin. l. ix. c. 21. Censorin. de Die Nat. c. 13. Laert. l. viii. § 14. 26. Pfm. l. ii. c. 8.

<sup>68</sup> Jambl. c. xii. n. 50. c. xxix. n. 159, 160. c. xxxii. n. 228. Porph. p. 46. 53. Jambl. Intr. in Nicom. Stob. Sermon. i. p. 7. Hierocl. in fin. Aur. Carm.

For this purpose the assistance of God, and of good demons, must be invoked by prayer.<sup>29</sup> Philosophy, as it is conversant with speculative truth, or with the rules of human conduct, is either theoretical or practical. Practical philosophy is only to be studied so far as may be necessary for the purposes of life; theoretical philosophy is the perfection of wisdom. Contemplative wisdom cannot be completely attained, without a total abstraction from the ordinary affairs of life, and a perfect tranquillity and freedom of mind. Hence the necessity of instituting a society, separated from the world, for the purpose of contemplation and study.<sup>30</sup>

Active or moral philosophy, which prescribes rules and precepts for the conduct of life, according to Aristotle,<sup>31</sup> was first taught by Pythagoras, and after his death by Socrates. Among the moral maxims and precepts ascribed to Pythagoras are the following :

Virtue is divided into two branches, private and public. Private virtue respects education, silence, abstinence from animal food, fortitude, sobriety, and prudence. The powers of the mind are, reason and passion; and when the latter is preserved in subjection to the former, virtue is prevalent. Young persons should be inured to subjection, that they may always find it easy to submit to the authority of reason. Let them be conducted into the best course of life, and habit will soon render it the most pleasant. Silence is better than idle words. A wise man will prepare himself for every thing which is not in his own power. Do what you judge to be right, whatever the vulgar may think of you; if you despise their praise, despise also their censure. It is inconsistent with fortitude to relinquish the station appointed by the Supreme Lord before we obtain his permission. Sobriety is the strength of the soul, for it preserves its reason unclouded by passion. No man ought to be esteemed free, who has not the perfect command of himself. Drunkenness is a temporary frenzy. That

<sup>29</sup> Aur. Carm. v. 61, 62. Hieroc. Jamblic. Protrept. c. 3. 9. 14. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. i. vi. § 50.

<sup>30</sup> Hieroc. l. c. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. ii. p. 417. Stob. Eth. c. iii. p. 164. Jambl. Vit. P. c. xxii. n. 101.

<sup>31</sup> Magna Mor. l. i. c. 2.

which is good and becoming is rather to be pursued than that which is pleasant. The desire of superfluity is foolish, because it knows no limits. All animal pleasures should rather be postponed, than enjoyed before their time; and should only be enjoyed according to nature, and with sobriety. Much forethought and discretion is necessary in the production and education of children. Wisdom and virtue are our best defence; every other guard is weak and unstable. It requires much wisdom to give right names to things.<sup>32</sup>

Concerning public virtue, the doctrine of Pythagoras, as it is transmitted to the present time, respects conversation, friendship, religious worship, reverence to the dead, and legislation. Upon these heads he is said to have taught thus:

Conversation should be adapted to the character and condition of the persons with whom we converse: that discourse and behaviour which might be proper among young persons, may be exceedingly improper between the young and the aged. Propriety and seasonableness are the first things to be regarded in conversation. In all society a due regard must be had to subordination. Respect is due to a worthy stranger, sometimes in preference even to countrymen or relations. It is better that those who converse with you should respect you, than that they should fear you; for respect produces admiration, but fear produces hatred. It is an evident proof of a good education, to be able to endure the want of it in others. Between friends, the utmost care should be taken to avoid contention, which can only be done by shunning as much as possible all occasions of strife, suppressing resentment, and exercising mutual forbearance. Reproof and correction are useful and becoming from the elder to the younger; especially when they are accompanied, on the part of the reprover, with evident tokens of affection.<sup>33</sup>

Mutual confidence is never for a moment to be interrupted between friends, whether in jest or earnest; for

<sup>32</sup> Stobæi Serm. 5. 17. 18. 37. 39. 66. 99. Jambl. Vit. Pyth. c. xxxi. n. 224. xxxii. Protrep. c. 6. Diod. Excerpt. Vales. p. 247. Cic. de Senect. c. 20. Tusc. Q. 1. i.

<sup>33</sup> Jambl. c. vi. n. 32. c. xxx. n. 180. 182. Stob.

nothing can heal the wounds which are made by death. Our friend must never be forsaken in adversity, nor forsaking us, in our prosperity. In human nature, excepting only inevitable infirmities and depravity. Before we abandon friendship, we should inquire, by actions as well as words, if we really cherish it. True friendship is a kind of union which is not mortal.

(c) The design and object of all moral precepts, is to lead men to the imitation of God. Since the Deity directs all things, every good thing is to be sought for from him alone; and nothing is to be done which is contrary to his pleasure. Whilst we are performing Divine rites, piety should dwell in the mind. The gods are to be worshipped, not under such images as represent the forms of men, but by such symbols as are suitable to their nature, by simple and pure offerings, and with purity of heart. Gods and heroes are to be worshipped with different degrees of solemnity, according to their nature. Oaths are in no case to be violated.

The bodies of the dead are not to be burned: To the gods and demons, the highest reverence is due to parents and legislators; and the laws and customs of our country are to be religiously observed.

Thus much concerning the Active or Moral philosophy of Pythagoras. (c) Theoretical Philosophy, which treats of Nature and its Origin, was the highest object of study of the Pythagorean school; and included all those profound mysteries, which those, who have been ambitious to report what Pythagoras has said behind the curtain, have endeavoured to unfold. Upon this subject, nothing can be advanced with certainty, especially respecting theology, the doctrine of which Pythagoras, after the manner of the Egyptian priests, was particularly careful to hide under the veil of symbols, probably through fear of disturbing the popular superstitions.

(d) The Pythagorean school, like the Egyptian priests, was particularly careful to hide under the veil of symbols, probably through fear of disturbing the popular superstitions.

Jamb. n. 86, c. xxvii. p. 149. 151. c. xxx. n. 174. Diog. Erc. c. de Leg. l. ii. c. 11. Laert. l. viii. § 32. 35.

Jamb. c. xxxiii. n. 154. c. xxx. n. 175. Porph. p. 26. Euseb. d. xxxv. c. 6.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iv. p. 472. Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 2. p. 172.

The ancients have not, however, left us without some grounds of conjecture.

With respect to God, Pythagoras appears to have taught, that he is the Universal Mind; diffused through all things; the source of all animal life; the proper and intrinsic cause of all motion; in substance similar to light; in nature like truth; the first principle of the universe; incapable of pain; invisible; incorruptible, and only to be comprehended by the mind.<sup>37</sup>

The phrase made use of by Theophilus Antiochenus, who, in representing the Pythagorean doctrine concerning the Deity, calls him *ἀπομαρτυρὸς τῶν πάντων*,<sup>38</sup> "the self-moving principle of all things," has been understood to imply the doctrine of the fortuitous formation of the world, afterwards taught by Epicurus; but the phrase, when applied to God, may as properly denote, that he is the original intrinsic cause of all motion; and this is the only sense which can be affixed to the words, consistently with the general voice of antiquity concerning the theology of Pythagoras.

An obscure passage in Aristotle,<sup>39</sup> where he relates, that "among the Pythagoreans, some assert Soul to be of the nature of *ἑσπερα*, the notes which float in the air, and others maintain it to be, that by which they are moved," has also been adduced to prove, that Pythagoras ought to be ranked among the Atomic philosophers. But these *ἑσπερα*, though themselves material, are by the Pythagoreans supposed, prior to the existence of bodies, to have been portions of that eternal fire or ether, which is active and intelligent, and from that cause to have a principle of motion within themselves.

The account which we have given of the Pythagoric doctrine concerning the Divine Nature, is confirmed by Cicero, who asserts,<sup>40</sup> that Pythagoras conceived God to be a soul prevailing all nature, of which every human soul is a portion: a doctrine perfectly consonant to the opinions received in the countries which Pythagoras visited and where he learned theology. Clemens Alexandrinus,

<sup>37</sup> Lactant. l. i. c. 5. Theoph. Antiochen. ad Autolye. l. i. c. 5. Porphy. n. 41. Plut. Num. t. iv. p. 117.

<sup>38</sup> L. 6.

<sup>39</sup> De Caelo. c. iii. § 14.

<sup>40</sup> Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 12. de Sénect. c. 21.



speaking of the tenets of the Pythagoreans, says that they held God to be *ἀπείροτος* *ἁπλοῦς*, the animating principle of the universal sphere. And Justin Martyr (in a passage which deserves the more attention, because, being in the Doric dialect, it is probably a quotation from some ancient Pythagorean) expressly ranks Pythagoras among the Theistical philosophers. "If any one," says he, "wishes to be informed more accurately concerning the doctrine of Pythagoras with respect to One God, let him hear his opinion, for he says—God is one; he is not, as some conjecture, exterior to the world, but, in himself, entire; prevades the universal sphere, superintends all productions, is the support of all nature, eternal, the source of all power, the first simple principle of all things, the origin of celestial light, the father of all, the mind and animating principle of the universe, the first mover of all the spheres." From comparing this passage with others before cited, it may be concluded, with much appearance of probability, that Pythagoras conceived the Deity to be the informing soul of the world, animating it in a manner similar to that in which the human soul animates the body; the doctrine which Zeno afterwards adopted as the foundation of the Stoic system. It may also be conjectured, from the phrase, *πατέρα ἐν οὐρανῷ*, "heavenly light," that Pythagoras, after the Oriental philosophers, conceived of the Deity as a subtle fire, eternal, active, and intelligent. Though he does not seem to have had the idea of a pure spirit, he nevertheless appears to have conceived of him as incorporeal, in the sense in which that term was commonly understood by the ancients; that is, as free from all the properties of gross matter, and as possessing a power of communicating motion, and of forming and directing the universe, with which he is intimately connected as its animating principle. Pythagoras, probably, did not admit two primary principles, but considered nature in its original state as one whole, animated by an intelligent, but material, principle, which at length separated itself from the chaotic mass, or detached passive matter from itself; after which the subtle active fire and the passive matter remained distinct principles.

Luc. 1. 1.

"Orat. ad Gent., p. 18. ed. Paris 1741."

This explanation of the doctrine of Pythagoras may serve to cast some light upon the mysterious symbols under which his theory of nature was concealed. Upon this supposition the Monad, or Unity, will denote the primary chaotic state of nature existing as one whole, which comprised an active principle, and a passive mass capable of undergoing alterations and receiving forms. When God is considered as acting upon matter, the forming and animating power in nature becomes the Monad, the passive mass is the Duad, and the whole universe, perfectly framed, is the Triad; whence all subsequent forms arise, as the remaining numbers, by the combination of the first three, till the whole system, or Decad, is completed. But, lest we should bewilder ourselves and our readers in the mazes of conjecture, we desist.

Subordinate to the Deity, it was taught in the Italic school, that there are three orders of Intelligence—Gods, Demons, Heroes, who are distinguished by their respective degrees of excellence and dignity, and by the nature of the homage which is due to them; gods being to be preferred in honour to demi-gods or demons, and demons to heroes or men.<sup>43</sup> These three orders, in the Pythagorean system, were emanations at different degrees of proximity from the Supreme Intelligence, the particles of subtle ether assuming a grosser clothing the farther they receded from the fountain.<sup>44</sup> The third order, or heroes, were supposed to be invested with a subtle material clothing. Hierocles defines a hero to be,<sup>45</sup> A rational mind united with a human body. If to these three species we add a fourth, the human mind, we have the whole scale of Divine Emanation, as it was conceived by this sect of philosophers. All these they imagined to proceed from God as the first source of Intelligence, and to have received from him a pure, simple, immutable nature. God, being himself one, and the origin of all diversity, they represented him under the notion of Monad, and subordinate intelligences as numbers derived and included in Unity. Thus the numbers, or derived intelligences of Pythagoras, agree with the

<sup>43</sup> Laert. I. viii. § 23. Aur. Carm. v. 1. Hierocl. Jambl. c. vi. n. 31. Porphy. *εἰς ἀνοχῆς*, I. ii. § 38.

<sup>44</sup> Plut. *De Plat. et Stoic. philosophia*, p. 14. <sup>45</sup> L. c. § 67. p. 212.

Ideas of Plato, except perhaps, that the latter were of a nature perfectly spiritual: but the former were clothed with a subtle ethereal body.

The region of the air was supposed by the Pythagoreans to be full of spirits, demons, or heroes, who raise sickness or health to man or beast, and communicate at their pleasure, by means of dreams and other instruments of divination, the knowledge of future events. That Pythagoras himself held this opinion cannot be doubted, if it be true, as his biographers relate, that he professed to cure diseases by incantations. It is probable that he derived it from the Egyptians, among whom it was believed that many diseases were caused by demoniacal possessions.

The *Material World*, according to Pythagoras, was produced by the energy of the Divine Intelligence.<sup>48</sup> It is an animated sphere, beyond which is a perfect vacuum. It contains spheres which revolve with musical harmony.<sup>49</sup> The atmosphere of the earth is a gross, immutable, and morbid mass; but the air, or ether, which surrounds it is pure, healthful, serene, perpetually moving, the region of all Divine and immortal natures.<sup>50</sup> The sun, moon, and stars are inhabited by portions of the Divinity, or gods. The sun is a spherical body.<sup>51</sup> Its eclipses are caused by the passing of the moon between it and the earth; those of the moon by the intervention of the *antichthon* before explained. The moon is inhabited by demons. Comets are stars which are not always seen, but rise at stated periods.<sup>52</sup>

Concerning *Man*, the Pythagoreans taught, that, consisting of an elementary nature, and a Divine or rational principle, he is a microcosm, or compendium of the universe; that his soul is a self-moving principle, composed of two parts—the rational, which is a portion of the soul of the world, seated in the brain, and the irrational, which includes the passions, and is seated in the heart;<sup>53</sup> that

<sup>48</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 32.

<sup>49</sup> Jambl. de Mysta Egypt.

<sup>50</sup> Stob. Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 25.

<sup>51</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 27. Arist. de Caelo, l. ii. c. 3. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. i. b. 10. 25. Sext. Emp. l. vii. c. 95.

<sup>52</sup> Hierocl. l. c.

<sup>53</sup> Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 15. Stob. l. c. p. 55.

<sup>54</sup> Plut. l. c. c. 28. Jambl. c. vi. n. 30.

<sup>55</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 28—31. Plut. l. c. l. iv. c. 2.

man participates in both these with the brutes, which, from the temperament of their body, and their want of the power of speech, are incapable of acting rationally; that the sensitive soul, *ψυχή*, perishes; but the rational mind, *νοῦς*, is immortal; because the source from whence it is derived is immortal; that after the rational mind is freed from the chains of the body, it assumes an ethereal vehicle and passes into the regions of the dead, where it remains till it is sent back to this world, to be the inhabitant of some other body, brutal or human; and that after suffering successive purgations, when it is sufficiently purified, it is received among the gods, and returns to the eternal source from which it first proceeded.<sup>55</sup>

The doctrine of the Pythagoreans, respecting the nature of brute animals, and *μετεμψύχωση*, the *Transmigration of Souls*, were the foundation of their abstinence from animal food, and of the exclusion of animal sacrifices from their religious ceremonies. The latter doctrine is thus beautifully represented by Ovid,<sup>56</sup> who introduces Pythagoras as saying:

Morte carent animæ; semperque priore relicta  
Sede, novis domibus habitant, vivuntque receptæ.  
Omnia mutantur; nihil interit; errat et illinc  
Huc venit, hinc illuc, et quoslibet occupet artus.  
Spiritus, eque feris humana in corpora transit.  
Inque feras noster: nec tempore deperit ullo,  
Utque novis fragilis signatur cera figuris.  
Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formas servat easdem.  
Sed tamen ipsa eadem est, animam sic semper eadem  
Esse, sed in varias doceo migrare figuras.<sup>57</sup>

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 590. Cic. l. c.  
Hæc. in Aur. Carmin. Porph. Vit. Pyth. n. 19.  
Metaphys. c. 116, &c.

<sup>57</sup> What then is death, but ancient matter drest  
In some new figure, and a varied vest?  
Thus all things are but alter'd, nothing dies;  
And here and there th' unbodied spirit flies,  
By time, or force, or sickness dispossest'd,  
And lodges where it fights, in man or beast;  
Or hunts without, till ready limbs it find,  
And actuates those according to their kind;

This doctrine Pythagoras probably learned in Egypt, where it was commonly taught.<sup>58</sup> Nor is there any sufficient reason for understanding it, as some have done, symbolically.

We must not take our leave of Pythagoras without adding a few specimens of his *Symbols*, which, though they were at first made use of for the purpose of concealment, and though their meaning has always been religiously kept secret by the Pythagoreans themselves, have awakened much curiosity, and given occasion to many ingenious conjectures, which, however, unless they were more satisfactory, it would answer no purpose to repeat.

Among the symbols of Pythagoras, recited by Jamblichus and others,<sup>59</sup> are the following: Adore the sound of the whispering wind. Stir not the fire with a sword. Turn aside from an edged tool. Pass not over a balance. Setting out on a journey, turn not back, for the furies will return with you. Breed nothing that hath crooked talons. Receive not a swallow into your house. Look not in a mirror by the light of a candle. At a sacrifice pare not your nails. Eat not the heart or brain. Taste not that which hath fallen from the table. Break not bread. Sleep not at noon. When it thunders, touch the earth. Pluck not a crown. Roast not that which has been boiled. Sail not on the ground. Plant not a palm. Breed a cock, but do not sacrifice it; for it is sacred to the sun and moon. Plant mallows in thy garden, but eat them not. Abstain from beans.<sup>60</sup>

From tenement to tenement is tost,  
The soul is still the same, the figure only lost:  
And as the soften'd wax new seals receives,  
This face assumes, and that impression leaves;  
Now call'd by one, now by another name,  
The form is only chang'd, the wax is still the same;  
So death, thus call'd, can but the form deface,  
The immortal soul flies out in empty space,  
To seek her fortune in some other place.

<sup>58</sup> Herodot. l. ii. c. 123. Diod. Sic. apud Euseb. Pr. l. x. c. 8.

<sup>59</sup> Ch. xxxii. n. 227. Protrept. c. ult. Laert. l. viii. Plut. Is. et Os.

<sup>60</sup> Adicienda hæc: Ad solem conversus, ne incipit. Facula sedem ne extergito. Cum ea, quæ aurum habet, non concreditor.

The precept prohibiting the use of beans is one of the mysteries which the ancient Pythagoreans never disclosed, and which modern ingenuity has in vain attempted to discover. Its meaning was probably rather diatetic, than physical or moral. But enough of these enigmatical trifles. Pythagorean precepts of more value are such as these: Discourse, not of Pythagorean doctrines without light. Above all things govern your tongue. Engrave not the image of God in a ring. Quit not your station without the command of your general. Remember that the paths of virtue and of vice resemble the letter Y. To this symbol Persius refers when he says,<sup>61</sup>

*Et tibi quæ Samios diduxit litera ramos,  
Surgentem dextro monstravit limite collem.*<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Sat. iii. 56.

<sup>62</sup> See Pythagoras's Golden Verses with the Commentary of Hierocles; and compare Rowe's Paraphrase.

There has the Samian Y's instructive make  
Pointed the road thy doubtful foot should take;  
There warn'd thy raw and yet unpractis'd youth,  
To tread the rising right-hand path of truth.

¶ Vidend. Jons. l. i. c. 3. ii. 3. iv. ult. Vit. Pythag. a Porphyrio et a Jamblicho; Rittershusio, Altdorf. 1610. Holstenio, Rom. 1630; Kuster, Amst. 1707. Anon. ap. Phot. Cod. 259. Scheffer de Nat. et Constit. Phil. Ital. Wittenb. 1701. Gerdilii Introd. ad Stud. Theol. Ploucquet de Speculat. Pyth. Tubing. 1758. Burnet Archæol. l. i. c. 11. Huët. Dem. Ev. Prop. iv. c. 54. 83. 186. 224. Pr. ix. c. 147. Voss. de Sect. p. 19. Budd. Ann. Hist. Ph. p. 8. Le Clerc. Biblioth. Choix. t. x. p. 81. — 90. t. xxvii. p. 424. Voss. de Math. p. 149. Horn. Hist. Phil. p. 173. Petav. Rat. Temp. p. i. p. 135. Amoenit. Lit. t. vii. p. 188. Selden de Jure, l. i. c. 2. Grot. Epist. 552. L'Enfant Bibl. Germ. t. ii. art. 5. Budd. Hist. Ecol. V. T. t. ii. p. 1707. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 450. v. ii. p. 257. Basnage Hist. des Juifs, t. ii. p. 592. Meurs. in Cret. c. 111. Naude Apologie, c. x. p. 136. Stoll. Hist. Phil. Mor. Gent. § 119. Bayle. Schalter de Disciplina Pyth. Schraderus de Pythag. Diss. 1. Crugerus de Aureo Femore Pyth. Budd. Diss. de Lachryis Phil. Ann. p. 109. Deulengii Obs. Sac. t. iii. p. 443. Koeler Diss. de Prædantismo Pyth. Windet de Vit. Funct. Statu. § 5. p. 88. Nicomach. Intr. ad Arithm. Budd. Diss. de Nudagere Pyth. in Ann. Lud. Boye Diss. 10. Weireich de Abstin. carn. Pyth. Misc. Lips. t. iv. Obs. 85. Dodwel. de Ætat. Pyth. p. 125. Mourgues Plan, Theol. de Pythag. Herbert. Rel. Gent. c. x. Cudworth. c. iv. § 29. 21. cum not. Moshem. Gerasen. Arithm. ap. Phot. Cod. 187. Diss. de Num. Pyth. Ampen. Lit. t. vii. p. 173. Morhoff. Polyhist. Lit. t. ii. l. i. c. 2. Beausob. Hist. Manich. t. i. p. ii. l. i. c. 6. Wallis Op. t. i. p. 65.

## SECT. II.

## Of the Disciples and Followers of Pythagoras.

In the preceding history of Pythagoras we have seen that disciples flocked to him from various parts of Italy, and that his popularity created him numerous enemies, and during his life, brought upon his followers a severe persecution, which drove many of them into exile.

After the death of the celebrated founder of the Italian sect, the care and education of his children, and the charge of the school, devolved upon *Aristaeus*, of Crotona; He was particularly eminent in the mathematical sciences, and wrote a treatise concerning solids, which is mentioned with applause by the ancients. Having taught the doctrine of Pythagoras thirty-nine years, he was succeeded by *Mnesarchus*, the son of Pythagoras. Pythagorean schools were afterwards conducted in Heraclia, by *Clinias*, and *Philolaus*; at Metapontum, by *Theorides* and *Eurytus*; and at Tarentum, by *Archytas*. *Stobaeus* professes to have collected fragments of *Hippodamus*, *Hipparchus*, and several other philosophers who are said to have belonged to this sect, but the authenticity of these fragments is doubtful.<sup>63</sup>

It will be necessary to give a more particular account of those who, though they ranked themselves among the Pythagoreans, departed in different degrees from the genuine doctrine of their master. Among these were *Alcmæon*, *Rephautus*, *Hippo*, *Empedocles*, *Epicharmus*, *Ocellus*, *Lucanus*, *Timæus*, *Locrus*, *Archytas*, *Hippasus*, *Philolaus*, and *Eudoxus*.

*Alcmæon*, of Crotona, one of Pythagoras's disciples, acquired a high degree of reputation in the Italic School

*Sturm*, Math. p. 6. *H. More*, Defens. Cabl. Ph. c. 11. p. 125. *Barth*, De Pythag. de Prestant. Mus. Vet. Rom. 1635. *Fell*, on Apt. Mus. Oxon. 1672. *Hansch*, de Enthus. Plat. s. v. D. Omeis in Ethic. Pyth. Aldort. 1693. *Syrbius*, Introd. in Phys. Pyth. *Kepler*, de Harm. Mundi. *Shoemaker*, de Transmigratione. *P. Jambli*, c. 11. p. 296. *Laert.* l. iii. s. 45. 46. *Barth*, s. 27. *Malin*, Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 486.

by his knowledge of nature and his skill in medicine. He is said to have been the first person who attempted the dissection of a dead body. The sum of his tenets, as far as they can be collected from scattered fragments, is this:<sup>64</sup> 1st Natural objects, which appear multiform to man, are in reality twofold—intelligible natures, which are immutable, and material forms, which are infinitely variable. The sun, moon, and stars are eternal, and are inhabited by portions of that Divine fire which is the first principle in nature. The moon is in the form of a boat, and when the bottom of the boat is turned towards the earth it is invisible. The brain is the chief seat of the soul. Health consists in preserving a due mean between the extremes of heat and cold, dryness and moisture.

2d *Elephantus*, who was a native of Syracuse, taught, that it is impossible to arrive at the certain knowledge of nature, which is perpetually liable to change; that the first principles of sensible things are invisible atoms, which differ in size, form, and power; that the number of these is infinite; that they are moved in a perfect void by the immediate energy of the Divine Mind, by which the world is animated and governed; and that the earth, placed in the middle of the world, is moved about its centre towards the east.<sup>65</sup>

3d The peculiar tenets of *Hippo*, of Rhegium, were: that the first principles in nature are cold and heat, or water and fire; that fire separated itself from water, and produced the world; that animal life proceeds from moisture; and that nothing is free from decay.<sup>66</sup> On account of this latter opinion, *Hippo* has been ranked among *Atomists*. Perhaps the truth is, that, with several philosophers of the *Ionian* school, he paid attention, in his doctrine of physics, to the

<sup>64</sup> *Laert. l. viii. § 83. Clem. Alex. Str. l. i. p. 305. Arist. Met. l. i. c. 5. l. v. c. 1. Jambl. Vit. P. c. xxiii. n. 104. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 11. Simplic. Eccl. Phys. p. 54. 60. 98. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 16. 27. l. iv. c. 17. 18. Stobæus Eccl. Phys. l. i. c. 13. 25. Pseudo-Orig. Philosophum, c. xv. Jambl. c. viii.*

<sup>65</sup> *Arist. Met. l. i. c. 3. Atlant. l. ii. c. 31. Plut. adv. Colot. t. iii. p. 460. Arnob. l. iv. p. 146. Clem. Alex. Adhort. ad Gent. p. 15. Pa. Orig. Basilid. c. xiv. Simplicius Phys. l. 4. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. iii. c. 4. § 30. adv. Math. l. ix. § 361.*



the fatal principles alone, taking for granted the existence of an intelligent Efficient Cause. Empedocles, of Agrigentum, in Sicily, who flourished about the eighty-fourth Olympiad,<sup>67</sup> appears from his doctrine to have been of the Italic school; but under what master he studied philosophy is uncertain. It is not probable that he was born so early as to have had an opportunity of hearing Pythagoras himself. After the death of his father Melo, who was a wealthy citizen of Agrigentum, he acquired great weight among his fellow-citizens, by supporting the popular party, and favouring democratic measures. He employed a large share of his paternal estate, in giving dowries to young women, and marrying them to men of superior rank. His consequence in the state became at length so great, that he ventured to assume several of the distinctions of royalty, particularly a purple robe, a golden girdle, a Delphic crown, and a train of attendants, always retaining a grave and commanding aspect. He was a determined enemy to tyranny, and is said to have employed his influence in establishing and defending the rights of his countrymen.<sup>68</sup>

The skill which Empedocles possessed in medicine and natural philosophy enabled him to perform many wonders, which he passed upon the superstitious and credulous multitude for miracles. He pretended to drive away noxious winds from his country, and hereby put a stop to epidemical diseases. He is said to have checked, by the power of music, the madness of a young man, who was threatening his enemy with instant death; to have cured Panto, a woman of Agrigentum, whom all the physicians had declared incurable; to have restored a woman to life, who had lain breathless for thirty days; and to have done many other things, equally astonishing, after the manner of Pythagoras: on account of which he was an object of universal admiration, so that when he came to the Olympic games the eyes of all the people were fixed upon him.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> B. C. 444.

<sup>68</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 54-73. Jamb. l. c. xxiii. n. 4. Porphy. Vit. Pyth. p. 129. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. i. c. 1. v. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

<sup>69</sup> Jamb. l. c. xxv. § 110. Porphy. l. c. 143. Suidas. Laert. l. c. 54. Phil. de Ceteris. t. i. p. 237.

Besides his medical skill, Empedocles possessed poetical talents. The fragments of his verses, which are dispersed through various ancient writers, have been in part collected by Henry Stephens.<sup>70</sup> This circumstance affords some ground for the opinion of Fabricius;<sup>71</sup> that Empedocles was the real author of that ancient fragment which bears the name of *The Golden Verses of Pythagoras*.<sup>72</sup> He is said also to have been a dramatic poet; but Empedocles the tragedian<sup>73</sup> was another person; Suidas, upon some unknown authority, calls him the grandson of the philosopher. Georgias Leontinus, a celebrated orator, was his pupil; whence it may seem reasonable to infer, that he was an eminent master of the art of eloquence. The particulars of his death are variously related. Some report, that during the night, after a sacred festival, he was conveyed away towards the heavens, amidst the splendour of celestial light. Others say, that on the same night he ascended Mount Ætna, and threw himself into the burning crater; that the manner of his death not being known, he might afterwards pass for a god; but that the secret was discovered by means of one of his brazen sandals, which was thrown out from the mountain in a subsequent eruption of the volcano.

Deus immortalis haberi

Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam

Insiluit.<sup>74</sup>

The former story is unworthy of the least attention; and the latter is rejected as fictitious by Strabo, and other judicious writers. The truth probably was, as Timæus relates, that, towards the close of his life, Empedocles went into Greece, and never returned; whence the exact time and manner of his death remains unknown. According to Aristotle, he died at sixty years of age. A statue was erected to his memory at Agrigentum, which was afterwards carried to Rome.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>70</sup> In Poesi Phil. 1574, 8vo.

<sup>71</sup> Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 466.

<sup>72</sup> Hes. Art. Poet. p. 466.

<sup>73</sup> Empedocles, ambitious to be deemed a god, threw himself into Ætna's flames.

<sup>74</sup> Laert. Lucian. Vet. Hist. l. i. c. ii. p. 405. Ovid. l. i. Strabo, l. vi.

The Substance of his Philosophy, as may be collected from his fragments, is this: and, first, and, as it were, most important, it is impossible to judge of truth by the senses without the assistance of reason, which is led, by the intervention of the senses, to the contemplation of the real nature, and immutable essences, of things.<sup>75</sup> The first principles of nature are of two kinds, active and passive; the active is unity, or God; the passive, matter. The active principle is a subtle ethereal fire, intelligent and Divine. This principle gives being to all things, animates all things, and into this all things will at last be resolved. Many demons, portions of the Divine Nature, wander through the region of the air, and administer human affairs. Not only man, but brute animals are allied to the Divinity; for that one spirit which pervades the universe unites all animated beings to itself, and to one another. It is therefore unlawful to kill or eat animals, which are allied to us in their principle of life.<sup>76</sup> The world is one whole, circumscribed by the revolution of the sun, and surrounded, not by a vacuum, but by a mass of inactive matter. The first material principles of the four elements are similar atoms, indefinitely small, and of a round form. Matter, thus divided into corpuscles, possessed the primary qualities of friendship and discord, by means of which, upon the first agitation of the original chaotic mass, homogeneous parts were united, and heterogeneous separated, and the four elements composed, of which all bodies are generated. The motion of the corpuscles, which excites the qualities of friendship and discord, is produced by the energy of the intellectual fire, or Divine Mind: all motion, and consequently all life and being, must therefore be ascribed to God. The first principles of the elements are eternal; nothing can begin to exist, or be annihilated; but all the varieties of nature are produced by combination or separation.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Cic. Lucull. c. 8. Claudian, de Cons. v. 71. Sext. Emp. adv. M. I. vii. § 120. Plut. Pl. Ph. I. iv. c. 9. Arist. de Anim. I. iii. c. 3.

<sup>76</sup> Sext. Emp. ib. I. ix. § 4. 64. 303. Arist. Met. I. ii. c. 4. De Mund. c. 6. Ps. Orig. Ph. c. iii. p. 49. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. v. p. 599. Porphy. de Abst. I. ii. c. 21. Ovid. Met. I. xv. v. 13.

<sup>77</sup> Sext. adv. Math. I. viii. § 287. Arist. Met. I. i. c. 4. De Plant. I. i. c. 1. Laert. I. viii. § 76. Stob. Eccl. Ph. c. 13. 17. 25. Plut. Pl. Ph. I. i. c. 3. 5. 17. 30. Ad Coloten. Clem. Alex. Adm. ad Gent. c. 5.

be the formation of the world, ether was first created from chaos; then, fire; then, earth; by the agitation of which were produced water and air. The heavens are a solid body of air crystallized by fire. The stars are bodies composed of that fiery substance which the ether sent forth in its first secretion. The stars are fixed in the crystal of heaven, the planets wander freely beneath it. The sun is a fiery mass, larger than the moon. The moon is in the form of a hollow plate, and is twice as far from the sun as from the earth.<sup>78</sup>

The soul of man consists of two parts—the sensitive, produced from the same first principles with the elements; and the rational, a demon sprung from the Divine soul of the world, and sent down into the body as a punishment for its crimes in a former state, to remain there till it is sufficiently purified to return to God. In the course of the transmigration to which human souls are liable, they may inhabit not only different human bodies, but the body of any animal, or plant. All nature is subject to the immutable and eternal law of necessity.<sup>79</sup>

*Epicharmus*, of the island of Coos, was early removed by his father to Megara, and afterwards to Syracuse, where he became a disciple in the Pythagorean school. The tyranny of Hiero preventing him from assuming the public profession of philosophy, he chiefly applied himself to the study of dramatic poetry, and offended the Pythagoreans by introducing the doctrines and precepts of Pythagoras upon the stage. No accurate account of his philosophical tenets remains. Among the apothegms ascribed to him are these: To die is an evil; but to be dead is no evil. Every man's natural disposition is his good or evil demon; He who is naturally inclined to good is noble, though his mother were an Ethiopian.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 16—19. 20. 21. 27. 31. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

<sup>79</sup> Plut. l. c. c. 32. l. iv. c. 25. adv. Colot. Stob. Ecl. Ph. l. i. p. 112. Plut. de Exilio, et de Vit. t. ii. p. 475. 531. et de Isid. p. 144. Hierocles in Aur. Carm. p. 186. Laert. § 77. Clem. Strom. l. v. p. 607. Ælian. de Nat. Anim. l. xvi. c. 29. Arist. Phys. l. ii. c. 4. Rhetor. l. i. c. 13. <sup>80</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 78. Suidas. Jambl. Vit. p. c. xxxv. n. 241. xxxvi. 266. Plut. in Apothegm. t. iii. p. 326. De Adul. lib. p. 172. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. l. p. 645. Stob. Serm. 36. 218. 228. Lucian. in Longæv. t. ii. p. 835. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. i. § 273. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 8.

*Ocellus*, the Lucanian, who lived in the age preceding that of Plato (for Archytas informed Plato, in a letter preserved by Laertius,<sup>81</sup> that he had received several pieces written by Ocellus from his grandson) wrote a book *On the Universe*, which is still extant,<sup>82</sup> and from which Aristotle seems to have borrowed freely, in his treatise on Generation and Corruption. This work, in the state in which it now appears, is not indeed written, after the usual manner of the Pythagoreans, in the Doric dialect; but it is probable, that it has undergone a change which was not uncommon, and at the period when the writings of the Pythagoreans became obscure on account of the dialect in which they were written, was converted, by the industry of some learned grammarian, from the Doric to the Attic dialect. That it was originally written in the Doric, appears from several fragments preserved by Stobæus.<sup>83</sup> Little attention therefore is due to the opinion,<sup>84</sup> that this book was compiled from the writings of Aristotle, and is to be considered only as an epitome of the Peripatetic doctrine concerning nature. Whatever Aristotelian appearance the treatise in its present form may bear, is to be ascribed to the pains taken by transcribers to elucidate the work. If its doctrine be carefully compared with what has been advanced concerning the Pythagorean system, there will be little room left to doubt, that it was written by a disciple of Pythagoras. The fundamental dogmas of Ocellus perfectly agree with those of the Italic school. His subtle speculations concerning the changes of the elements, are consonant to the manner of the Pythagoreans, after they exchanged the obscure method of philosophizing by numbers into a less disguised explanation of the causes of natural phenomena. As this book passed out of the hands of Archytas into those of Plato, it is evident that it was in being before the time of Aristotle; and it becomes probable that the Stagyræite, after his usual manner, borrowed many things from Ocellus, but in a sense very different from that of their first author. This remnant of philoso-

<sup>81</sup> L. viii. § 80.

<sup>82</sup> Edit. D'Argens, Berolin. 1762. en Grec, et en François.

<sup>83</sup> Conf. Ocell. Luc. ap Gale. Opusc. Myth. Stob. Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 26.

<sup>84</sup> Burnet Archæol. Phil. l. i. c. 11. Parker de Deo, Disp. iv. § 3.

phical antiquity is therefore to be received as a curious specimen of the Pythagorean doctrine, mixed, however, with some tenets peculiar to the author. But, that the reader may be able to form a judgment for himself, we subjoin the following brief *Summary* of the *Doctrine* of Ocellus.

Some things are known by the certain evidence of nature, others are learned by probable reason and conjecture. The universe never had a beginning, and will never have an end. The world, in its present beautiful form, is to be distinguished from the universe from which it is framed. That collection of all beings which forms the world, is in itself perfect and entire, and has no connexion with any thing extrinsic ; but the several parts of the world, consisting of natures which are not in themselves perfect, are connected with other parts, as animals with the air, vision with light, and plants with the earth. There are certain essences, natures, or principles of things, which are not objects of sight, which are themselves immutable and perfect, and which are the cause of the permanent existence of other things, and of their mutual relation and harmony. Since there is nothing exterior to the universe, it is impossible that any thing which now exists should ever have been produced from, or should ever be reduced to, nothing : individual beings, however, are of limited duration, being subject to the changes of birth, increase, and decay, in perpetual succession. Fire condensed becomes air ; air, water ; and water, earth ; by an inversion of the process, the other elements again return to fire ; and thus a perpetual circuit of nature is preserved. Human beings do not undergo this kind of circuitous change, but at death suffer entire dissolution. The form of the world is spherical, and continues perpetually to revolve, without increase or diminution. Two things exist, production and its cause ; the former the passive, the latter the active, principle. The world is divided, by the appointment of fate, into the region above the moon, which is liable to no change, and is the habitation of the gods, and the region below the moon, which is subject to perpetual variation. In the variable world, the primary active causes of things are heat and cold ; the passive, dryness and moisture. Of the elements, fire and earth are the extremes, water and air the means. Fire is

hot and dry; air, hot and moist; water moist and cold; earth, cold and dry. All changes in the variable regions of the world are produced by the sun, who, as he approaches to, or recedes from, the earth, produces a continual change in the air, and thence in all sublunary things. Every region of nature is filled with inhabitants; the heavens with gods, the air with demons, and the earth with men. The race of man is perpetual. The parts of the earth, and its inhabitants, are changed and perish; the earth itself always remains.

It seems to have been the idea of Ocellus, that the first cause of the universe having always existed, things immutable in their nature have existed from eternity, and the variable world has from eternity suffered a perpetually revolving succession of changes. A doctrine not inconsistent with the Pythagorean dogma, concerning the production of all things from one eternal source, obscurely expressed under the image of the Monad, the fountain of all numbers. The immutable essences of Ocellus are the same with the intelligible natures of Pythagoras. The doctrine of Ocellus concerning demons, that they inhabit the sublunary regions, is essentially different from that of Aristotle, who supposed no such intelligences, except in the celestial sphere. On the whole, we think there is little room to doubt, that Ocellus's work, "Concerning the Universe," ought to be ranked among the remains of the Pythagorean rather than the Peripatetic philosophy.

*Timæus*, the Locrian,<sup>88</sup> flourished in the Italian school during the time of Plato, who was indebted to him, among other Pythagoreans, for his acquaintance with the doctrine of Pythagoras; and who wrote his dialogue entitled *Timæus*, on the ground of his book, "On the Nature of Things." A small piece, which he wrote concerning the Soul of the World, is preserved by Proclus, and is in some editions prefixed to Plato's *Timæus*. In this treatise, though he for the most part treads in the footsteps of Pythagoras, he departs from him in two particulars; the first, that instead of one whole, or Monad, he supposes two independent causes of nature, God, or Mind, the fountain of

<sup>88</sup> Cic. de Fin. l. v. Tusc. Qu. l. i. Macrobi. Sat. i. l. c. 1. *Emilius* in Tim. p. 75. Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. vii. p. 523.





am angry; otherwise I know not what you might expect."<sup>92</sup> Of his writings none remain except a metaphysical work, "On the Nature of the Universe," in which he has explained the predicaments; and sundry fragments, "On Wisdom," and "On the Good and Happy Man," preserved by Stobæus, and edited from him by Gale.<sup>93</sup> His death, which is said to have been occasioned by a shipwreck, is made a subject of poetical description by Horace, who celebrates him as an eminent geographer and astronomer.<sup>94</sup>

Te maris et terræ, numeroque carentis arenæ  
 Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,  
 Pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum  
 Munera: nec quidquam prodest  
 Aerias tentasse domos, animoque rotundum  
 Percurrisse polum, morituro.<sup>95</sup>

Concerning the philosophical tenets of Archytas the ancients are silent; except that Aristotle, who was an industrious collector from the Pythagoreans, borrowed from him the general arrangements, which are usually called his ten categories. The sum of his moral doctrine is—that virtue is to be pursued for its own sake in every condition of life; that all excess is inconsistent with virtue; that the mind is more injured by prosperity than by adversity; and that there is no pestilence so destructive to human happiness as pleasure.<sup>96</sup> It is probable that Aristotle was indebted to Archytas for many of his moral ideas; particularly for the notion which runs through his ethical pieces, that virtue consists in avoiding extremes.

<sup>92</sup> *Al. l. xii. c. 10. l. xiii. c. 15. l. xiv. c. 10. Jambl. c. xxxi. p. 107.*  
*Plut. de Inst. Puer. t. i. p. 14.*

<sup>93</sup> *Opuscul. Myth. p. 673.*

<sup>94</sup> *L. l. Od. 28.*

<sup>95</sup> Archytas, what avails thy nice survey

Of ocean's countless sands, of earth and sea?

In vain thy mighty spirit once could soar

To orbs celestial, and their course explore;

If here upon the tempest-beaten strand

You lie confin'd; till some more liberal hand

Shall strew the pious dust in funeral rite,

And wing thee to the boundless realms of light.

<sup>96</sup> *Fragm. de vero bono, ap. Gale. Cic. de Senect. c. 12.*

*Hippasus*, of Metapontum, is mentioned as having excelled in the application of mathematical principles to music, statics, and mensuration. He appears to have been an enemy to the concealed method of philosophizing adopted by Pythagoras, and to have expressed himself more plainly concerning the nature of things, than was usual in the Italic school.<sup>97</sup> In common with other Pythagoreans he held, that fire is the first principle of all things, whence they spring, and into which they are resolved in certain periodical revolutions; that this first principle is intellectual, and the source of all mind; but that when it is extinguished or condensed, it is converted into the grosser elements.<sup>98</sup> In this doctrine he approached near to the system of Heraclitus, afterwards to be explained. He also taught, that the universe is finite, is always changing, and undergoes a periodical conflagration.

The first philosopher who divulged the Pythagoric doctrine, was *Philolaus*, a native of Crotona, who afterwards lived at Heraclea. He was a disciple of Archytas, and flourished in the time of Plato.<sup>99</sup> It was from him that Plato, as we have before related, purchased the written records of the Pythagorean system, contrary to an express oath taken by the society of Pythagoreans, pledging themselves to keep secret the mysteries of their sect. It is probable, that among these books were the writings of *Timæus*, upon which Plato formed the dialogue which bore his name. Plutarch relates, that *Philolaus* was one of the persons who escaped from the house which was burned by *Cylon*, during the life of Pythagoras; but this account cannot be correct. *Philolaus* was contemporary with Plato, and therefore certainly not with Pythagoras. Interfering in affairs of state, he fell a sacrifice to political jealousy.

*Philolaus* treated the doctrine of nature with great subtlety, but at the same time with great obscurity; referring

<sup>97</sup> Jambl. Vit. Pyth. c. xviii. n. 81. 68. Laert. l. viii. § 84. Jambl. Intr. Nic. p. 11. *Smertæus de Music.* c. 12.

<sup>98</sup> Laert. Clem. Al. Protrept. Euseb. Pr. l. xiv. c. 14. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. iii. c. 4. adv. Math. l. ix. § 361. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 3. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. 13.

<sup>99</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 116. A. Gell. l. iii. c. 17. Cic. de Orat. l. iii. Jambl. c. xxxvi. n. 266. xxxi. n. 199. Tzetzes Chil. x. Hist. 355. Plut. de Gen. Soc. Porphy. Vit. Pyth. n. 57.

every thing that exists to mathematical principles. He taught, that reason, improved by mathematical learning, is alone capable of judging concerning the nature of things; that the whole world consists of infinite and finite; that number subsists by itself, and is the chain which by its power sustains the eternal frame of things; that the Monad is not the sole principle of all things, but that the Binary is necessary to furnish materials from which all subsequent numbers may be produced; that the world is one whole, which has a fiery centre, about which the ten celestial spheres revolve, heaven, the sun, the planets, the earth, and the moon; that the sun has a vitreous surface, whence the fire diffused through the world is reflected, rendering the mirror from which it is reflected visible; that all things are preserved in harmony by the law of necessity; and that the world is liable to destruction, both by fire and by water.<sup>100</sup>

From this summary of the doctrine of Philolaus it appears probable, that, following Timæus, whose writings he possessed, he so far departed from the Pythagorean system, as to conceive two independent principles in nature, God and Matter, and that it was from the same source that Plato derived his doctrine upon this subject.

The last celebrated name which remains to be added to the list of Pythagoreans, is *Eudoxus*, of Gnidus. His first preceptor was Archytas, by whom he was instructed in the principles of geometry and philosophy. About the age of twenty-three he came to Athens; and though his patrimony was small, by the generous assistance of Theomedon, a physician, he was enabled to attend the schools of the philosophers, particularly that of Plato. The liberality of his friends afterwards supported him during a visit to Egypt, where he was introduced by Agesilaus to King Nectanebis II. and by him to the Egyptian priests. It has been said, that he accompanied Plato into Egypt; but this is inconsistent with chronology, for Nectanebis II. reigned in Egypt from the second year of the hundred and fourth

<sup>100</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 85, &c. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. vii. § 92. Jamb. ad Nic. p. 7. 11. Claud. Mamertus de Statu Animæ, l. ii. c. 2, 3. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. 16. 25. Plut. de Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 1. 20. l. iii. c. 13.

Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> to the second year of the hundred and seventh;<sup>2</sup> and it was before Plato opened his school, that is, before the ninety-eighth Olympiad,<sup>3</sup> about the fortieth year of his age, that he visited Egypt. Eudoxus is highly celebrated by the ancients for his skill in astronomy; but none of his writings on this or any other subject are extant. Aratus, who has described the celestial phenomena in verse, is said to have followed Eudoxus. He flourished about the ninety-seventh Olympiad,<sup>4</sup> and died in the fifty-third year of his age.<sup>5</sup>\*

## CHAP. XIII.

### OF THE ELEATIC SECT.

**ALTHOUGH** the founder of the sect, whose history now comes under our consideration, was an Ionian, three of its most celebrated preceptors, Parmenides, Zeno, and Leucippus, having been natives of Elea, or Velia (a town in Magna Græcia, built by a colony of Phoceans in the time of Cyrus) the sect has derived its name from this place, and is called the *Eleatic*.<sup>1</sup> It must be divided into two

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 363.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. 351.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. 388.

<sup>4</sup> B. C. 392.

\* Plut. de vivend. sec. Epic. t. ii. p. 95. Cic. de Div. l. ii. c. 42. A. Gell. l. xvii. c. 21. Laert. l. viii. § 86. Suidas. Athen. l. vii. p. 276. l. vi. p. 288. 305. Strabo, l. ii. p. 100. l. xvii. Euseb. Chron. Ol. 86. 3. 87. 1. <sup>1</sup> *Ellas*, l. vii. c. 17. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. i. § 301.

\* Vidend. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 466. 486. 501. 508. 645. 646. Obs. Hal. Lat. t. ii. Obs. 19. p. 433. t. iv. Obs. 18, 19. Bayle. Amœnit. Lit. t. vii. p. 247. Le Clerc. Hist. Med. p. i. l. ii. c. 5. Otium Vindel. Mel. iii. p. 265. Scip. Aquilianus de Plac. Phil. ante Arist. c. 20. 22. Cudworth, c. iv. § 21, &c. cum Not. Mosh. De Antichthon. Pythag. Obs. Hal. t. iv. Ob. 19. § 25. Stoll. Hist. Ph. Mor. Gent. § 136. 138. Barnard Arch. l. ii. c. 11. Parker de Deo, Disp. iv. sect. 3. Reimann. Hist. Ath. c. 20. § 3. Jons. l. i. c. 6. 11. Gale præf. ad Tim. Opusc. Myth. Schmidii Diss. de Archyta. Jenæ. 1683. Voss. de Scient. Math. c. 48. § 1. c. 33. § 13. Lipsii Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. l. iii. Diss. vii. Thomas. de loc. Anim. et Scapha Lunæ, c. 5. § 11. in Hist. Sap. et Stoff. t. i. p. 72. Carist. Hist. Mirab. c. 95. Bentleii Ep. Phil. p. 87. Mamertus de Statu Animæ, l. ii. c. 2. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, l. vi. p. 252.

classes; one of which treated concerning the nature and origin of things upon *metaphysical*, the other upon *physical* principles. To the former class belong Xenophanes, Parmenides, Melissus, and Zeno of Elea; to the latter, Leucippus, Democritus, Protagoras, Diagoras, and Anaxarchus. Concerning each of these we shall treat distinctly.

*Xenophanes*,<sup>2</sup> the author of the Eleatic sect, was a native of Colophon. The great length of his life has led different writers to fix different dates to the time in which he flourished; but if the several chronological accounts of this philosopher be compared, it will appear probable that he was born, as Eusebius asserts, about the fifty-sixth Olympiad.<sup>3</sup> From some cause, which is not related, Xenophanes early left his country, and took refuge in Sicily; where he supported himself by reciting, in the court of Hiero, elegiac and iambic verses, which he had written in reprehension of the theogonies of Hesiod and Homer. From Sicily he passed over into *Magna Græcia*, where he took up the profession of philosophy, and became a celebrated preceptor in the Pythagorean school. Indulging, however, a greater freedom of thought than was usual among the disciples of Pythagoras, he ventured to introduce new opinions of his own, and in many particulars to oppose the doctrines of Epimenides, Thales, and Pythagoras. This gave occasion to Timon, who was a severe satirist, to introduce him in ridicule as one of the characters in his dialogues. Xenophanes possessed the Pythagorean chair of philosophy about seventy years, and lived to the extreme age of one hundred years, that is, according to Eusebius, till the eighty-first Olympiad.<sup>4</sup>\*

Of the writings of the Eleatic school nothing remains, except a few fragments collected by Henry Stephens. We chiefly rely for our information concerning this sect upon the authority of Plato and Aristotle; the former of whom, while he professed to explain the doctrine of Parmenides, in the dialogues which bear his name, is acknowledged to

<sup>2</sup> Laert. l. viii. § 18. l. i. § 16. Clem. Al. Strom. 7.1. p. 501. Phil. Apoth. l. i. p. 327. Ps. Orig. Phil. b. xiv. p. 94. B. C. 556.

<sup>3</sup> Laert. Plat. l. c. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 33. § 224. Phil. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 557. B. C. 456.

have adulterated them with opinions of his own; and the latter, in a particular treatise concerning Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias, has not scrupled to misrepresent their tenets, that he might the more easily refute them. These and other circumstances render it extremely difficult to relate, with accuracy, the tenets of the Eleatic sect. As far as respects Xenophanes, after a careful comparison of the accounts which are given by Aristotle and others, the following is the best *Summary* we are able to collect of his doctrine.

In *Metaphysics*, Xenophanes taught,<sup>5</sup> that if ever there had been a time when nothing existed, nothing could ever have existed. That whatever is, always has been from eternity, without deriving its existence from any prior principle; that nature is one and without limit; that what is one is similar in all its parts, else it would be many; that the one infinite, eternal, and homogeneous universe, is immutable and incapable of change; that God is one incorporeal eternal being, and, like the universe, spherical in form; that he is of the same nature with the universe, comprehending all things within himself; is intelligent, and pervades all things, but bears no resemblance to human nature either in body or mind.<sup>6</sup>

In *Physics*, he taught,<sup>7</sup> that there are innumerable worlds; that there is in nature no real production, decay, or change; that there are four elements, and that the earth is the basis of all things; that the stars arise from vapours, which are extinguished by day and ignited by night; that the sun consists of fiery particles collected by humid exhalations, and daily renewed; that the course of the sun is rectilinear, and only appears curvilinear from its great distance; that there are as many suns as there are different climates of the earth; that the moon is an inhabited world;

<sup>5</sup> Arist. Phys. across. l. i. c. 2. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 37. Arist. Met. l. i. q. 5. Ps. Orig. Ph. c. xi. p. 95. Laert. l. ix. § 19. Saxa Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 33. Cic. in Lucull. Ac. Q. l. iv. c. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. l. v. p. 601. l. vii. p. 701.

<sup>7</sup> Arist. Orig. Laert. l. c. Stob. Ecl. Phys. p. 52. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. vii. § 49. Plut. de aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 24, 25. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 20. Euseb. Pr. l. i. c. 8. l. xiv. c. 17. Stob. Ecl. Ph. l. i. p. 55, 56. Cic. de Div. l. i. c. 3. Plin. l. ii. c. 103.

that the earth, as appears from marine shells, which are found at the top of mountains, and in various parts of the sea, is composed of a general mass of water, and that it will at length return into the same state, and pass through the same series of similar revolutions.

The doctrine of Xenophanes concerning nature is not imperfectly preserved, and obscurely expressed, that it is evident that it has been differently represented by different writers. Some have confounded it with the modern inquiry of Epicurus, who supposed all the appearances of nature to be only modifications of one material substance. Others have endeavoured to accommodate it to the ancient opinion of the immortality of the soul of the world. But none of these explanations accord with the terms in which the tenets of Xenophanes are expressed. Perhaps the truth is, that he held the universe to be one in nature and substance, but distinguished in his conception between the matter of which all things consist, and that latent Divine force, which, though not a distinct substance, but an attribute, is necessarily inherent in the universe, and is the cause of all its perfection. This view of his doctrine seems ambiguous consistency to the language ascribed to him, and is perfectly satisfactory in his doctrine, preserved by Sextus Empiricus, that God is of the same nature with the universe. What Xenophanes maintained concerning the eternity and immutability of nature, is to be understood of the universe considered as one whole, and not of its several parts, which his physical tenets supposed to be subject to change. If he asserted, that there is no motion in nature, he probably understood the term motion metaphysically, and only meant that there is no such thing in nature as passing from non-entity to entity, or the contrary. Perhaps the disputes among the ancients concerning motion, like many other metaphysical contests, were mere combats in the dark, for want of settling, at the beginning of the dispute, the meaning of terms. By the term motion, they seem to have commonly to have meant change of nature.

The notion ascribed to Xenophanes concerning the

ture and origin of the celestial bodies; as notions daily and newly, is so absurd, that we are inclined to think it must have been defectively or unfairly stated. It is not unreasonable to suppose, that many of the fancies ascribed to philosophers, are nothing more than the misconceptions of ignorant or careless biographers.

Equally distinguished in the Eleatic school with Heraclitus was his disciple *Parmenides*,<sup>8</sup> who continued the sect at Elea, his native city. He flourished about the sixty-ninth Olympiad.<sup>9</sup> He is said to have attended upon the instructions of Anaximander; but if this be true, it must have been whilst he was very young. His patrimony was large; his early manner of life was splendid, and his influence in the civil affairs of life considerable, till he formed an intimacy with Diocletas, a Pythagorean, by whom he was persuaded to withdraw from the business of public life, to the silence and leisure of the schools. He thought himself so much indebted to this poor but honest Pythagorean, for having introduced him into the recesses of philosophy, that after his death he consecrated a temple to his memory. Cicero, in his allegorical table, speaks of Parmenides as an eminent pattern of virtue. He wrote the doctrines of his school in verses,<sup>10</sup> of which a few fragments still remain, but in so mutilated a state, that they afford little help in explaining his system of philosophy. Plato, in the dialogue which bears the name of *Parmenides*, professes to represent his tenets, but confounds them with his own. From the scattered reports of the ancients, we gather up the following *Abstract*<sup>11</sup> of the *Philosophy of Parmenides*.

Philosophy is twofold, that which follows the reports of the senses, and that which is according to reason and truth. The former treats of the appearances of sensible objects; the latter considers the abstract nature of things, and inquires into the constitution of the universe. Abstract phi-

<sup>8</sup> *Laert.* i. ix. § 21, &c. *Suidas.* *Plato in Parmen.* *Athenens.* i. xi. p. 506. *Jamb.* *Vit. Pyth.* c. xxix. n. 166. *B. C.* 504.

<sup>9</sup> *Phil.* *Bib. Gr.* v. i. p. 481. 489.

<sup>10</sup> *Laert.* i. ix. § 22. *Emekh.* *Ps.* i. i. c. 8. l. xiv. n. 17. *Phil.* *adde Colot.* i. iii. p. 416. 484. *Sext. Emp.* *adv. M.* i. vii. § 111. *Simplificat.* *Phys.* *Arist.* i. 7. 17. 31.





showing, and hold that the principle of all things is one and immovable, that this one being includes all things, and is self-sufficient, without beginning or end; that there is neither vacuum nor motion in the universe; nor any such thing as production or decay; doctrines, which admit of the same explanation which has been given of the tenets of Xenophanes and Parmenides. About the same time flourished Zeno, called the Eleatic, to distinguish him from Zeno the Stoic, and others. He was a zealous friend of civil liberty, and is celebrated for his courageous and successful opposition to tyrants; but the inconsistency of the stories related by different writers concerning him, in a great measure destroys their credit. He chose to reside in his small native city of Elea, rather than at Athens, because it afforded freer scope to his independent and generous spirit, which could not easily submit to the restraints of authority. It is related, that he repudiated the warmth with which he resented reproach, by saying, "If I were indifferent to censure, I should also be indifferent to praise."<sup>17</sup> The invention of the dialectic art has been improperly ascribed to Zeno; but there can be no doubt that this philosopher, and other metaphysical disputants in the Eleatic sect, employed much ingenuity and subtlety in exhibiting examples of most of the logical faults which were afterwards reduced to rule by Aristotle and others.<sup>18</sup>

According to Aristotle,<sup>19</sup> Zeno of Elea taught, that nothing can be produced either from that which is similar or dissimilar: that there is only one being, and that is God; that this being is eternal, homogeneous, and spherical, neither finite nor infinite; neither quiescent nor moveable; that there are many worlds; that there is in nature no vacuum; that all bodies are composed of four elements, heat and moisture, cold and dryness; and that the body

<sup>17</sup> Laert. i. ix. § 24. Plat. adv. Colot. tit. p. 431. <sup>18</sup> Arist. Phys. i. c. 7. i. iv. c. 8. Plat. in Theat. Sext. Emp. Pyr. Hyp. i. c. 3. § 65. <sup>19</sup> Simplic. ad Arist. Phys. i. c. 8. Arist. de Caelo, i. iii. b. h. c.

<sup>18</sup> Laert. i. ix. § 24. <sup>19</sup> Simplic. <sup>20</sup> Val. Max. i. vi. c. 8. <sup>21</sup> Sext. Emp. adv. Math. i. vii. § 73. <sup>22</sup> Plat. in Phædro.

<sup>23</sup> De Xenoph. Zeno, Gorgia, c. 3. t. i. p. 942. Phys. i. vi. c. 20.

of such to show the earth; and his soul was equal mixture of these four elements. Hieronymus with great subtlety against the possibility of motion. If Seneca's successor in this philosopher deserves credit, he reached the highest point of Scepticism, and denied the real existence of external objects. The truth is, that after all that has been advanced by different writers, it is impossible to determine whether Zeno understood the term *Ove* metaphysically, logically, or physically; or whether he admitted or denied a distinct property Divine. It is with equal judgment and modesty, that Muscicola<sup>22</sup> applies to the doctrine of Zeno the words of Terence:

*Incerta hæc, si tu postules  
Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,  
Quam si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias.\**

Thus much concerning that branch of the Eleatic sect, which explained the nature and origin of the universe *metaphysically*. A second set of philosophers arose in this school, who treated the subject *physically*; and who, giving up all metaphysical explanations of the cause of things, attempted to account for the *phenomena* of nature from the known laws of matter and motion.

The author of this essential innovation was *Leucippus*,<sup>23</sup> who is said by Laertius to have been a native of Elea, and who was a disciple of Zeno the Eleatic philosopher. He wrote a treatise concerning nature,<sup>24</sup> now lost, from which the ancients probably collected what they relate concerning his tenets. Dissatisfied with the metaphysical subtleties, by which the former philosophers of this school had confounded all evidence from the senses, Leucippus, and his follower Democritus, determined, if possible, to discover a system more consonant to nature and reason. Leaving behind them the whole train of fanciful conceptions, num-

bered by the ancients, they meant to return to the notion of a Divine Cause from the universe is uncertain. Things thus uncertain, if by reason's rules You'd certain make, it were as well a tale To try with reason to run mad. *Companions* by Laert. l. ix. § 30. Tzet. Chil. v. 980. Pseudo-Orig. Phil. c. xii. p. 68. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 778.

hypotheses, suppositions, and fictions, and elementary down to  
 in which philosophers had hitherto taken refuge, as a sub-  
 sistence of ignorance, they resolved to examine the real con-  
 stitutions of the material world, and inquired into the inter-  
 chemical properties of bodies, that from these they sought  
 if possible, to deduce the certain knowledge of a world  
 calmly and honestly be able to account for natural appear-  
 ances. Their great object was, to restore the alliance bet-  
 tween reason and the senses, which metaphysical subtleties  
 had dissolved. For this purpose they introduced the doc-  
 trine of indivisible atoms, possessing within themselves a  
 principle of motion. Several other philosophers before  
 their time, had indeed considered matter as divisible into  
 indefinitely small particles, particularly Anaxagoras, Em-  
 pedocles, and Heraclitus. But Leucippus and Democri-  
 tus were the first who taught that these particles were origi-  
 nally destitute of all qualities except figure and motion,  
 and therefore may justly be reckoned the authors of the  
 Atomic system of philosophy. They looked upon the  
 qualities which preceding philosophers had ascribed to  
 matter, as the mere creatures of abstraction; and they de-  
 termined to admit nothing into their system which they  
 could not establish upon the sure testimony of the senses.  
 They were, moreover, of opinion, that both the Eleatic phi-  
 losophers, and those of other sects, had unnecessarily en-  
 cumbered their respective systems, by assigning some ex-  
 ternal or internal cause of motion, of a nature not to be  
 discovered by the senses. They therefore resolved to reject  
 all metaphysical principles, and, in their explanation of  
 the phenomena of nature, to proceed upon no other ground  
 than the sensible and mechanical properties of bodies.  
 By the help of the internal principle of motion, which they  
 attributed to the indivisible particles of matter, they made  
 a feeble and fanciful effort to account for the production of  
 all natural bodies from physical causes, without the inter-  
 vention of Deity. But whether they meant entirely to dis-  
 card the notion of a Divine Nature from the universe is un-  
 certain. The first idea of the atomic system was suggested  
 by Leucippus, it was improved by Democritus, and after-  
 wards carried to all the perfection which a system so fun-  
 damentally defective would admit of, by Epicurus. The

following Summary of the Doctrine of Leucippus and Democritus, which is the infant state of the Atomic philosophy, and at the same time sufficiently expose its absurdity.<sup>21</sup> The Universe, which is infinite, is in part a *plenum*, and in part a *vacuum*. The *plenum* contains innumerable corpuscles or atoms, of various figures, which falling into the void, struck against each other; and hence arose a variety of curvilinear motions, which continued till at length atoms of similar forms met together, and bodies were produced. The primary atoms being specifically of equal weight, and not being able, on account of their multitude, to move in circles, the smaller rose to the exterior parts of the vacuum, whilst the larger, entangling themselves, formed a spherical shell, which revolved about its centre, and which included within itself all kinds of bodies. This central mass was gradually increased by a perpetual accession of particles from the surrounding shell, till at last the earth was formed.<sup>22</sup> In the meantime, the spherical shell was continually supplied with new bodies, which, in its revolution, it gathered up from without. Of the particles thus collected in the spherical shell, some in their constitution formed humid masses, which, by their circular motion, gradually became dry, and were at length ignited and became stars. The sun was formed in the same manner, in the exterior surface of the shell; and the moon in its interior surface. In this manner the world was formed; and by an inversion of the process, it will at length be dissolved.<sup>23</sup>

Democritus,<sup>24</sup> the successor of Leucippus, was a native of Abdera;<sup>25</sup> a town in Thrace, the stupidity of whose inhabitants became proverbial. He was of noble descent. Laertius, after Apollonius, fixes the time of his birth in the first year of the eightieth Olympiad.<sup>26</sup> Athenæus must therefore have been mistaken in making him contemporary with Alexander, and could have no good authority for the story

<sup>21</sup> Laert. l. c. Theodoret. Theraput. Seru. iv. Clé. de Nat. Dcor, Plut. de Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 7. E. li. c. 12. Laert. l. c.

<sup>22</sup> Laert. et Ps. Orig. l. c.

<sup>23</sup> Laert. l. ix. § 34. Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 2. Solin. c. 10. Clé. ad Attic. l. iv. Ep. 16. Juv. Sat. ix. v. 49. Mart. l. ix. Ep. 25.

<sup>24</sup> B. C. 460.

<sup>25</sup> L. v. l. 46.



Laertes, having before of years spent in wandering, being  
 returned to Abdera, richly stored with the treasures  
 of philosophy, which he had spared neither labour nor ex-  
 pence to procure, but destitute of the necessary means of  
 subsistence. His brother Democritus, however, received him  
 kindly, and liberally supplied his exigences. It was a law  
 enacted, that whoever should waste all his patrimony  
 should be deprived of the rights of sepulture. Democritus,  
 desirous of avoiding the disgrace to which this law sub-  
 jected him, gave public instructions to the people, chiefly  
 from his larger *Diatomus*, the most valuable of his writ-  
 ings: in return he received from his hearers many valuable  
 presents, and other testimonies of respect, which relieved  
 him from all apprehension of suffering public censure as a  
 spendthrift. Laertius asserts, that his countrymen loaded  
 him with riches to the amount of five hundred talents; but  
 it is wholly incredible that a sum, which few royal trea-  
 suries were at that time able to furnish, should have been  
 raised in an obscure town as a gratuity to any individual.  
 There can be no doubt, however, that Democritus, by his  
 learning and wisdom, and especially by his acquaintance  
 with nature, acquired great fame, and excited much ad-  
 miration among the ignorant Abderites. By giving pre-  
 vious notice of unexpected changes in the weather, and by  
 other artifices, he had the address to make them believe  
 that he possessed a power of predicting future events; and  
 by this means he gained such an ascendancy over them,  
 that they not only gave him the appellation of *Wisdom*, and  
 looked upon him as something more than mortal, but pro-  
 posed to entrust him with the direction of their public af-  
 fairs. From inclination and habit he, however, preferred  
 a contemplative to an active life, and therefore declined  
 these public honours, and passed the remainder of his days  
 in solitude.

It is said, that, from this time, Democritus spent his days  
 and nights in caverns and sepulchres; and that in one of  
 these gloomy retreats, whilst he sat by his midnight lamp  
 busily engaged in writing, he was on a sudden visited by

\* Laert. Snid. Plin. Hist. N. l. xviii. c. 36. Athen. l. iv. c. 100.

\* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi. p. 631. Laert. Suidas.

several years, when, in order to disguise himself, he dressed himself in black garments, and, for a while, pretending to be a slave, first that, upon their appearance, he properly requested them not to play the fool, and went on with the studies in which they found him employed. \* Ovidius tells us that Democritus, in order to be more perfectly master of his intellectual faculties, by means of a burning glass, deprived himself of the organs of sight. But the sources of these stories has the air of fable; and the latter is totally incredible, since the writers who relate it affirm, that Democritus employed his leisure in writing books, and in dissecting the bodies of animals, neither of which could very well have been effected without eyes. Cicero, who was not destitute of credulity, mentions the story, but at the same time intimates his own doubts concerning its truth. Nor is greater credit due to the tale, \* that Democritus spent his leisure hours in chemical researches after the philosopher's stone, the dream of a later age; nor to the story of his conversation with Hippocrates, grounded upon later times, which are said to have passed between the father of medicine and the people of Abdera, on the supposed madness of Democritus, but which are so evidently spurious, that it would require the credulity of the Abderites themselves to suppose them genuine. All that is probable concerning this conversation, so circumstantially and so frequently related in the Epistles ascribed to Hippocrates, is, that Hippocrates, who was contemporary with Democritus, admired his extensive knowledge of nature, and at the same time, hated the stupidity of the Abderites, who imputed his natural daily operations to a supernatural intercourse with demons, or to madness.

The only reasonable conclusion, which can be drawn from these marvellous tales, is, that Democritus was, what he is commonly represented to have been, a man of sublime genius, and penetrating judgment; who, by diligent course of study and observation, became an eminent master in

these gloomy sciences. From which it is evident, that Democritus was not a madman, but a philosopher.

These gloomy sciences, which Democritus was said to have been a master in, were the sciences of the ancients, which were the sciences of the ancients, which were the sciences of the ancients.

Tertull. Apol. c. 46.

\* Hippocr. Op. t. ii. p. 901. ed. Lard. Lib. 5. 42. El. i. iv. c. 30.



speculation and physical sciences, the natural consequence of which was that, like Roger Bacon in a later period, he astonished and imposed upon his ignorant and credulous countrymen. Retronius relates, that he was perfectly acquainted with the virtues of herbs, plants, and stones; and that he spent his life, in making experiments upon natural bodies.

Democritus has been commonly known under the appellation, of The Laughing Philosopher; and it is gravely related by Seneca,<sup>41</sup> that he never appeared in public, without expressing his contempt of the follies of mankind by laughter. But this account is wholly inconsistent with what has been related concerning his fondness for a life of gloomy solitude and profound contemplation; and with that strength and elevation of mind, which his philosophical researches must have required, and which are ascribed to him by the general voice of antiquity. Thus much, however, may be easily admitted, on the credit of Ælian<sup>42</sup> and Lucian,<sup>43</sup> that a man so superior to the generality of his contemporaries, and whose lot it was to live among a race of men, who were stupid to a proverb, might frequently treat their follies with ridicule and contempt. Accordingly we find that, among his fellow-citizens, he obtained the appellation of γέλαιος, The Derider.

Democritus appears to have been in his manners, chaste and temperate;<sup>44</sup> and his sobriety was repaid by a healthy old age. He lived, and enjoyed the use of his faculties, to the term of a hundred years (some say several years longer) and at last died through mere decay.<sup>45</sup> The following singular circumstance is said to have happened just before his death. His sister, who had the care of him, observing him to be near his end, expressed great regret that his immediate death would prevent her celebrating the approaching festival of Ceres; upon which Democritus, who was now unable to receive any nourishment, that he might

<sup>41</sup> De Ira, l. ii. c. 10. De Tranq. c. 75.

<sup>42</sup> Var. H. l. iv. c. 20.

<sup>43</sup> Vit. Auct. t. iii. p. 1125.

<sup>44</sup> Mich. IN. H. l. xxviii. c. 6. Tertull. de Anim. c. 25. Cic. Al. Proleg. l. ii. p. 198.

<sup>45</sup> Lucr. § 59—43. Diodor. Sic. lib. xiv. Cic. de Senectute. 70. Laet. de Longev. t. ii. p. 829. Athen. l. ii. p. 46. Suidas.

it possible gradually her wish by living a few days longer, and  
sifted her often to bring hot bread near his nostrils; the  
experiment succeeded, and he was preserved alive without  
food for three days. His death was exceedingly lamented  
by his countrymen, and the charge of his funeral was de-  
frayed from the public treasury. He wrote much, but none  
of his works are extant.

Concerning *Truth* Democritus taught, that there are  
two kinds of knowledge—one, obscure; the other, genuine;  
the former, that which is derived from the senses; the latter,  
that which is derived from the exercise of thought upon the  
nature of things. This exercise of the reason, to produce  
certain knowledge, he confessed to be exceedingly difficult;  
and therefore said, that truth lay in a deep well, from which  
it is the office of reason to draw it up.

Concerning *Physics*, the doctrine of Democritus was as  
follows: "Nothing can ever be produced from that which  
has no existence; nor can any thing which exists be ever  
annihilated. Whatever exists must therefore owe its being  
to necessary and self-existent principles. The first prin-  
ciples of all things are two, atoms and vacuum. For  
bodies must consist of both these, since they cannot be  
divided till they are reduced to nothing. Neither of these  
principles is produced from the other. They are both in-  
finite, atoms in number, vacuum in magnitude. Atoms  
are solid, and the only beings; vacuum, or entire space,  
can neither be said to be existent nor non-existent, being  
neither corporeal nor incorporeal. Atoms have the pro-  
perties of figure, magnitude, motion, and weight; being  
heavy in proportion to their bulk. In figure, they are va-  
rious; some are angular, others not so; some circular,  
others curved; others plain; some smooth, others rough;  
some hooked, others pointed. With respect to magnitude,

John Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. vii. § 135, 6. l. viii. § 169. 327. Laert. l. ix.  
§ 44—48. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 12. l. iv. c. 10.

"Laert. l. c. Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 6. l. iii. c. 4. Cic. Acad. Qu. l. iv.  
c. 37.

1A. Arist. Metaph. l. i. c. 4. Laert. Arist. de Gener. l. i. c. 1. l. vi. c. 8.  
Phys. l. i. c. 6. l. viii. c. 1. De Caelo, l. iii. c. 4. Pseud. Or. c. xii. p.  
211. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 24. De Fin. l. i. c. 6. Plat. Pl. Rep. l. i. c.  
16. l. iv. c. 4.



move with the least velocity; whence the same, the inferior planets, and the moon, move slower than the superior. A comet is a combination of planets which, approaching each other, appear as one body. The earth at the first was so small and light, as to wander about in the regions of space; but at length increasing in density, it became firm and moveable. The sea is continually decreasing and will at length be dried up.<sup>43</sup>

After men at first produced from water and earth. Our knowledge of the existence of man arises from consciousness. The soul, or principle of animal life and motion, is the result of a combination of round or fiery particles; it consists of two parts, the one seated in the breast, which is the rational; the other diffused through the whole body, which is the irrational. The soul is mortal, and perishes with the body; but human bodies which perish will be repaired. Different animal beings possess different senses. Perception is produced by ideas, images, which flow from bodies according to their respective figures, and strike upon the organ of sense.<sup>44</sup>

The vacuum of Democritus is not to be confounded, as it has sometimes been, with air; it is unquestionably the same with that infinite space which gives locality to all bodies. The fundamental difference between the doctrine of Democritus, and that of former philosophers, concerning atoms, is, that the latter conceived small particles endued with various qualities; whereas this philosopher conceived the qualities of bodies not to arise from any essential difference in the nature of primary particles, but to be the mere effect of arrangement. It is evident from the whole tenour of the Democratic system, that it pays no regard to an external Efficient Cause, but absurdly supposes, that the intrinsic necessity which is conceived to give motion to atoms, is alone sufficient to account for the phenomena

<sup>43</sup> *Met. Aet. Q. l. ix. c. 17. Plat. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 4. l. ii. c. 20. 25. 15. l. iii. c. 12. 13. Arist. de Caelo. l. iii. c. 4. 13. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 6. Aristide. Meteor. l. i. c. 5. l. ii. c. 3. Senec. Qu. Nat. l. v. c. 2. l. i. c. 1. P. Gensetia. de Die Nat. p. 4. Plut. in Ph. l. i. c. 4. 8. 10. l. iv. c. 4. 7. l. v. c. 16. Sext. Emp. Pyrr. Hyp. l. ii. c. 5. § 23. Adv. Gr. l. vi. § 26. Arist. de Anim. l. i. c. 10. Lact. § 44. Plin. H. N. l. vi. c. 55. Cic. ad Att. l. ii. Ep. 4. Fam. l. xv. Ep. 16. Lucret. l. iv. v. 238.*

of nature. This philosopher admitted no other soul of the world, than one similar to that which he allowed to man; a blind force resulting from the combination of certain subtle atoms, of a round form, which produce fire. Whatever, therefore, he is said to have taught concerning nature, fate, or Providence, he can only be understood as asserting, that this fire is a mechanical agent in nature, whose rapid motion is the chief cause of the changes which take place in the universe. According to Plutarch,<sup>52</sup> Democritus thought the sun and moon to be ignited plates of stone; but this is inconsistent with his general system, and with that knowledge of nature which this philosopher appears to have possessed. The belief of the natural materiality of the soul was a necessary consequence of the atomic system; for if the soul be a composition of atoms, when these are dispersed it must perish. The notion of Democritus concerning the reviviscence of human bodies, seems to have been misunderstood by Pliny.<sup>53</sup> This philosopher can only be supposed, consistently with his system, to have meant, that the atoms of which any human soul had consisted, after being separated and dispersed through infinite space, would in some distant period meet again, and recover their former life. The term *εἰδωλον*, image, appears to have been used by Democritus in two different significations; first, for those images which he supposed to flow from external objects, and strike upon the senses, and to create notions or ideas in the mind; and secondly, for Divine beings existing in the air, which he called gods. For want of attending to this distinction, several writers have been led into mistakes concerning the tenets of Democritus.

Although Democritus either entirely rejected the notion of *Deity*, or allowed him no share in the creation or government of the world, yet he endeavoured to conceal his impiety, by admitting the popular belief of divinities inhabiting the aerial regions, and teaching that they make themselves visible to favoured mortals, and enable them to predict future events. His doctrine concerning them was,

<sup>52</sup> L. c. 20.

<sup>53</sup> Hist. N. l. vii. c. 53.

<sup>54</sup> Laert. l. i. § 7. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 43. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ix. § 19. 42.

that they are in form like men, but of a larger size, and superior nature; that they are composed of the most subtle atoms, and less liable to dissolution than human beings, but are nevertheless mortal; and that they have a power of serving or injuring mankind, and of communicating their thoughts to them by vocal sounds, and often give them information concerning futurity.

The moral doctrine of Democritus,<sup>57</sup> like that of Epicurus, afterwards to be considered, makes the enjoyment of a tranquil state of mind, *eîsôuchia*, the great end of life, and consequently teaches moderation as the first law of wisdom. At the same time this philosopher held, that there is nothing naturally becoming or base in human actions, but that every distinction of this nature arises from custom or civil institutions, and that laws are framed to curb the natural propensity of mankind to injure one another. This latter tenet nearly coincides with the modern doctrine of Hobbes. The similarity between the ethics of Democritus and Epicurus renders it unnecessary to enter into further particulars on this head at present. We shall, therefore, only add a few of the most valuable *Maxims* which have been ascribed to Democritus:<sup>58</sup>

He who subdues his passions is more heroic than he who vanquishes an enemy; yet there are men who, whilst they command nations, are slaves to pleasure. It is criminal, not only to do mischief, but to wish it. He who enjoys what he has, without regretting the want of what he has not, is a happy man. We are most delighted with those pleasures which we have the fullest opportunity of enjoying. The sweetest things become the most bitter by excess. Do nothing shameful though you are alone; revere yourself more than all other men. A man must either be good or seem to be so. Every country is open to a wise man, for he is a citizen of the world. It is better for fools to be governed than to govern. Rulers are chosen not to do ill but good. By desiring little, a poor man makes himself rich. A cheerful man is happy, though he pos-

<sup>57</sup> Laert. l. ix. § 45, &c. Stob. Serm. 28. 37. 39. 44. 48. 117. 136. 139. 147. 249. Plut. de Inst. Lib. t. i. p. 12.

<sup>58</sup> Laert. Stob.

which it is, a faithful man is unhappy in the midst of all  
 trouble. One great difference between a wise man and a  
 fool is, that the former only wishes for what he may possibly  
 obtain; the latter desires impossibilities. In further ef-  
 fect of prudence, where it is possible, to prevent injuries;  
 but where this cannot be done, a wise man to his own  
 tranquillity will preserve us from revenging them. <sup>50</sup> Democritus had many disciples. Of these the most con-  
 sidered was Protagoras, of Abdera. In his youth he  
 was obliged him to perform the servile offices of a  
 porter; and he was frequently employed in carrying logs  
 of wood from the neighbouring fields to Abdera. It hap-  
 pened, that as he was one day going on briskly towards the  
 city under one of these loads, he was met by Democritus,  
 who was particularly struck with the neatness and regular-  
 ity of the bundle. Desiring him to stop and rest himself,  
 Democritus examined more closely the structure of the  
 load, and found that it was put together with mathematical  
 exactness; upon which he asked the youth, whether he  
 himself had made it up? The youth assured him that he  
 had; and immediately took it to pieces, and with great care  
 replaced every log in the same exact order as before. De-  
 mocritus expressed much admiration of his ingenuity, and  
 said to him, "Young man, follow me, and your talents  
 shall be employed upon greater and better things!" The  
 youth consented; and Democritus took him home, and in-  
 stituted him at his own expense, and taught him philos-  
 ophy.

Protagoras afterwards acquired reputation at Athens  
 among the Sophists for his eloquence, and among the philo-  
 sophers for his wisdom. His public lectures were much  
 frequented, and he had many disciples, from whom he re-  
 ceived the most liberal rewards; so that, as Plato relates,  
 he became exceedingly rich. At length, however, he  
 brought upon himself the displeasure of the Athenian state  
 by teaching doctrines favourable to impiety. In one of his  
 books, he said, "Concerning the gods, I am wholly unable

<sup>50</sup> Laert. Suid.

<sup>51</sup> A. Gell. l. v. c. 3.

<sup>52</sup> Laert. l. ix. § 50. Suid. Gell. Plat. in Theæteto. comp. system  
 Protag.

to determine whether they have any existence or not; for the weakness of the human understanding, and the shortness of human life, with many other causes, prevent us from attaining this knowledge.<sup>54</sup> Our account of this and several other similar expressions, his writings were ordered to be diligently collected by the common crier, and posted in the market place, and he himself was banished from Athens.<sup>55</sup> He wrote many pieces upon logic, metaphysics, ethics, and politics, none of which are at present extant. After having lived many years in Epirus, he was lost by sea on his passage from that country to Sicily.<sup>56</sup> The Tenets of Protagoras, as far as they can be discovered, appear to have leaned towards scepticism. He is said to have taught, that contradictory arguments may be advanced upon every subject; that all natural objects are perpetually varying; that the senses convey different reports to different persons, and even to the same person at different times; and that, nevertheless, we have no other criterion of truth than our own perception, and cannot know that anything is otherwise than it appears to our senses, which are the essence of the soul.<sup>57</sup> Adopting the doctrine of Democritus, that the atoms of which bodies are composed are in perpetual motion, Protagoras conceived that natural objects are liable to such continual fluctuation, that nothing can be certainly known concerning them; and therefore concluded, that nothing can be pronounced to exist but that which is at any instant perceived by the senses; and that since these are perpetually or incessantly varying, things themselves vary accordingly; so that, upon the same evidence, that of the senses, contradictory opinions may be advanced. This seems to be the true explanation of the fundamental maxim of Protagoras, that man himself is the only measure, or criterion, of all things.

Diogenes,<sup>58</sup> a native of the island of Melos, was another

<sup>54</sup> Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. Sext. adv. Math. l. ix. § 18. Min. Tel. c. 8.

<sup>55</sup> Euseb. Pælog. vii. Soph. l. i. p. 490.

<sup>56</sup> Lucr. § 44. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. b. 32. § 216. Plato de Theet. Arist. Met. l. iii. c. 5. l. x. c. 6. Cic. Ac. Q. l. iv. c. 42. Busch. Præp. Ev. l. xiv. c. 20.

<sup>57</sup> Seidas. Hesychius. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 554. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. ix. § 53. Tatian contr. Græc. p. 164. Athenag. Legat. pro Chr. p. 5. ed. Par.



follower of Democritus. Having been sold as a captive in his youth, he was redeemed by Democritus, and trained up in the study of philosophy. At the same time he cultivated polite learning, and distinguished himself in the art of lyric poetry, which was so successfully practised about that period by Pindar, Bacchylis, and others. His name has been transmitted to posterity with infamy, as an avowed advocate for the entire rejection of all religious belief. And, though Clemens Alexandrinus,<sup>66</sup> and others, have taken pains to exculpate him, by pleading that his only intention was to ridicule heathen superstitions, the general voice of antiquity has so strongly asserted his atheistical principles, that we cannot refuse credit to the report, without allowing too much indulgence to historical scepticism. It is easy to conceive, that one, who had studied philosophy in the school of Democritus, who admitted no other principles in nature than atoms and a vacuum, would reject the whole doctrine of Deity, as inconsistent with the system which he had embraced. And it is expressly asserted by ancient writers, that when, in a particular instance, he saw a perjured person escape punishment, he publicly declared his disbelief of Divine Providence, and from that time spoke of the gods, and of all religious ceremonies, with ridicule and contempt. He even attempted to lay open the sacred mysteries, and to dissuade the people from submitting to the rights of initiation. These public insults offered to religion brought upon him the general hatred of the Athenians; who, upon his refusing to obey a summons to appear in the courts of judicature, issued forth a decree, which was inscribed upon a brazen column, offering the reward of a talent to any one who should kill him, or two talents to any one who should bring him alive before the judges. This happened in the ninety-first Olympiad.<sup>67</sup> From that time Diagoras became a fugitive in Attica, and at last fled to Corinth, where he died.<sup>68</sup> It is said, that being on board a ship during a storm, the terrified sailors began to accuse themselves for having received into their ship a man so infamous for his impiety; upon which Dia-

<sup>66</sup> Adm. ad Gent. p. 13.

<sup>67</sup> B. C. 416.

<sup>68</sup> Laert. Suid. Cic. de Nat. D. l. lib. c. 37.

goras pointed out to them other vessels, which were near them on the sea in equal danger, and asked them, whether they thought that each of these ships also carried a Diagoras? and that afterwards, when a friend, in order to convince him that the gods are not indifferent to human affairs, desired him to observe how many consecrated tablets were hung up in the temples in grateful acknowledgment of the escape from the dangers of the sea, he said, in reply, "True; but here are no tablets of those who have suffered shipwreck, and perished in the sea." But there is reason to suspect that these tales are mere inventions; for similar stories have been told of Diogenes the Cynic, and others.

From the school of Democritus also arose *Anaxarchus*,<sup>99</sup> of Abdera, who flourished about the hundred and tenth Olympiad. He is chiefly celebrated for having lived with Alexander, and enjoyed his confidence.<sup>100</sup> It reflects no credit, however, upon his philosophy, that when the mind of this prince was torn with regret for having killed his faithful Clitus, he administered the balm of flattery, saying, "that kings, like the gods, could do no wrong." This philosopher addicted himself to pleasure; and it was on this account, and not, as some supposed, on account of the apathy and tranquillity of his life, that he obtained the surname of *Εὐδαίμωνικός*, The Fortunate. A marvellous story is related of his having been pounded in an iron mortar by Nicocreon, king of Cyprus, in revenge for the advice which he had given to Alexander, to serve up the head of that prince at an entertainment; and of his enduring the torture with invincible hardness. But the tale, for which there is no authority prior to the time of Cicero, is wholly inconsistent with the character of a man who had through his life been softened by effeminate pleasure. The same story is also related of Zeno the Eleatic. We therefore think ourselves at liberty to set it down among the numerous fables which some of the Grecian writers discovered so much.

<sup>99</sup> Laert. l. ix. § 58. Plut. Symp. l. vii. c. 5.

<sup>100</sup> Elian. l. ix. c. 3. 30. Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. iv. p. 84. Plut. ad Princ. induct. Luc. Parasit. t. iii. p. 250. Athen. l. vi. p. 250. l. xii. p. 546. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. ii. c. 22. Nat. D. l. iii. c. 33. Laert. Op. in lib.

ingenuity in inventing, and which so well justify the case of Juvenal:

Quicquid Græcia mendax

Audet in historia.

CHAP. XIV.

OF THE HERACLITEAN SECT.

ANOTHER sect, derived from Pythagoras, the founder of the Italic school, was that which was instituted at Ephesus by Heraclitus; a sect which, though it has been almost entirely overlooked by the moderns, obtained among the ancients no small share of celebrity.

Heraclitus,<sup>1</sup> by birth an Ephesian, discovered an early propensity to the study of wisdom, and, by a diligent attention to the operations of his own mind, soon became sensible of his ignorance, and desirous of instruction. He was initiated into the mysteries of the Pythagorean doctrine by Xenophanes and Hippasus, and afterwards incorporated them into his own system. His fellow-citizens solicited him to undertake the supreme magistracy; but on

<sup>1</sup> Sat. x. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Whatever in story lying Greece dares tell.

\* Vidend. Budd. Ann. Hist. Phil. p. 320—3. Bayle. Reimann. Hist. Ath. c. 17. 20. 30. Burnet. Arch. l. i. c. 12. Waltheri. Sammeln. Eleatica, c. 3. § 5. 6. Cudworth, c. i. § 8. c. iv. § 20. 21. Cum Not. Mosch. Gundling. p. xv. Diss. 1. Lips. Mahud. ad Phil. Stoic. l. ii. Diss. 4. Gassendi. Phil. Ep. sect. H. c. 5. Mourgues. Plan. Pyth. p. 16. Parker de Deo. Disposit. § 21. Scipio Aquilani. de Plat. Phil. ant. l. ii. c. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

account of their dissolute manners, he deemed it in favour of his brother. When he was, soon afterwards, seen playing with the boys in the court of the temple of Diana, he said to those who expressed their surprise that he was not better employed, "Why are you surprised that I pass my time with children? It is surely better than governing the corrupt Ephesians." He was displeased with them for banishing from their city so wise and able a man as Hermodorus;<sup>2</sup> and plainly told them, that he perceived they were determined not to keep among them any man who had more merit than the rest. His natural temper being splenetic and melancholy, he despised the ignorance and follies of mankind, shunned all public intercourse with the world, and devoted himself to retirement and contemplation. He made choice of a mountainous retreat for his place of residence, and lived upon the natural produce of the earth. Darius, king of Persia, having heard of his fame, invited him to his court, but he treated the invitation with contempt.<sup>3</sup> His diet and manner of life at length brought him into a dropsy; upon which this philosopher, who was always fond of enigmatical language, returning into the city, proposed to the physicians the following question: "Is it possible to bring dryness out of moisture?" Receiving no relief from them, he attempted to cure himself, by shutting himself up in a close stable of oxen; but it is doubtful how far he succeeded, for the cause and manner of his death are differently related by different writers. He flourished, as appears from his preceptors and contemporaries, about the sixty-ninth Olympiad.<sup>4</sup> Sixty years are said to have been the term of his life.<sup>5</sup>

It has been a tale commonly received,<sup>6</sup> that Heraclitus was perpetually shedding tears, on account of the vices of mankind, and particularly of his countrymen. But the story, which probably took its rise from the gloomy severity of his temper, ought to be ranked, like that of the perpetual laughing of Democritus, among the Greek fables;

<sup>2</sup> An eminent lawyer, of whom see Cic. Tusc. Q. l. v. c. 36. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 642. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. l. vii. c. 19.

<sup>4</sup> B. C. 504.

<sup>5</sup> Laert. l. ix. § 1, &c.

<sup>6</sup> El. l. viii. c. 13. Senec. de Tranq. c. 4. de Ira, l. ii. c. 10. Lucian Vit. Auct. t. iii. p. 123.

and it must be left to the poet to say concerning these two philosophers,

De sapientibus, alter

Ridebat, quoties a limine moverat unum

Profuleratque pedem; flebat contrarius alter.

Heraclitus wrote a treatise "On Nature," of which only a few fragments remain. Through the natural cast of his mind, and perhaps too through a desire of concealing his popular tenets under the disguise of a figurative and metaphysical diction, his discourses were so incomprehensible, that he obtained the name of *Ἰσχυρός*, the *Obscure Philosopher*, a title given him by the unanimous consent of the ancients. Neither critics nor philosophers were able to explain his writings; and they remained in the temple of Diana, where he himself had deposited them for the use of the learned, till they were made public by Crates, or, as Tatian relates the matter, till the poet Euripides, who frequented the temple of Diana, committing the doctrines and precepts of Heraclitus to memory, accurately repeated them. From the fragments of this work, which are preserved by Sextus Empiricus, it appears to have been written in prose, which makes Tatian's account the less credible.

After what has already been said concerning the original obscurity of this philosopher, and the present deficient state of his remains, it will not be expected that we should lay before our readers a perfectly clear and full account of his system. The following brief *Heads of his Doctrine* are all that we have been able to collect:

*Reason*, by means of the senses, is the judge of truth. This common and Divine principle is derived by inspira-

Will you not now the pair of sages praise,  
Who the same end pursu'd by different ways?  
One quipp'd, one contain'd the useful times;  
One laugh'd at follies, and one wept o'er crimes.

DAYDEN.

Sat. x. v. 34.

Laert. *Feb. Bib. Gr.* v. i. p. 760, 761. *Clem. Alex. Protrept.* p. 22.

Tatian *adv. Græc.* p. 143.

Sext. *Emp. adv. M.* l. vii. § 126. *Tert. de An.* c. 15. *Philos. Op.* p. 391. *Clem. Alex. Str.* l. v. 602.

time from that which surrounds us. In dreaming, the passages of the senses are obstructed, and the connexion of the human mind with that which surrounds us, is interrupted; on waking, this connexion is restored, and the power of reason returns. All common maxims, being comprehended by common and Divine reason, are to be received as true.

Fire, or an ethereal exhalation, *ἀνέμωσαν*, is the principle from which all things in nature are produced.<sup>10</sup> This principle consists of small indivisible parts; *ὑψίστη*, or atoms, which are simple in their natures, and eternal. There is in the universe no such thing as rest; the particles which compose the fiery or ethereal principle being perpetually in motion. From the combination of those minute particles, which are imperceptible by the senses, is produced elementary fire, and all the forms of nature; and into these they are all, at certain periods, resolved. The world comprehends the eternal, living, or self-moving fire, which was neither made by gods nor men, but always was, and will be, and the various bodies which are produced from it, and which have both beginning and end. The primary fire has within itself eternal and necessary motion; by the force of which the system of nature was produced. This eternal and necessary intrinsic motion is caused by fate; the rational principle which animates the eternal fire pervades the universe, and forms, preserves, and dissolves, in perpetual succession, the visible world. This principle, or soul of the world, by its eternal, necessary, and rational motion, is God, *δημιουργός*, the maker of all things.<sup>11</sup> The minute particles, which compose the primary fire, move in different directions, whence they are variously agitated and impelled; and the contests or collisions which these motions produce, collect in various masses the first principles of things, and thus produce natural bodies. Fire condensed becomes water; water, still further condensed, is

<sup>10</sup> Arist. Met. l. i. c. 3. De Anim. l. i. c. 2. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 37. De Nat. D. l. iii. c. 14. Plut. de Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 3, 13, 23. Laert. l. 1. § 5, 7. Clem. Alex. Str. l. 7. p. 599. Lucr. l. 1. v. 636. Tat. p. 143. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. ix. § 131. Stob. Eccl. p. 77, 40.

<sup>11</sup> Clem. Alex. Prot. p. 42. Tertul. contr. Marcion. 1. Stob. l. 1. c. 23. 17. 27. Laert. l. ix. § 7, 8, 9.

converted into earth; and the reverse. When the primary particles are thus formed into elements, they are pursuing their upward course, *ὁδὸς ἀνω*; when the elements are again dissolved, they are pursuing their downward course, *ὁδὸς κάτω*. The elements of bodies being collected into one unformed mass, or chaos, this mass is at length, by the action of the animating fire, dissolved, the parts are diffused, *χεῖνται*, and the various forms of nature appear.

The heavenly bodies are in the form of boats, having the hollow side towards us; and they become luminous when certain fiery exhalations from the earth are collected within them. The sun is no larger than he appears to the sight, and becomes eclipsed when its convex surface happens to be turned towards the earth. The moon is of the same form and nature; and its monthly variations are caused by the gradual changes of its position towards the earth, from concave to convex, and the reverse. All the stars are nourished by exhalations from the earth, and these, as they are more or less splendid and warm, cause the varieties of day and night, of the seasons, and of weather.<sup>12</sup>

No certain account can be given of the nature of the soul; but the most probable notion is, that it is an exhalation from that fiery substance, which pervades all things, and is the soul of the world, passing into human bodies through the senses. All nature is full of souls, or demons. Of these the best are such as have in their nature the least moisture, or approach nearest to the primary fire. Human souls are liable to perpetual changes; and when they are loaded with moist vapours, they pass into the watery mass and perish; but if they are purified from these they return into the soul of the universe.<sup>13</sup>

Aristotle ranks Heraclitus among those philosophers, who supposed only one material principle in nature, and provided no efficient cause, and asserts the first principle in his system to have been essentially endowed with motion. And it evidently appears, from his whole doctrine, that Heraclitus conceived the particles of matter to have been eternally moving from an intrinsic necessity. What

<sup>12</sup> Laert. § 9, 10. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 22, 25. Stob. p. 53, 54, 55.

<sup>13</sup> Laert. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 3. Stob. S. 17.

he says, therefore, concerning fate, as an intelligent and rational principle in nature, the cause of motion, and consequently of production and dissolution, must be understood, not of a substance or being distinct from the primary fire, but of the intrinsic power of this first principle, the necessary energy by which all things are produced. Although this philosopher introduced into his system the term God, he seems to have made use of it to express, not a distinct being of a peculiar nature, but merely that innate force in the primary fire, by means of which its particles have been in eternal motion, and have at length united to form the present regular system of nature. To this force, considered as distinct from the matter to which it belongs, he gave the appellation of God; and he called it rational and Divine, because the effects, of which he conceived it to be the cause, were produced in a regular series, and according to a certain and immutable law.<sup>14</sup>

On the subject of *Morals*, Heraclitus taught, that the end of life is to enjoy happiness; that for this purpose it is necessary to repose the body, and confine its wants within as narrow limits as possible; that it is of more importance for men to know themselves, than to acquire extensive learning; that human life is in fact the death of the soul, as, whilst it continues in the body, it is confined and depressed, and never gains its true freedom and activity, till it returns to the Divine Nature from which it comes; that the first virtue is to be temperate, and the first wisdom to follow nature; and that all human laws are founded upon one Divine law of necessity, which governs all things.<sup>15</sup>

These moral principles of Heraclitus have a reference to his physical system, as will be easily seen by comparing them. The Stoics were indebted to this philosopher for many parts of their physical and moral doctrine.

Although Heraclitus took great pains to conceal his doctrines, he may properly be considered as the father of a

<sup>14</sup> Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. Cic. Ac. Q. l. i. c. 7.  
<sup>15</sup> Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. vii. § 7. Theodoret. Ther. l. iii. p. 124.  
 Suidas. Laert. Stob. Serm. 4. 28. 250. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 30.  
 § 10. l. ii. p. 6. § 63. l. iii. c. 24. § 230. Cl. Alex. St. J. iv. p. 632.  
 l. v. p. 615.



sect.<sup>16</sup> For after he had deposited his writings in the temple of Diana, they were read by many philosophers, who afterwards taught his system, or incorporated it with their own. Plato himself, when he was young, learned the Heraclitean philosophy from Cratylus, and adopted that part which treated of the nature and motion of matter. This sect must, however, very soon have become extinct; for we find no traces of its existence after the death of Socrates; which may be ascribed, in part, to the insuperable obscurity of the writings of Heraclitus, but chiefly to the superior splendour of the Platonic system, by which it was superseded. That Heraclitus, however, was long held in great estimation among the philosophers at Athens, may be justly concluded from the great pains which Zeno took to transfer several tenets of the Heraclitean system into his own.

Among the admirers of Heraclitus are to be ranked those who, though they did not entirely approve his system, paid so much attention to it, as to obtain among the ancients the name of Heraclitists. The only one of these whom it is necessary distinctly to notice, is the celebrated father of medicine, Hippocrates; a name which also merits no mean place among philosophers. Without attempting to explain his system of medicine, which would be foreign from our design,<sup>17</sup> we shall mention a few particulars respecting his opinions concerning nature, which may serve to cast further light upon the Heraclitean philosophy.

Hippocrates is not to be ranked among the followers of Democritus or Heraclitus, or any other philosopher; for he expressly rejects the use of hypothetic philosophy in medicine, and particularly opposes, by arguments not unworthy of attention, the system which supposed four primary principles in nature, dryness and moisture, heat and cold.<sup>18</sup> His natural philosophy consisted of a collection of observations drawn from experience, from which he formed his judgment concerning the causes of diseases and

<sup>16</sup> Arist. Met. I. i. c. 6. I. xii. c. 4. Lact. I, ix. § 6. 15. Sext. Emp. Pyrr. I. i. c. 26.

<sup>17</sup> Galen. de Nat. Facultat. I. i. 11. De Decret. Hipp. et Pl. I. v. Le Clerc. Hist. Med. p. i. l. iii. c. 2. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. xii. p. 675.

<sup>18</sup> De prisca Med. p. 8. ed. Foesii.

their remedies. For though he disapproved of the empirical method of relying wholly upon experience, without any attention to general rules or principles, and took pains to digest the art of healing into a systematic form, he did not derive his theory of medicine from any philosophical system or hypothesis, but rather chose to raise it upon the foundation of the most accurate knowledge he was able to attain of the structure of the human body, and the nature of diseases. It is not, therefore, to be concluded, that because Hippocrates was a physician upon rational principles, he therefore professed any particular system of philosophy. What his ideas upon philosophical subjects were, may be in part concluded from the following *Specimen*:

Concerning the sublime and Divine subject of philosophy, it is unnecessary to say more, than may serve to improve our knowledge of the nature and causes of the diseases incident to the human body. That which we call heat seems to be an immortal principle, which understands, sees, hears, and perceives all things present and future. The purest part of this fire, in the original commotion of nature, retired into the superior region which the ancients call the ether; a second part taking the lower region, which is called the earth, is mixed by continual agitation with the principles of cold, moisture, and dryness. A third part has obtained the middle region of the air, and produces elementary heat. All nature is subject to certain laws. Nothing in nature entirely perishes, nor is any thing ever produced from nothing, but all the appearances of production or dissolution are merely changes in the form of bodies. By the necessary law of nature the elements are resolvable into each other, and all things are subject to a perpetual and reciprocal commixture. A portion of the primary principle of heat, uniting itself to the human body, forms the soul. The gods have established all nature in a certain order, and always conduct it well.

The reader will easily perceive a strong resemblance between the notions of Hippocrates and those of Heraclitus;

<sup>19</sup> De Principiis. Op. t. i. sect. 111. tr. 4. p. 248.

<sup>20</sup> De Genit. t. i. sect. 111. p. 231. De Dieta, ibi. p. 242.

but the expressions of the former are so vague and obscure, as to have occasioned a dispute among the learned concerning his theological principles, which, for want of sufficient data, we shall not attempt to decide.

## CHAP. XV.

### OF THE EPICUREAN SECT.

THE *Epicurean Sect*, a branch of the Eleatic, appeared with great distinction upon the theatre of Ancient Philosophy, and was strongly marked by its peculiar tenets and character. Whilst it has obtained the highest applause from some writers, it has met with the severest censure from others, and its real merit still remains undetermined. That the reader may be enabled to form a judgment for himself on this much controverted question, it will therefore be necessary that we trace its rise and progress, and unfold its doctrines with all the accuracy and diligence in our power. In this part of our undertaking, our chief guides among the ancients are—Laertius, who has industriously collected many particulars concerning Epicurus and his philosophy, from writings which are no longer extant; the fragments collected by Suidas, Pseudo-Origen, and others; and the poem of Lucretius, *De Natura Rerum*, “On the Nature of Things,” in which the doctrines of Epicurus are at once faithfully represented, and clothed in all the ornaments of poetic diction. As to the accounts which Plutarch, the Christian fathers, and other later writers, have given of the Epicureans, it is evident that they were written too much under the bias of partiality to merit implicit confidence.

<sup>a</sup> Vidend. Jons. t. ii. c. 3. Fabr. Bib. Gr. vi. p. 760. M. Steph. Poes. Phil. p. 129. Cudworth. c. i. § 16. c. iii. § 8. c. iv. § 13. Olearius de Heracliti Princip. ap. Stanley, p. ix. Hippocr. Vit. a Sorano. Schulz. Hist. Med. Per. i. s. iii. c. i. J. Stephan. Hipp. Theol. Venet. 1636. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 192. Schmidii Diss. de Theol. Hipp. Troller. in Hipp. falso Atheismi accus. Rud. 1719. Gesner. Diss. de Hippoc. Goetting. 1737.

**EPICURUS,** an Athenian of the Egean tribe, was born at Gargettus, in the vicinity of Athens, at the beginning of the third year of the hundred and ninth Olympiad.<sup>2</sup> His father, Neocles, and his mother, Chærestrata, were of honourable descent; but being reduced to poverty, they were sent, with a colony of two thousand Athenian citizens, to the island of Samos, which Pericles had subdued, to divide the lands among them by lot. The little farm, which fell to their share, not proving sufficient for their subsistence, Neocles took up the profession of a schoolmaster. Chærestrata, in the mean time, is said to have found her advantage in employing, among a superstitious populace, the arts of incantation and lustration, for the purposes of curing diseases and driving away spectres, and in other equally marvellous services. It is added, that her son, whilst he was very young, furnished her with lustral songs for these solemn rites. At Samos, and the neighbouring island of Teos, Epicurus remained till he was eighteen years of age; when, for the sake of enjoying greater literary advantages, he removed to Athens. Upon the death of Alexander, when commotions rose in Athens through the tyranny of Perdiccas, Epicurus left the city, and went to his father at Colophon. Soon afterwards he removed to Mitylene, and, after passing one year in that city, took up his residence four years in Lampsacus. At the expiration of this term, when he was in the thirty-sixth year of his age, he returned to Athens.<sup>3</sup>

From his fourteenth year to this time, he appears to have been industriously employed in the study of philosophy. The circumstance which first turned his attention to this study is said to have been, that on reading the works of Hesiod, he consulted his master concerning the meaning of the word *Chaos*, who, not being able to explain it, referred him to the philosophers.<sup>4</sup> At Samos, according to Cicero,<sup>5</sup> he was instructed in the Platonic philosophy by Pamphilus; and Clement of Alexandria relates,<sup>6</sup> that in his early

<sup>2</sup> Laert. l. x. § 1, &c. Suidas. Lucr. l. vi. y. 1. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 589. 638. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 26. Euseb. Chron. Plut. de Amore Frat. t. iii. p. 294. <sup>3</sup> B. C. 344. <sup>4</sup> Laert. Suid.

<sup>5</sup> Sext. Emp. adv. Ph. l. ii. § 18, 19. Laert.

<sup>6</sup> De Nat. D. l. i. c. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Strom. l. i. p. 302.

years, he attended upon Nausiphanes a Pythagorean, and Pyrrho the Sceptic. At Athens, the public mart of learning, where at this time Xenocrates taught in the Academy, and Theophrastus in the Lyceum, it cannot be supposed that he would neglect to improve the advantages of his situation. When therefore it is related by Cicero and others, that Epicurus boasted that he was *αὐτοδίδακτος*, a Self-taught Philosopher, we are not to understand that he was never instructed in the tenets of other masters, but that his system of philosophy was the result of his own reflections, after comparing the doctrines of other sects.

The new edifice of philosophy which Epicurus had thus raised, he was desirous to lay open for the benefit of others. About the thirty-second year of his age he opened a school at Mitylene, which he soon removed to Lampsacus, where he had disciples from Colophon. Not satisfied, however, with the narrow sphere of philosophical fame which this obscure situation afforded him, he determined to make his appearance on the more public theatre of Athens. Upon his return thither, he found the public places in the city, proper for this purpose, already occupied by other sects; the Academy by the Platonists; the Lyceum by the Peripatetics; the Cynosarges by the Cynics; and the Porch by the Stoics. He therefore purchased for his own use, at the expense of eighty *minæ*, a pleasant garden,<sup>7</sup> where he took up his constant residence, and taught his system of philosophy. Hence the Epicureans were called the Philosophers of the Garden.<sup>8</sup> Besides this garden, Epicurus had a house in Melite, a village of the Cecropian tribe, to which he frequently retreated with his friends. From this time to his death, notwithstanding all the disturbances of the state, Epicurus never deserted Athens, except that he made two or three excursions into Ionia, to visit his friends. During the siege of Athens by Demetrius, which happened when Epicurus was forty-four years of age, while the city was severely harassed by famine, Epicurus is said to have supported himself and his friends on a small quantity of beans, which he shared equally with them.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Laert. i. Plin. l. xix. c. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cic. ad Att. l. ii. Ep. 24. Juv. Sat. xiv.

<sup>9</sup> Laert. Plut. in Demet. t. iii. p. 96.

The period in which Epicurus opened his school was peculiarly favourable to his design. In the room of the simplicity of the Socratic doctrine, nothing now remained but the subtlety and affectation of Stoicism, the unnatural severity of the Cynics, or the debasing doctrine of indulgence taught and practised by the followers of Aristippus. The luxurious refinement which now prevailed in Athens, while it rendered every rigid scheme of philosophy, as well as all grossness of manners, unpopular, inclined the younger citizens to listen to a preceptor, who smoothed the stern and wrinkled brow of philosophy; and, under the notion of conducting his followers to enjoyment in the bower of tranquillity, led them, unawares, into the paths of moderation and virtue. Hence his school became exceedingly popular, and disciples flocked into the Garden, not only from different parts of Greece, but from Egypt and Asia. Seneca, though a Stoic philosopher, bears this testimony to Epicurus:<sup>10</sup> "I the more freely quote the excellent maxims of Epicurus, in order to convince those who become his followers from the hope of screening their vices, that to whatever sect they attach themselves, they must live virtuously. Even at the entrance of the Garden they will find this inscription: 'The hospitable keeper of this mansion, where you will find pleasure the highest good, will present you liberally with barley cakes, and water from the spring. These gardens will not provoke your appetite by artificial dainties, but satisfy it with natural supplies. Will you not then be well entertained?'"

Those disciples who were regularly admitted into the school of Epicurus, lived together, not in the manner of the Pythagoreans, who cast their possessions into a common stock; for this, in his opinion, implied mutual distrust rather than friendship; but upon such a footing of friendly attachment, that each individual cheerfully supplied the necessities of his brother.<sup>11</sup> And this was no difficult task, not only on account of the smallness of the expenses attending their frugal manner of living, but because the most cordial affection subsisted among them. The friendship of the Epicurean fraternity is described by Cicero<sup>12</sup> as un-

<sup>10</sup> Ep. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Laert. l. x; § 11, &c.

<sup>12</sup> De Fin. l. i. c. 20.

equalled in the history of mankind; and Valerius Maximus<sup>13</sup> relates a memorable example of indissoluble friendship between Polycrates and Hippoclidés, two philosophers of the Garden.

Epicurus, that he might prosecute his philosophical labours with the less interruption, lived in a state of celibacy.<sup>14</sup> In his own conduct he was exemplary for temperance and continence; and he inculcated upon his followers severity of manners, and the strict government of the passions, as the best means of passing a tranquil and happy life. Notwithstanding his regular manner of living, towards the close of his days, probably in consequence of intense application to study, his constitution became infirm, and he was afflicted with the stone. Perceiving, from these marks of decay, that his end was approaching, he wrote a will, in which he bequeathed his Garden, and the buildings belonging to it, to Hermachus, and through him to the future professors of his philosophy. On the last day of his life he wrote to his friend Hermachus, informing him that his disease had, for fourteen days, tormented him with anguish, which nothing could exceed: at the same time he adds; "All this is counterbalanced by the satisfaction of mind which I derive from the recollection of my discourses and discoveries." He concluded with entreating his friend, by the affection which he had always shewn to him and to philosophy, to take care of the children of Metrodorus. The Emperor Marcus Antoninus confirms this account, attesting that Epicurus, in his sickness, relied more upon the recollection of his excellent life than upon the aid of physicians, and instead of complaining of his pain, conversed with his friends upon those principles of philosophy which he had before maintained. At length, finding nature just exhausted, he ordered himself to be put into a warm bath, where, after refreshing himself with wine, and exhorting his friends not to forget his doctrines, he expired. His death happened in the

<sup>13</sup> L. i. c. 8. Chrysippus apud Stob. Serm. 117. Conf. Laert. l. x. §119. Epict. Arr. l. i. c. 23. iii. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Theodoret. Serm. 14. Clem. Al. Strom. l. ii.

second year of the hundred and twenty-seventh Olympiad,<sup>15</sup> and the seventy-third of his age.<sup>16</sup>

Epicurus is said to have written a greater number of works, from his own invention, than any other Grecian philosopher; but none of his writings have escaped the destroying hand of time, except a compendium of his doctrine preserved by Laertius, and a few fragments dispersed among ancient authors.<sup>17</sup>

Not only did the immediate followers of Epicurus adorn the memory of their master with the highest honours,<sup>18</sup> but many eminent writers, who have disapproved his philosophy, have expressed great respect for his personal merit. Nevertheless it cannot be denied, that from the time when this philosopher appeared to the present day, an uninterrupted course of censure has fallen upon his memory; so that the name of his sect has almost become a proverbial expression for every thing corrupt in principle, and infamous in character. The charges brought against Epicurus are, that he superseded all religious principles, by dismissing the gods from the care of the world;<sup>19</sup> that, if he acknowledged their existence, it was only in conformity to popular prejudice, since, according to his system, nothing exists in nature but material atoms; that he discovered great insolence and vanity in the disrespect with which he treated the memory of former philosophers, and the characters and persons of his contemporaries;<sup>20</sup> that both the master and the whole fraternity were addicted to the vilest and most infamous vices,<sup>21</sup> so that the school ought not to have been called a Garden, but a sty; and, in short, that this philosopher, and his followers, relinquished all liberal studies and manly pursuits, that they might devote themselves to the grossest impieties and debaucheries. These accusations against the Epicurean school have been not only the voice of common rumour, but have been more

<sup>15</sup> B. C. 273.

<sup>16</sup> Laert. l. x. § 24, &c. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 30. De Faro, c. 9. Anton. de seipso, l. ix. § 42.

<sup>17</sup> Laert. § 139. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 7. Fabr. Bib. Gr. vol. ii. p. 505.

<sup>18</sup> Laert.      <sup>19</sup> Plut. adv. Colot. Seneq. de Benef. l. iv. c. 19.

<sup>20</sup> Cic. de Nat. l. i.

<sup>21</sup> Athen. l. iii. p. 101. l. vii. p. 278. l. x. p. 546. Suidas.



or less confirmed by men distinguished for their wisdom and virtue—Zeno, Cicero, Plutarch, Galen, and a long train of Christian fathers.<sup>22</sup> So that if the question were to be determined by the number of accusers, there can be no doubt that Epicurus and his followers must be condemned. But if the cause be examined with impartiality; if the credit of the witnesses against Epicurus be thoroughly canvassed; if the causes of the spirit of invective raised against him be duly considered; and if the evidences on the other side be allowed a fair hearing, it will perhaps be found, that this philosopher, though in some respects highly censurable, has been, in several others, severely and unjustly condemned.

With respect to the first charge, that of impiety, it certainly admits of no refutation. The doctrine of Epicurus concerning nature, not only militated against the superstitions of the Athenians, but against the agency of a Supreme Deity in the formation and government of the world; and his misconceptions, with respect to mechanical motion, and the nature of Divine happiness, led him in his system to divest the Deity of some of his primary attributes. It doth not indeed appear, that he entirely denied the existence of superior powers. Cicero, who is unquestionably to be ranked among his opponents, relates,<sup>23</sup> that Epicurus wrote books concerning piety, and the reverence due to the gods, expressed in terms which might have become a priest; and he charges him<sup>24</sup> with inconsistency, in maintaining that the gods ought to be worshipped, whilst he asserted, that they had no concern in human affairs; herein admitting, that he revered the gods, but neither through hope nor fear, merely on account of the majesty and excellence of their nature.<sup>25</sup> But if, with the utmost contempt for popular superstitions, Epicurus retained some belief in, and respect for, Invisible Natures, it is evident that his gods were destitute of many of the essential characters of divinity, and that his piety was of a kind very different from that which is inspired by just notions of Deity. Not to urge, that there is some reason to suspect, that what he

<sup>22</sup> Vid. Gassend. Vit. Ep. l. iii. c. 6.

<sup>23</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 41.

<sup>24</sup> Ib. c. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Senec. de Benef. l. iv. c. 19.

taught concerning the gods might have been artfully designed to screen him from the odium and hazard which would have attended a direct avowal of atheism.

The second charge against Epicurus, that of insolence and contempt towards other philosophers, seems scarcely compatible with the general air of gentleness and civility which appears in his character. If he claimed to himself the credit of his own system, he did no more than Zeno, Plato, and Aristotle, after availing themselves of every possible aid from former philosophers, had done before him.

Calumny never appeared with greater effrontery, than in accusing Epicurus of intemperance and incontinence. That his character was distinguished by the contrary virtues, appears not only from the numerous attestations adduced by Laertius,<sup>26</sup> but even from the confession of the more respectable opponents of his doctrine, particularly Cicero,<sup>27</sup> Plutarch,<sup>28</sup> and Seneca.<sup>29</sup> And indeed, without any external evidence, this is sufficiently clear, from the particulars which are related concerning his usual manner of living. Chrysippus himself, one of his most violent enemies among the Stoics, acknowledged that Epicurus discovered little inclination towards sexual pleasures.<sup>30</sup> Nothing can be a greater proof that his adversaries had little to allege against his innocence, than that they were obliged to have recourse to forgery. The infamous letters which Diotimus, or, according to Athenæus, Theotimus, ascribed to him,<sup>31</sup> were proved, in a public court, to have been fraudulently imposed upon the world, and the author of the imposition was punished. Whatever might be the case afterwards, there is little reason to doubt that, during the life of Epicurus, his Garden was rather a school of temperance, than a scene of riot and debauchery.

That Epicurus did not renounce every kind of learning, as insignificant and useless, will more fully appear in the sequel. For the present we shall content ourselves with the remarks which Cicero puts into the mouth of Torqua-

<sup>26</sup> L. x. § 11.

<sup>27</sup> Tusc. Q. l. v.

<sup>28</sup> Adv. Colot.

Ep. 21. 18.

<sup>30</sup> Stob. l. c.

<sup>31</sup> Laert. l. x. § 3. Athen. l. xiii. p. 611.

tus, in other respects sufficiently severe against Epicurus. "The reason," says he,<sup>32</sup> "why Epicurus appears to you deficient in learning is, that he thought nothing deserved the name of learning, which was not conducive to the happiness of life." And afterwards, "Epicurus therefore was not uninstructed, but they are unlearned who think that those studies, with which it would be disgraceful for youth not to be conversant, should be continued to old age." Whence it appears, that Epicurus was an enemy to liberal science no further than Socrates himself had been, Stobæus<sup>33</sup> ascribes to Epicurus the following sentiment: We ought to be thankful to Nature for having made those things which are necessary easy to be discovered, and those things which are difficult to be known not necessary.

If it be asked, whence it happened, that a character, so eminently distinguished by simplicity and purity as that of Epicurus appears to have been, was loaded with so many calumnies; we answer, the circumstances of the times in which he lived will sufficiently account for the fact.

Zeno, and the Stoic sect, began to flourish about the same time with Epicurus and his school, that is, about the hundred and twentieth Olympiad;<sup>34</sup> although the latter is of somewhat later date than the former. The father of the Stoics was, as we have seen, of a temper naturally severe and gloomy; and his character was, under Antisthenes, formed upon the plan of the Cynic school; so that, both by disposition and education, he was inclined to carry his moral system beyond the limits of nature, and framed to himself a fanciful image of a wise man, which could have no archetype in real life. After pillaging the schools of other philosophers, in order to compose from the plundered mass a system of his own, that he might give it an air of novelty, he introduced new terms, or affixed new significations and definitions to the old; whence arose dogmas, which had indeed little originality, but which under a paradoxical form carried the appearance of profound wisdom. By these means, together with the external aid of uncommon gravity in language, dress, and demeanour, Zeno and his followers obtained such high reputation among the

<sup>32</sup> De Fin. l. i.<sup>33</sup> Serm. 39. p. 137.<sup>34</sup> B. C. 300.

Athenians, that they were the only persons deemed worthy of the name of philosophers.

The temper of Epicurus, and the character under which he chose to appear, was the reverse of all this. In his natural disposition lively and cheerful, and accustomed, from his infancy, to mix in society with men of all descriptions, he had acquired a captivating facility of address, and urbanity of manners. Nothing could be more contrary to his disposition and habitude, than the artificial reserve, and hypocritical affectation of the Stoics. His aversion to unnatural austerity, and artificial grimace, induced him to open his Garden in direct opposition to the Porch. Observing that all the Athenians were at this time immersed either in pleasures or in ideal and useless disputes, he attempted to lead them to such an employment of their rational faculties as would be conducive to the true enjoyment of life; and for this purpose introduced among them a system of philosophy, the professed object of which was, to enable men to preserve themselves from pain, grief, and sorrow of every kind, and to secure to themselves the uninterrupted possession of tranquillity and happiness. This great end he assured himself would be effected, if, by taking off the forbidding mask with which the Stoics had concealed the fair face of virtue, he could persuade men to embrace her as the only guide to a happy life.<sup>35</sup>

At the same time Epicurus was convinced, that the subtlety of disputation would contribute little towards the accomplishment of his design; and therefore endeavoured to divert the public taste from these trifling occupations, and to put an end to the verbal contests of the Academics, Dialectics, and Stoics, by instituting a school, in which greater caution than had hitherto been customary should be exercised in the assumption of principles, and in the use of terms. The natural consequence was, that the Athenian youth willingly committed themselves to a preceptor, who smoothed the path of philosophy, which others had rendered so rugged; and that the school of Epicurus was more frequented than any other: a circumstance which, it is easy to perceive, must have excited great jealousy and envy

<sup>35</sup> Laert. l. x. § 122. 144.

among his contemporaries. As Epicurus erected his school in direct opposition to that of the Stoics, and spared no pains to expose the futility of their system, and the ostentatious hypocrisy of their conduct, it cannot be questioned, that this sect in particular, who were above all others the least able to bear contradiction, would be highly enraged; nor can it be thought surprising that, in such circumstances, they should call in the assistance of detraction and calumny against so powerful an opponent.

Another cause of the discredit into which Epicurus and his followers fell, may be discovered in the nature and constitution of his philosophy. Epicurus made pleasure the end of his doctrine, and only employed wisdom as a guide to happiness. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* For the Stoics would easily perceive, that a preceptor who attempted to correct the false and corrupt taste of the times, and to lead men to true pleasure, by natural and easy steps in the path of virtue, would be more likely to command the public attention, than one who rested his authority and influence upon a rigid system of doctrine, and an unnatural severity of manners. In order, therefore, to secure their own popularity, they thought it necessary to misrepresent the principles and character of Epicurus, and held him up to public censure as an advocate for infamous pleasures. That they might gain the greater credit by their misrepresentations, they invented and circulated many scandalous tales, which would obtain a ready reception among the indolent and credulous Athenians.<sup>36</sup> This might be the more easily effected, as Epicurus passed his time in his Garden, remote from the crowd, and did not scruple, in his retirement, to enjoy such pleasures as he judged to be not inconsistent with that virtuous tranquillity, which was the chief end of his philosophy. The calumnies which were thus ingeniously fabricated, and industriously propagated, against the Epicurean sect, would be the more willingly believed on account of the contempt with which Epicurus treated the vulgar superstitions, and his avowed rejection of the doctrine of fate, or providence, so strongly main-

<sup>36</sup> Cic. de Fin. I. ii. Euseb. Præp. I. vi. c. 6. Athen. I. iii. p. 103. I. vii. p. 173. 279. I. viii. p. 335. Arriau. I. ii. c. 20.

tained by the Stoics; and especially on account of the perverse abuse of his doctrine to the encouragement of licentiousness, by which many of his followers brought disgrace upon their sect.<sup>37</sup> These abuses ought not, however, to be imputed to the founder of the school. Seneca himself acknowledges,<sup>38</sup> that the profligates, who in his time professed themselves disciples of Epicurus, were not led into their irregularities by his doctrine; but, being themselves strongly addicted to vice, sought to hide their crimes in the bosom of philosophy, and had recourse to a master who encouraged the pursuit of pleasure, not because they set any value upon that sober and abstemious kind of pleasure which the doctrine of Epicurus allowed, but because they hoped, in the mere name, to find some pretext or apology for their debaucheries.

If these circumstances be duly considered and compared, it will no longer appear strange, that many eminent men, who had addicted themselves to other schools, have given an unfavourable judgment concerning Epicurus, whilst the force of truth has sometimes led them, at the expense of their own consistency, to attest his merit. Others, however, have penetrated through the thick cloud of calumny which has hung over the character of Epicurus, and, in opposition to the general current of censure, have ventured to give him that praise which, amidst all the absurdities of his speculative system, was so justly due to his personal virtues, and to his laudable attempts to conduct men, by innocence and sobriety, to the tranquil enjoyment of life.

Notwithstanding the violent opposition which Epicurus met with from the Stoics, he had many friends and followers during his life; and after his death a degree of respect was paid to his memory, which fell little short of idolatry. His three brothers, Neocles, Chæredemus, and Aristobulus, devoted themselves to the study of philosophy, and were supported by his liberality. Of his intimate friends the most celebrated were, Metrodorus, Polyænus, and Hermachus.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Ælian*. l. ix. c. 12. *Cic. Orat.* in *Pison*.

<sup>38</sup> *De Vit. Beat.* c. 12.

<sup>39</sup> *Laert.* l. x. § 10, &c. *Suidas*.

*Metrodorus* first attached himself to *Epicurus* at *Lampsacus*,<sup>40</sup> and continued with him till his death. He maintained the cause of his friend and master with great intrepidity, both by his discourses and writings, against the Sophists and Dialectics, and consequently partook largely of the obloquy<sup>41</sup> which fell upon the sect. *Plutarch*<sup>42</sup> charges him with having reprobated the folly of his brother *Timocrates*, in aspiring to the honours of wisdom, whilst nothing was of any value but eating and drinking, and indulging the animal appetites. But it is probable that this calumny originated with *Timocrates* himself, who, from a personal quarrel with *Metrodorus*, deserted the sect, and therefore can deserve little credit.

*Polyænus*<sup>43</sup> is said to have recommended himself to *Epicurus* by his amiable temper, and the modesty of his manners. *Cicero* also attests,<sup>44</sup> that he was an eminent mathematician.

*Hermachus*,<sup>45</sup> of *Mitylene*, left the schools of the Rhetoricians to become a disciple of *Epicurus*, and obtained such entire possession of his confidence and affection, that at his death he entrusted him with the execution of his will, and committed to him the whole charge of his school.

After the death of *Epicurus* his followers celebrated his birth-day as a festival. They preserved his image on their rings or cups, or in pictures, which they either carried about their persons, or hung up in their chambers. So great was their reverence for his authority, and their regard to his dying advice, that they committed his maxims, and some of them the whole body of his instructions, to memory. For several ages they adhered with wonderful unanimity to his system, yielding as implicit submission to his decisions, as the Athenians or Spartans ever yielded to the laws of *Solon* or *Lycurgus*. They carried this point so far, that it was deemed a kind of impiety to innovate upon his doctrine; so that the Epicureans formed a Philosophical Republic, regulated by one judgment, and animated by one soul.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Strabo, l. xiii.<sup>41</sup> Cic. Tusc. Q. l. iii.<sup>42</sup> Adv. Coloten.<sup>43</sup> Laert. l. x. § 24.<sup>44</sup> Acad. Qu. l. iv. c. 33.<sup>45</sup> Laert. § 25.<sup>46</sup> Laert. l. x. § 21. Plin. H. N. l. xxxv. c. 2. Athen. l. iv. p. 182.

Thus much concerning the *Life* of Epicurus. Our next business is to state, as accurately as the remaining sources of information will permit, the *Doctrines* which he taught. They may be arranged under the distinct heads of Philosophy in General, Canons or Rules of Philosophizing, Physics, and Ethics.

The *Sum* of his doctrine concerning *Philosophy* in General is this:<sup>47</sup>

*Philosophy* is the exercise of reason in the pursuit and attainment of a happy life; whence it follows, that those studies which conduce neither to the acquisition nor the enjoyment of happiness are to be dismissed as of no value. The end of all speculation ought to be, to enable men to judge with certainty what is to be chosen, and what to be avoided, to preserve themselves free from pain, and to secure health of body and tranquillity of mind. True philosophy is so useful to every man, that the young should apply to it without delay, and the old should never be weary of the pursuit; for no man is either too young or too old to correct and improve his mind, and to study the art of happiness. Happy are they who possess by nature a free and vigorous intellect, and who are born in a country where they can prosecute their inquiries without restraint; for it is philosophy alone which raises a man above vain fears and base passions, and gives him the perfect command of himself. As nothing ought to be dearer to a philosopher than truth, he should pursue it by the most direct means, devising no fictions himself; nor suffering himself to be imposed upon by the fictions of others, neither poets, orators, nor logicians, making no other use of the rules of rhetoric or grammar, than to enable him to speak or write with accuracy and perspicuity, and always preferring a plain and simple to an ornamented style. Whilst some doubt of every thing, and others profess to acknowledge every thing, a wise man will embrace such tenets, and only such, as are built upon experience, or upon certain and in-

Cie. de Fin. l. v. c. 1. Q. Ac. l. iv. c. 33. Sen. Ep. 33. Themist. Orat. iv. Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. xiv. c. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Laert. l. x. § 30. 120, &c. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. xi. § 169. Senec. Ep. 8. 52. 89. Cic. in Brut. c. 83. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. i. p. 20.



disputable axioms. Philosophy consists of two parts; physics, which respect the contemplation of nature; and ethics, which are employed in the regulation of manners. Of these the latter is the most important; the knowledge of nature being only necessary as a means of promoting the happiness of life. Philosophers have added a third part, dialectics; but this is to be rejected as only productive of thorny disputes, idle quibbles, and fruitless cavilling.<sup>48</sup> In order to facilitate the pursuit of knowledge, a few plain maxims and rules may be useful.

*Truth* is of two kinds, that which respects real existence, and that which consists in a perfect agreement between the conception of the mind and the nature of things. It is in the nature of things true, that any individual is what he is, and no other. A judgment or enunciation is true, when it agrees with the thing concerning which the judgment is made or declared. In order to judge rightly concerning truth, it is necessary to make use of some criterion, or instrument, of judging. This criterion will be different according to the nature of the object which the mind contemplates. In judging of natural objects external to man, the senses first present the object to the mind, which perceives it by means of the faculty of sensation. Besides this operation of the mind, by which it becomes sensible of things present, and a mental image, or phantasy, is produced, the mind is also capable of reasoning concerning the object which it perceives, and comparing it with a certain preconception, or general idea, which has been formed by frequent similar impressions upon the senses. In judging of moral objects which interest the affections, the only criterion is the affection or passion itself, by which we are driven towards, or drawn from, any object, as pleasure and pain. There are then three instruments of judging—sense, preconception, and passion.<sup>49</sup>

The maxims, or canons, which may be laid down concerning sense are these four: First, that the senses can never be deceived, and consequently that every perception of an image or appearance is true; that is, the perception

<sup>48</sup> Lucretius, l. i. v. 63, &c. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. vii. § 14.

<sup>49</sup> Laert. l. x. § 31. 121, &c. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. vii. § 203. Plut. de Pla. Ph. l. iv. c. 8.

or simple apprehension, and its efficient cause, the species or image flowing from the object, really agree.<sup>50</sup> Secondly, Opinion or judgment is consequent upon perception, and admits either of truth or falsehood. Perceptions or sensations are the effect of real external *phenomena*; but when the mind judges concerning these appearances, the opinion may be either right or wrong. If a tower appears to be small and round, the image which produces this perception of smallness and roundness is really such; but when the mind reasons upon this appearance, to determine whether the tower from which this image proceeded be in itself small or round, it may either conclude according to truth, or be deceived.<sup>51</sup> Thirdly, Every opinion is to be admitted as true, which is attested, or not contradicted, by the evidence of the senses, after a careful and deliberate examination of every circumstance which can be supposed to affect the question. Opinions may be received as true, either upon the direct report of the senses thus examined, as that the person coming towards me is Plato, or by clear inference from something admitted on the testimony of the senses, as that because bodies move there is a *Vacuum*, without which it would be impossible for a body to pass out of one place into another. Fourthly, An opinion contradicted or not attested by the evidence of the senses is false. Thus the opinion of a *Plenum* must be false, because it contradicts the evidence of the senses, which attests that there is such a thing as motion.<sup>52</sup>

Concerning the second instrument of judgment, *πρόληψις*, Preconception, four canons may also be laid down.<sup>53</sup> First, That all preconceptions are derived from the senses, either by immediate impression, as of an individual man; by enlargement or diminution, as of a giant or dwarf; by resemblance, as of an unknown city to one which has been seen; or by composition, as of a Centaur. Secondly, Preconception is necessary to enable us to reason, inquire, or judge of any thing. Unless, for example, we have in the mind a general idea of the form or species of a horse, we

<sup>50</sup> Laert. ib. § 32. 126. Sext. Emp. ib. l. vii. § 126. 211.

<sup>51</sup> Laert. § 34.

<sup>52</sup> Laert.

<sup>53</sup> Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. ii. c. 11. § 107. l. viii. § 316. Laert. l. x. § 32, 33. 108.

cannot determine whether the animal which stands by us is a horse. Thirdly, Preconceptions, or universal notions, are the principles of all reasoning and discourse; and we easily refer to these in comparing one thing with another. If these universal notions, καθολικαὶ νοήσεις, be agreeable to nature, and distinctly conceived, artificial reasoning will be unnecessary. Fourthly, Truths, not self-evident, are to be deduced from manifest preconceptions, or, where the relation of ideas is obscure, it is to be made evident by the intermediate use of some acknowledged principle.

The third instrument, passion or affection, which comprehends pleasure and pain, admits of these four evident maxims.<sup>54</sup> First, All pleasure to which no pain is annexed, is for its own sake to be pursued. Secondly, All pain, to which no pleasure is annexed, is for its own sake to be avoided. Thirdly, That pleasure, which either prevents the enjoyment of a greater pleasure, or produces a greater pain, is to be shunned. Fourthly, That pain, which either removes a greater pain, or procures a greater pleasure, is to be endured.

With respect to the use of Words, two canons may suffice.<sup>55</sup> First, In speaking, make choice of terms in common use, and employ them in the sense in which they are commonly understood. Secondly, In hearing or reading, attend carefully to the signification which the speaker or writer affixes to his terms. These simple precepts, diligently followed, would prevent much obscurity and confusion, and put an end to many disputes.

By the help of these rules for investigating truth, Epicurus undertook to conduct his followers into the secrets of nature, and to lay open to them the origin of things. With how little consistency and success will appear in the sequel.

The *Physical Doctrine* of Epicurus was as follows: <sup>56</sup>

*Nothing* can ever spring from nothing, nor can any thing ever return to nothing.<sup>57</sup> The universe always existed, and will always remain; for there is nothing into which it can be changed. There is nothing in nature, nor can any

<sup>54</sup> Laert. § 118. 129. Sext. Emp. ib. § 316.

<sup>55</sup> Laert. § 13. 37.

<sup>56</sup> Laert. l. x. § 35, 36. 38.

<sup>57</sup> Epist. ad Herod. ap. Laert. l. c.

thing be conceived, besides body and space. Body is that which possesses the properties of bulk, figure, resistance, and gravity: it is this alone which can touch or be touched. Space, or *vacuum*, destitute of the properties of body, incapable of action or passion, is the region which is or may be occupied by body, and which affords it an opportunity of moving freely. That there are bodies in the universe is attested by the senses. That there is also space is evident; since otherwise body would have no place in which to move or exist, and of their existence and motion we have the certain proof of perception. Besides these no third nature can be conceived; for such a nature must either have bulk and solidity, or want them; that is, it must either be body or space: this does not, however, preclude the existence of qualities, which have no subsistence but in the body to which they belong.<sup>58</sup>

The universe, consisting of body and space, is infinite, for it has no limits. Bodies are infinite in multitude; space is infinite in magnitude. The terms above or beneath, high or low, cannot be properly applied to infinite space. The universe is to be conceived as immoveable, since beyond it there is no place into which it can move; and as eternal and immutable, since it is neither liable to increase nor decrease, to production nor decay. Nevertheless, the parts of the universe are in motion, and are subject to change.<sup>59</sup>

All bodies consist of parts, of which they are composed, and into which they may be resolved; and these parts are either themselves simple principles, or may be resolved into such. These first principles, or simple Atoms, are divisible by no force, and therefore must be immutable. This may also be inferred from the uniformity of nature, which could not be preserved if its principles were not certain and consistent. The existence of such atoms is evident, since it is impossible that any thing which exists should be reduced to nothing. A finite body cannot consist of parts infinite, either in magnitude or number; divisibility of bodies in *infinitum* is therefore inconceivable. All atoms are of the same nature, or differ in no essential

<sup>58</sup> Lucret. l. i. Laert. l. x. § 38. Euseb. l. i. c. 8.

<sup>59</sup> Laert. l. x. § 39. 42. Lucret. l. i. v. 335. 420. 435. 455. 490. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. ix. § 333.

qualities. From their different effects upon the senses, it appears, however, that they differ in magnitude, figure, and weight. Atoms exist in every possible variety of figure, round, oval, conical, cubical, sharp, hooked, &c. But in every shape they are, on account of their solidity, infrangible, or incapable of actual division.<sup>60</sup>

Gravity must be an essential property of atoms; for since they are perpetually in motion, or making an effort to move, they must be moved by an internal impulse, which may be called gravity. Atoms, by this internal force, are carried forward in a direction which is nearly but not exactly rectilinear; and whilst they pass through free space, this declination from the right line occasions a casual concurrence of corpuscles of different forms. By this percussion atoms will be turned out of their natural course, and various kinds of curvilinear motions will be produced. It will also happen, that when one atom is reflected from another, and again repelled by a third, within a short interval, it will acquire a kind of vibratory or tremulous motion. Whence, in compound masses of atoms, the efforts of some of the particles towards motion in different directions being repressed by the efforts of others, a universal agitation must take place.<sup>61</sup>

The principle of gravity, that internal energy which is the cause of all motion, whether simple or complex, being essential to the primary corpuscles or atoms, they must have been incessantly and from eternity in actual motion. The velocity of the motion of atoms, where they meet with no obstacle, is such, that they will pass through the greatest imaginable space in the smallest imaginable portion of time. It may also be assumed, that all atoms passing without resistance through the same empty space are equal in velocity, and that, though the direction be changed, the velocity is not diminished by collision. Even in compound bodies the atoms still retain their innate energy; so that, though the whole mass may move slowly, or be apparently

<sup>60</sup> Laert. l. x. § 38. 42. 44. 54, 55, 56. 58, 59. Lucret. l. i. v. 268. 333. 486. 548, &c. l. ii. v. 729, &c. Plut. Pl. l. i. c. 3, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Lucret. l. i. v. 82, &c. l. ii. v. 217. Cic. de Fato, c. 10. 20. De Fin. l. i. c. 6. Laert. l. x. § 43, 44. 134. Plut. de Procr. Anim. t. iii. p. 79. De Fac. in Orb. Lun.

at rest, its parts are still moved by repercussions too rapid to be perceived by the senses.<sup>62</sup>

Atoms are the elements from which all things are compounded, and into which they are ultimately resolved. Not only are they the materials out of which bodies are made; but that energy, or principle of motion, which essentially belongs to them, is the sole agent in the operations of nature. Every compound body possesses the energy of all the atoms of which it is composed, but variously modified according to the respective figures, and relative situations, of its component parts. The rugged angular atoms, for example, being more easily entangled, move less freely than those which are of a smooth and round form; whence some combinations of atoms have more activity than others, such as fire and the vital principle; but all bodies, consisting of atoms which have in themselves a principle of motion, have a certain self-moving power, modified according to the variety of the motion, or tendency to motion, in its component parts. Thus action originates in atoms, and proceeds from these to bodies.<sup>63</sup>

All the changes which take place in the figure, and other properties of bodies, consist in local motion. If a body from sweet becomes bitter, or from soft becomes hard, it is through some change in the situation and arrangement of its parts, or through some augmentation or diminution of the mass which forms the body. As different words are formed from the different combinations of the same letters, so different qualities are produced by the different arrangement of the same particles. Bodies are more or less rare, in proportion to the magnitude of the vacuities which intercept the solid atoms of which they are composed. Transparency depends partly upon the same cause, and partly upon the position of the vacuities between the particles; for rays of light will pass easily through a dense body, as glass, if its vacuities be placed in a straight line. Hardness and softness, flexibility, ductility, and other qualities, may be explained in a similar manner. The weight

<sup>62</sup> Lucret. l. ii. v. 94. Laert. § 46. 61, 62.

<sup>63</sup> Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 3. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 20. Lucret. l. i. v. 1020, &c. Plut. adv. Colot. Laert. l. x. § 134.

of a body is the result of the weight of all its atoms; and since gravity is an essential property of atoms, all bodies must be heavy; and the only reason why some bodies appear to have the contrary property of levity is, that they are driven upwards by the denser mass in which they are placed.<sup>64</sup>

From the combination of the properties of atoms, and the qualities of bodies already enumerated, arise other properties and faculties, which are likewise to be traced up to the principle of motion. Heat, for example, is the influx of certain small, round, soft corpuscles, which insinuate themselves into the pores of bodies in continual succession, till, by their perpetual action, the parts are separated, and at length the body dissolved. The sense of heat is the perception of the separation of those parts which were before continuous. Cold is the influx of certain irregular atoms, whose motion is slower than those which occasion heat, and their effect the reverse of the former. Pleasure and pain, motion and rest, and even time, are accidents of bodies. Production and dissolution are nothing more than a change of the position of atoms; or an increase or diminution of the particles of which bodies are composed.<sup>65</sup>

The world, or that portion of the universe which includes the whole circumference of the heavens, the heavenly bodies, the earth, and all visible objects, is to be conceived as one whole, on account of the contiguity and relation of its parts: but there is no proof that it is an organized and animated body. Because the world is a finite portion of the universe, it must be terminated, and have some figure; but what this is it is impossible to discover. The world is not eternal, but began at a certain time to exist; for since every thing in the world is liable to the vicissitudes of production and decay, the world itself must be

<sup>64</sup> Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. x. § 42. 51. 75. Lucr. l. i. v. 575. l. iii. v. 96. 759. l. iv. v. 605. 444. 266. l. ii. 381. l. i. 187. 360. Arist. Phys. h. i. c. 4. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 19. Laert.

<sup>65</sup> Lucr. l. ii. v. 381. l. iv. v. 527. l. vi. v. 225. l. iii. v. 860. Laert. l. x. § 52. Plut. adv. Col. t. iii. p. 411. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. iii. c. 97. § 137. adv. Math. l. x. § 183. 227.

so too. This may also be inferred from the short date of history, and the late invention of arts.<sup>66</sup>

The formation of the world may be conceived to have happened thus: a finite number of that infinite multitude of atoms, which, with infinite space, constitutes the universe, falling fortuitously into the region of the world, were in consequence of their innate motion collected into one rude and indigested mass. In this chaos, the heaviest and largest atoms, or collections of atoms, first subsided, whilst the smaller, and those which from their form would move most freely, were driven upwards. These latter, after many reverberations, rose into the outer region of the world, and formed the heavens. Those atoms which were, by their size and figure, suited to form fiery bodies, collected themselves into stars. Those which were not capable of rising so high in the sphere of the world, being disturbed by the fiery particles, formed themselves into air. At length, from those which subsided was produced the earth. By the action of air, agitated by heat from the heavenly bodies upon the mixed mass of the earth, its smoother and lighter particles were separated from the rest, and water was produced, which flowed by its nature into the lowest places. In the first combination of atoms, which formed the chaos, various seeds arose, which, being preserved and nourished by moisture and heat, afterwards sprung forth in organized bodies of different kinds. Of the animal productions of the earth some may be conceived to have been produced imperfect, and therefore incapable of life, but others would come forth more perfect. These, after the earth was exhausted of its seminal virtues, would respectively continue their species.<sup>67</sup>

The world is preserved by the same mechanical causes by which it was framed; and from the same causes it will at last be dissolved. The incessant motion of atoms, which produced the world, is continually operating to-

<sup>66</sup> Laert. l. x. § 54. 76. 88. Lucret. l. i. 1020. l. v. v. 166, &c. 319, &c. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 8, 9, 10. l. ii. c. 17. Lactant. l. vii. c. 5. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>67</sup> Laert. l. x. § 76. 88. Lucret. l. iv. v. 304, &c. 420, &c. 450, &c. 474, &c. l. v. 166, &c. 319, &c. 799, &c. l. i. 1020. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 4. Cic. de N. D. l. i. c. 8, 9. l. ii. c. 17. Lactant. l. vii. c. 5.



wards its dissolution; for nothing is solid and indissoluble but atoms. Whence it may be concluded, that the time will come when nothing will remain but separate atoms and infinite space. Atoms being infinite, and capable of moving through infinite space, the number of worlds may be infinite.<sup>68</sup>

The earth, which was formed of heavy particles, subsiding to the lowest place, is situated in the middle of the world. Not that there is any point within the earth which is the centre of gravity, for all heavy bodies fall in nearly parallel lines, there being, as in the universe so in this world, one region above, from which they fall, and another region below, towards which they fall. The doctrine that there are upon the earth antipodes is therefore false. The earth is in form a circular plane: it is preserved from falling towards the lower region by the air, with which it is congenial, and upon which therefore it does not press; their mutual action destroying the effect of gravity.<sup>69</sup>

Earthquakes are caused by the agitation of internal winds and water, or by the decay and sudden fall of columns, by which portions of the earth's surface are supported. Or the internal winds may be converted into fires, which may cause sudden and violent eruptions, as in Mount *Ætna*.<sup>70</sup> All rivers flow into the sea, and mingle with a vast ocean, which surrounds the whole habitable world. The waters passing out of the sea into the crevices of the earth undergo a filtration, by means of which the particles of salt which they had received from the bed of the sea are separated. The overflowing of the Nile may be caused, either by winds from the north, or by rain or snow from the regions of *Ethiopia*. Water in wells is cold in summer and warm in winter, because in summer the earth being rarefied, exhales the particles of heat, and, becoming colder, communicates its coldness to the water; and the reverse in winter. Ice is produced, when the round particles of water, which cause heat, are protruded by the condensing

<sup>68</sup> Laert. l. x. § 77, &c. Lucret. l. i. v. 1102, &c. l. ii. v. 1092, &c. 1144, &c. 1021, &c. l. v. 252, 381, &c. Cic. de N. D. l. i. c. 8. Plat. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 4. l. i. c. 5. in Brut. t. v. p. 711. Cic. de Divin. l. ii. c. 63.

<sup>69</sup> Lucret. l. i. v. 1051, &c. l. v. v. 538, &c. l. ii. v. 652, &c.

<sup>70</sup> Lucret. l. vi. v. 535. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. vi. c. 20. Laert. l. x. § 105.

power of the external cold; and other particles, which from their form are more easily entangled, are from the same cause brought nearer together, and at length united.<sup>71</sup>

Fossils and plants are produced by the necessary impulse of nature, that is, by the motion of atoms, causing continual transpositions, accretion, or diminution, in individual bodies. They have no vital principle, and therefore can only be said analogically to live or die. The loadstone or magnet attracts iron, because the particles, which are continually flowing from it, as from all other bodies, have such a peculiar fitness, in form, to those which flow from iron, that upon collision they easily unite; so that some passing towards the mass of iron, and others towards the magnet, and striking upon their surfaces, they are respectively entangled with the particles of the body upon which they strike, and in rebounding carry back the body along with it. The mutual attraction of amber and light bodies, may be explained in the same manner.<sup>72</sup>

Animals having been once formed, at the beginning of the world, by the casual conjunction of similar atoms, the production of animal bodies is still continued in a consistent and determinate order; nature by degrees acquiring an uniformity in her operations, which appears artificial. The parts of animals were not originally framed for the uses to which they are now applied; but having been accidentally produced, they were afterwards accidentally employed. The eye, for example, was not made for seeing, nor the ear for hearing; but the soul being formed within the body, at the same time with these organs, and connected with them, could not avoid making use of them in their respective functions.<sup>73</sup>

The soul is a subtle corporeal substance, composed of the finest atoms; for if it were not corporeal, it could neither touch nor be touched, and consequently could neither act nor suffer. By the extreme tenuity of its particles, it is able

<sup>71</sup> Lucret. l. vi. v. 613, &c. 635, &c. 714, &c.

<sup>72</sup> Lucret. l. vi. v. 538, &c. Laert. l. x. § 95, 96. Plut. de Pl. Ph. l. v. c. 25.

<sup>73</sup> Lucret. l. iv. v. 816, &c. Lactant. l. iii. c. 17, de Opif. c. 7. Galen de Usu Part. l. i. c. 21.

to penetrate the whole body, and to adhere to all its parts. Notwithstanding the subtlety of its texture, it is composed of four distinct parts; fire, which causes animal heat; an ethereal principle, which is moist vapour; air; and a fourth principle, which is the cause of sensation. This sentient principle differs essentially from the three former, but is, like the rest, corporeal, because it is capable both of acting and being acted upon by bodies.<sup>74</sup> These four parts are so perfectly combined as to form one subtle substance, which, whilst it remains in the body, is the cause of all its faculties, motions, and passions, and which cannot be separated from it without producing the entire dissolution of the animal system. The soul is only capable of exercising its faculties of sensation by means of the bodily organs, and although, whilst they are united, the body partakes of the sensations of the soul, upon their separation it becomes wholly insensible; whence it appears, that sensation is the result of their union. That sensation is thus produced from the combination of elementary parts in themselves insensible, is to be ascribed to the peculiar magnitude, figure, motion, and arrangement of these parts; that is, sensation is to be considered, not as a primary property of atoms, but as the effect of a peculiar combination and contexture of certain atoms disposed by their nature to produce it.<sup>75</sup>

Different sensations are the casual effects of the different organs which the soul, in its union with the body, is capable of employing, and of the different properties and qualities of external objects. These become sensible by means of certain species or images, which are perpetually passing, like thin films, from bodies, in form similar to the surfaces of the bodies themselves, and striking upon organs fitted to receive them. Thus the species or images of visible bodies consist in certain small particles, of a peculiar magnitude, figure, and motion, which, having passed in a certain situation from a body, penetrates the organ of sight, and affects it in a peculiar manner. Thus, also, hearing is the effect of an efflux of certain particles from the body which is the cause of the sound, so formed and

<sup>74</sup> Lucret. l. ii. v. 129. 162, &c. l. iii. v. 233, &c. Plat. de Plac. Ph. l. iv. c. 3. adv. Colot. Laert. l. x. § 63, 64.

<sup>75</sup> Lucret. l. ii. v. 285. v. 972, &c. l. iii. v. 290. 324. Laert. § 64, 5.

arranged as when they strike upon the ear to become audible. The sensations produced by means of the other senses admit of a similar explanation. The species, or images, which produce these effects, are inconceivably small, and therefore do not, in passing away, perceptibly diminish the body; and from the innate tendency to motion in the atoms of which they are composed, they fly with inconceivable velocity from the object to the organ of sensation.<sup>76</sup>

The Mind, or Intellect, that nameless part of the soul in which consists the power of thinking, judging, and determining, is formed of particles most subtle in their nature, and capable of the most rapid motion. In whatever part of the body the intellect resides, it exists as a portion of the soul, with which it is so conjoined, as to form one nature with it; at the same time it retains its own distinct character, the power of thinking. The intellect has this peculiar property, that when the soul or sentient principle feels pleasure or pain, the intellect or mind always partakes of it; but the intellect may be affected with passions, which are not diffused through the whole soul. The seat of this most excellent part of the soul seems to be in the middle of the breast, or the heart, which we perceive to be the region of those affections which are excited by cogitation. Thought is produced by subtle images, which find their way through the body, and, when they arrive at the intellect, move it to think.<sup>77</sup>

The affections and passions of the soul may be reduced to two—pleasure and pain; the former natural and agreeable, the latter unnatural and troublesome. Whilst all the parts of the soul remain in their natural state, it experiences nothing but pleasurable tranquillity; but from the various motions which take place either in ourselves, or in the objects round us, the soul is liable either to be dilated by the approach of images suitable to its nature, and therefore pleasant, or to be contracted by contrary impressions. Vo-

<sup>76</sup> Lucret. l. ii. v. 422. 434. l. iv. v. 245, &c. 645, &c. 677, &c. Laert. l. x. § 49. 52. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 19. adv. Colot. t. iii. p. 410. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 14. § 94.

<sup>77</sup> Lucret. l. iii. v. 94. 104. 180. 187, &c. l. iii. v. 400, 422, &c. l. iv. 723. Plut. de Plac. Ph. l. iv. c. 8. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 6.

lentary motion is the effect of images conveyed to the mind; by which pleasurable or painful conceptions are formed; and subsequent desires or aversions are produced, which become the immediate springs of action.<sup>78</sup>

Sleep is produced when the parts of the soul which are at other times diffused through the body are repressed or separated by the action of the air, or of food. Dreams are the effect of images casually flying about, which from their extreme tenuity penetrate the body and strike upon the mind, exciting an imaginary perception of those things of which they are images. Death is the privation of sensation, in consequence of the separation of the soul from the body. When a man dies, the soul is dispersed into the corpuscles or atoms of which it was composed, and therefore can no longer be capable of thought or perception. It is with the soul as with the eye, which, when it is separated from the organized machine to which it belonged, is no longer capable of seeing.<sup>79</sup>

The knowledge of things which belong to the regions above the earth, whether aerial or celestial, is to be pursued for no other purpose than to free the mind from imaginary fears, and settle it in a state of tranquillity. This end may be accomplished in different ways; because these *phenomena* admit of different explanations, all, however, depending upon the simple principles upon which the terrestrial *phenomena* have been explained.<sup>80</sup>

In the heavens, or ethereal regions, the sun, moon, and stars appear to be fiery bodies; or they may be smooth mirrors, from which bright fiery particles flowing through the ethereal region are reflected to the earth; or they may be deep vessels containing fires; or they may be circular plates, heated like mortar, or stones in a furnace. The apparent motion of the heavenly bodies may arise from the revolution of the whole heaven in which they are fixed, like nails in a solid body; or by the revolution of the bodies themselves through the heaven as a fluid and permeable

<sup>78</sup> Lucret. l. iii. v. 289, &c. l. iv. 856. 879. Laert. l. x. § 34. 127. 139.

<sup>79</sup> Lucret. l. iv. 758. 914. 959, &c. l. iii. v. 507. 844. 991. Laert. § 65. Ps. Orig. Philosophum, c. 22.

<sup>80</sup> Laert. l. x. § 85. 113. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 13. 20. Stob. Ecl. Phys. p. 53. 55. 56. Cie. de N. D. l. i. c. 10. l. ii. c. 17.

medium. The cause of the motion of the heavenly bodies may either be, an internal necessity in the natures of the bodies themselves, or the external pressure of some ethereal fluid; but to assert any thing positively upon these subjects, only becomes those who affect an ostentatious display of knowledge.<sup>81</sup>

It cannot be contradicted, that there are in the universe Divine Natures; because nature itself has impressed the idea of divinity upon the mind of men: for where is the nation or race of men, which has not, without instruction, a natural preconception of the existence of the gods? This opinion is not to be established by custom, law, or any human institution, but is the effect of an innate principle, producing universal consent; it must therefore be true.<sup>82</sup> This universal notion has probably arisen from images of the gods, which have casually made their way to the minds of men in sleep, and have afterwards been recollected. But it is inconsistent with our natural notions of the gods, as happy and immortal beings, to suppose that they encumber themselves with the management of the world, or are subject to the cares and passions which must necessarily attend so great a charge. We are therefore to conceive, that the gods have no intercourse with mankind, nor any concern with the affairs of the world. Nevertheless, on account of their excellent nature, they are proper objects of reverence and worship.<sup>83</sup> Because the human figure is the most perfect, and the only form that admits of reason and virtue, we must conceive that the gods resemble men in their external shape; but we are not to suppose them to be gross bodies, consisting of flesh and blood, but thin ethereal substances, endued with sensation and intellect, and, from their peculiar nature, incapable of decay. The place of their residence is unknown to mortals; but

<sup>81</sup> Laert. § 91, &c. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 22. Lucret. l. v. v. 592. 669. 750, &c. l. vi. v. 218. 450. 498, &c.

<sup>82</sup> Lucret. l. v. v. 1182, &c. Sext. Empir. adv. Math. l. ix. § 25, 26. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 17. 30. Tusc. Q. l. i. c. 13. De Legib. l. i. c. 8.

<sup>83</sup> Lucret. l. v. v. 1168. 1232, &c. Laert. l. x. § 76. 123. 133, 134. Stobæi Serm. 33. p. 137. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 17, 18, 19. Lactant. de Ira Dei, c. 10. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 6.

we may be assured that, wherever it be, it is the mansion of perfect purity, tranquillity, and happiness.<sup>a</sup>

It will be impossible for an intelligent reader to contemplate the Epicurean system, as it is stated in the preceding summary, without perceiving, that it is a feeble and unsuccessful effort to explain the *phenomena* of nature upon mechanical principles. The author of this system deserts, at the outset, his own principle of advancing nothing which cannot be supported by natural appearances; for nothing was ever more perfectly hypothetical, than his doctrine of indivisible atoms of various forms and magnitude; nor can any thing be more contrary to the known law of nature, than that atoms impelled only by a single force should deviate from the right line. Indeed, Epicurus discovers, through the whole detail of his philosophy, a degree of ignorance with respect to the *phenomena* of nature, which proves him to have been ill qualified for the task of solving the grand problem concerning the origin and formation of the world. But the greatest defect in his system is, that it attempts to account for all the appearances of nature, even those which respect animated and intelligent beings, upon the simple principles of matter and motion, without introducing the agency of a Supreme Intelligence, or admitting any other idea of fate, than that of blind necessity inherent in every atom, by which it moves in a certain direction. Hence he leaves without explanation those appearances of design which are so manifest in every part of nature, and falls into the gross absurdity of supposing that the eye was not made for seeing, nor the ear for hearing. And although he professes to admit the existence of gods into his system of nature, and this upon the ground of an innate principle common to all mankind; the idea which he gives of their nature, as similar to that of man, and of their condition, as wholly separate from the world, and enjoying no other felicity than that which arises from inactive tranquillity, falls infinitely short of the true conception of Deity, as the Intelligent Creator and Governor of the world.

It is difficult to determine precisely what was the idea of Epicurus concerning the Divine Natures which he admitted

<sup>a</sup> Cic. l. c. Senec. de Benef. l. iv. c. 19.

into his system. Finding it wholly inconsistent with his fundamental principles to suppose the existence of immaterial beings, yet wishing to ascribe to the gods an incorporeal nature, he seems to have had recourse to an abstract notion of a peculiar substance, in the form of man, of such tenacity as to be intangible, indivisible, and indissoluble; and which he supposed to be endued with perception and reason. What this peculiar nature of Epicurus's divinities was, which was not a body, yet was like a body, we own ourselves unable to explain. The truth seems to have been, that Epicurus, reduced to inextricable difficulties by the absurdity of his system, that he might not wholly discard the idea of divinity, had recourse to the common asylum of ignorance—words without meaning.

The doctrine of Epicurus concerning nature differs from that of the Stoics chiefly in these particulars: that while the latter held God to be the soul of the world, diffused through universal nature, the former admitted no Primary Intelligent Nature into his system, but held atoms and space to be the first principles of all things; and that, whilst the Stoics conceived the active and passive principles of nature to be connected by the chain of fate, Epicurus ascribed every appearance in nature to a fortuitous collision and combination of atoms.

The science of Physics was, in the judgment of Epicurus, subordinate to that of Ethics; and his whole doctrine concerning nature was professedly adapted to rescue men from the dominion of troublesome passions, and lay the foundation of a tranquil and happy life.<sup>85</sup> His *Moral Philosophy*, which is unquestionably the least exceptionable part of his system, and which, when fairly rescued from the misrepresentations of his adversaries, will be found, for the most part, consonant to reason and nature, may be reduced to the following *Summary*.

The end of living, or the ultimate good, which is to be sought for its own sake, according to the universal opinion of mankind, is happiness; yet men, for the most part, fail in the pursuit of this end, either because they do not form a right idea of the nature of happiness, or because they do

<sup>85</sup> Epist. ad Menæceus, ap. Laert. l. x. § 132.



not make use of proper means to attain it. Since it is every man's interest to be happy through the whole of life, it is the wisdom of every one to employ philosophy in the search of felicity without delay; and there cannot be a greater folly than to be always beginning to live.<sup>86</sup>

The happiness which belongs to man, is that state in which he enjoys as many of the good things, and suffers as few of the evils incident to human nature as possible; passing his days in a smooth course of permanent tranquillity.<sup>87</sup> A wise man, though deprived of sight or hearing, may experience happiness in the enjoyment of the good things which yet remain; and when suffering torture, or labouring under some painful disease, can mitigate the anguish by patience, and can enjoy, in his afflictions, the consciousness of his own constancy. But it is impossible that perfect happiness can be possessed without the pleasure which attends freedom from pain, and the enjoyment of the good things of life. Pleasure is in its nature good, as pain is in its nature evil; the one is therefore to be pursued, and the other to be avoided, for its own sake. Pleasure or pain is not only good or evil in itself, but the measure of what is good or evil in every object of desire or aversion; for the ultimate reason why we pursue one thing and avoid another, is, because we expect pleasure from the former, and apprehend pain from the latter. If we sometimes decline a present pleasure, it is not because we are averse to pleasure itself, but because we conceive, that in the present instance it will be necessarily connected with a greater pain. In like manner, if we sometimes voluntarily submit to a present pain, it is because we judge that it is necessarily connected with a greater pleasure. Although all pleasure is essentially good, and all pain essentially evil, it doth not thence necessarily follow, that in every single instance the one ought to be pursued, and the other to be avoided; but reason is to be employed in distinguishing and comparing the nature and degrees of each, that the result may be a wise choice of that which shall appear to be, upon the whole, good. That pleasure is the first good, appears from the inclination which every animal, from its first birth, disco-

\* <sup>86</sup> Laert. l. x. § 118—122. Stob. Serm. 78. p. 281.

<sup>87</sup> Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 10.

vers to pursue pleasure and avoid pain; and is confirmed by the universal experience of mankind, who are incited to action by no other principle, than the desire of avoiding pain, or obtaining pleasure.<sup>88</sup>

There are two kinds of Pleasure; one consisting in a state of rest, in which both body and mind are undisturbed by any kind of pain; the other arising from an agreeable agitation of the senses, producing a correspondent emotion in the soul. It is upon the former of these that the enjoyment of life chiefly depends. Happiness may therefore be said to consist in bodily ease, and mental tranquillity. When pleasure is asserted to be the end of living, we are not, then, to understand that violent kind of delight or joy which arises from the gratification of the senses and passions, but merely that placid state of mind, which results from the absence of every cause of pain or uneasiness. Those pleasures which arise from agitation, are not to be pursued as in themselves the end of living, but as means of arriving at that stable tranquillity in which true happiness consists. It is the office of reason to confine the pursuit of pleasure within the limits of nature, in order to the attainment of that happy state, in which the body is free from every kind of pain, and the mind from all perturbation. This state must not, however, be conceived to be perfect in proportion as it is inactive and torpid, but in proportion as all the functions of life are quietly and pleasantly performed. A happy life neither resembles a rapid torrent, nor a standing pool, but is like a gentle stream that glides smoothly and silently along.<sup>89</sup>

This happy state can only be attained by a prudent care of the body, and a steady government of the mind. The diseases of the body are to be prevented by temperance, or cured by medicine, or rendered tolerable by patience. Against the diseases of the mind, philosophy provides sufficient antidotes. The instruments which it employs for this purpose, are the virtues; the root of which, whence all the rest proceed, is Prudence. This virtue comprehends

<sup>88</sup> Laert. § 118—137. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. ii. c. 7. l. v. c. 33. De Fin. l. i. c. 9, 10.

<sup>89</sup> Laert. l. x. § 136—139. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. iii. c. 17. De Fip. l. i. c. 9. 11. 17.

the whole art of living discreetly, justly, and honourably, and is in fact the same thing with wisdom.<sup>90</sup> It instructs men to free their understandings from the clouds of prejudice; to exercise temperance and fortitude in the government of themselves; and to practise justice towards others. Although pleasure or happiness, which is the end of living, be superior to virtue, which is the only means, it is every one's interest to practise all the virtues; for in a happy life, pleasure can never be separated from virtue.<sup>91</sup>

A prudent man, in order to secure his tranquillity, will consult his natural disposition in the choice of his plan of life. If, for example, he be persuaded that he should be happier in a state of marriage than in celibacy, he ought to marry; but if he be convinced, that matrimony would be an impediment to his happiness, he ought to remain single. In like manner, such persons as are naturally active, enterprising, and ambitious, or such as by the condition of their birth are placed in the way of civil offices, should accommodate themselves to their nature and situation, by engaging in public affairs; while such as are, from natural temper, fond of leisure and retirement, or, from experience or observation, are convinced that a life of public business would be inconsistent with their happiness, are unquestionably at liberty, except where particular circumstances call them to the service of their country, to pass their lives in obscure repose.<sup>92</sup>

Temperance is that discreet regulation of the desires and passions, by which we are enabled to enjoy pleasures without suffering any consequent inconvenience. They who maintain such a constant self-command, as never to be enticed by the prospect of present indulgence, to do that which will be productive of evil, obtain the truest pleasure by declining pleasure. Since, of desires some are natural and necessary; others natural, but not necessary; and others neither natural nor necessary, but the offspring of false judgment; it must be the office of temperance to gratify the first class, as far as nature requires; to restrain the

<sup>90</sup> Laert. § 132. 140. Cic. l. c. c. 14, 15. Tusc. Q. l. iii. c. 3. Sen. de Benef. l. iv. c. 2.

<sup>91</sup> Laert. § 130. 140. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 15.

<sup>92</sup> Laert. § 119.

second within the bounds of moderation; and, as to the third, resolutely to oppose, and if possible entirely repress them.<sup>93</sup>

Sobriety, as opposed to inebriety and gluttony, is of admirable use in teaching men that nature is satisfied with a little, and enabling them to content themselves with simple and frugal fare. Such a manner of living is conducive to the preservation of health; renders a man alert and active in all the offices of life; affords him an exquisite relish of the occasional varieties of a plentiful board, and prepares him to meet every reverse of fortune without the fear of want.<sup>94</sup>

Continence is a branch of temperance, which prevents the diseases, infamy, remorse, and punishment, to which those are exposed who indulge themselves in unlawful amours. Music and poetry, which are often employed as incentives to licentious pleasures, are to be cautiously and sparingly used.<sup>95</sup>

Gentleness, as opposed to an irascible temper, greatly contributes to the tranquillity and happiness of life, by preserving the mind from perturbation, and arming it against the assaults of calumny and malice. A wise man, who puts himself under the government of reason, will be able to receive an injury with calmness, and to treat the person who committed it with lenity; for he will rank injuries among the casual events of life, and will prudently reflect that he can no more stop the natural current of human passions, than he can curb the stormy winds.<sup>96</sup> Refractory servants in a family should be chastised, and disorderly members of a state punished, without wrath.

Moderation, in the pursuit of honours or riches, is the only security against disappointment and vexation. A wise man, therefore, will prefer the simplicity of rustic life to the magnificence of courts. Future events a wise man will consider as uncertain, and will therefore neither suffer himself to be elated with confident expectation, nor to be depressed by doubt and despair; for both are equally de-

<sup>93</sup> Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 13. 19. Tusc. Q. l. v. c. 33. Laert. § 149.

<sup>94</sup> Laert. § 130, 131. Conf. Sen. Ep. 4.

<sup>95</sup> Laert. § 142. 118, 119. 121. Sext. Emp. adv. M. l. vi. § 10.

<sup>96</sup> Laert. l. c. § 113. Conf. Sen. Ep. 47.

structive of tranquillity. It will contribute to the enjoyment of life, to consider death as the perfect termination of a happy life, which it becomes us to close like satisfied guests, neither regretting the past, nor anxious for the future.<sup>97</sup>

Fortitude, the virtue which enables us to endure pain, and to banish fear, is of great use in producing tranquillity. Philosophy instructs us to pay homage to the gods, not through hope or fear, but from veneration of their superior nature.<sup>98</sup> It, moreover, enables us to conquer the fear of death, by teaching us, that it is no proper object of terror; since, whilst we are, death is not, and when death arrives, we are not: so that it neither concerns the living nor the dead.<sup>99</sup> The only evils to be apprehended are, bodily pain and distress of mind. Bodily pain it becomes a wise man to endure with patience and firmness; because, if it be slight, it may easily be borne; and if it be intense, it cannot last long. Mental distress commonly arises, not from nature, but from opinion; a wise man will therefore arm himself against this kind of suffering, by reflecting that the gifts of fortune, the loss of which he may be inclined to deplore, were never his own, but depended upon circumstances which he could not command. If therefore they happen to leave him, he will endeavour as soon as possible to obliterate the remembrance of them, by occupying his mind in pleasant contemplation, and engaging in agreeable avocations.<sup>100</sup>

Justice respects man as living in society, and is the common bond without which no society can subsist. This virtue, like the rest, derives its value from its tendency to promote the happiness of life. Not only is it never injurious to the man who practises it, but nourishes in his mind calm reflections, and pleasant hopes; whereas it is impossible that the mind in which injustice dwells should not be full of disquietude.<sup>1</sup> Since it is impossible that iniquitous

<sup>97</sup> Laert. § 118—130. 144. 146. Lucret. l. v. v. 1428, &c. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 21.

<sup>98</sup> Cic. ib. c. 14. 20. Laert. § 77. 81. 123. Lucret. l. v. v. 1193, &c.

<sup>99</sup> Laert. § 87. 124—126. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. J. iii. c. 4. § 229. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. v. c. 30.

<sup>100</sup> Laert. § 118. 129. 140. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. iii.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. de Fin. l. i.

actions should promote the enjoyment of life as much as remorse of conscience, legal penalties, and public disgrace, must increase its trouble, every one who follows the dictates of sound reason will practise the virtues of justice, equity, and fidelity.<sup>2</sup> In society, the necessity of the mutual exercise of justice, in order to the common enjoyment of the gifts of nature, is the ground of those laws by which it is prescribed.<sup>3</sup> It is the interest of every individual in a state to conform to the laws of justice; for, by injuring no one, and rendering to every man his due, he contributes his part towards the preservation of that society, upon the perpetuity of which his own safety depends. Nor ought any one to think, that he is at liberty to violate the rights of his fellow-citizens, provided he can do it securely, for he who has committed an unjust action can never be certain that it will not be discovered; and however successfully he may conceal it from others, this will avail him little, since he cannot conceal it from himself. In different communities, different laws may be instituted, according to the circumstances of the people who compose them. Whatever is thus prescribed is to be considered as a rule of justice, so long as the society shall judge the observance of it to be for the benefit of the whole. But whenever any rule of conduct is found upon experience not to be conducive to the public good, being no longer useful, it should no longer be prescribed.<sup>4</sup>

Nearly allied to justice are the virtues of beneficence, compassion, gratitude, piety, and friendship. He who confers benefits upon others, procures to himself the satisfaction of seeing the stream of plenty spreading around him from the fountain of his beneficence; at the same time, he enjoys the pleasure of being esteemed by others. The exercise of gratitude, filial affection, and reverence for the gods, is necessary, in order to avoid the hatred and contempt of all men. Friendships are contracted for the sake of mutual benefit; but by degrees they ripen into such disinterested attachment, that they are continued without any

<sup>2</sup> Laert. § 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Atque ipsa utilitas justī prope mater et æqui est.* Hor.

<sup>4</sup> Laert. § 150—152. Lucret. l. v. 1135. 1197.

prospect of advantage. Between friends there is a kind of league, that each will love the other as himself. A true friend will partake of the wants and sorrows of his friend, as if they were his own; if he be in want, he will relieve him; if he be in prison, he will visit him; if he be sick, he will come to him; nay, situations may occur, in which he would not scruple to die for him. It cannot then be doubted, that friendship is one of the most useful means of procuring a secure, tranquil, and happy life.<sup>5</sup>

The preceding summary of the Epicurean System of Ethics, which is drawn from authentic sources, cannot but appear to the reader a full refutation of the censures which have been passed upon Epicurus by many writers, as the preceptor of luxurious and licentious pleasures. Epicurus, it is true, represents pleasure as the ultimate end of living; but pleasure is, in his system, only another term for happiness. The truth is, the ancient philosophers, in their disputes concerning The End of Living, or, The Greatest Good, differed from each other more in words than in reality. The Stoics maintained, that virtue in itself is happiness; Epicurus taught, that the motive by which men are induced to practise virtue is the desire of happiness. Both taught, that it is impossible to be happy without virtue, and both supposed virtue to consist in a conformity to nature. The real difference, then, between their moral systems could not be material. If it be urged, that the physical system of Epicurus necessarily led him to refer all pleasures to the body; we answer, that, although Epicurus conceived the human soul to be a compound of atoms, he nevertheless ascribed to it those faculties which other philosophers termed spiritual, and considered man as a being capable of intellectual and moral action. He supposed happiness to consist in mental tranquillity, as well as in a freedom from bodily pain; herein preserving the common and natural distinctions between body and mind. He also conceived so intimate an union to subsist between the mind and the body, that whenever the latter is affected with pleasure or pain, the former necessarily receives the impression. It was, therefore, of little conse-

<sup>5</sup> Laert. § 148. 154. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 20.

as far as concerned his moral system, to which man nature he referred the actions of the man ; her supposition, the actions were the same, the true, that a virtuous course of conduct a happy life. Nay, it may be added, the Epicurean system, which made the part of the soul, all pleasure or pain be said to be seated in the soul, considered as the instrument by which it performs its functions. No other moral system of Epicurus physical doctrine concern-

Epicurus,<sup>6</sup> the charge of his school as was before observed, upon his friend It was continued in succession by Polystarchides, Protarchus, and others ; concerning whom nothing memorable remains. The sect subsisted, but in a depraved and degraded state, as will appear in the sequel, till the decline of the Roman empire.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Laert. l. x. § 25. Suidas.

<sup>7</sup> Vidend. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 325. 369. 637. 643. Gassendus de Vita et Moribus Epicuri. Lugd. 1647. Op. t. v. Parker de Deo, Disp. l. s. 12. 14. Bayle. Rondelli Vit. Epic. Amst. 1693. Potter Arch. Gr. l. i. c. 9. Crophius de Gymnas. Lit. Ath. p. 55. Jons. de Script. l. i. c. 20. l. ii. c. 13. l. iv. p. 513. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 7, § 5—10. Reimann. Hist. Ath. c. 29. Gataker in Præloq. ad Antonin. Gassend. Comment. in Lib. decim Laertii; et Syntagma Philos. Epic. Thomas. de Exustione Mundi Stoica. Diss. ii. § 26. Conringiana, p. 65. Malebranche Recherche, p. i. l. i. c. 5. § 2. Crousaz Logique, t. i. p. i. s. i. c. 4. Clerici Ars Crit. p. 2. sect. 1. c. 9. Werenfels de Logom. Erud. c. 4. 6. Charleton Physiol. Epic. Lond. 1654. fol. Lamy de Princip. Paris, 1680. 12mo. Scipio Aquilian, de Plac. Phil. ante Arist. c. 11, 12. Cudworth, c. v. sect. 1. § 48. F. Grandis Diss. Crit. et Phil. 1. Schwartz. Suppl. ad Germ. Hist. Phil. p. 247. Du Hamel Consens. Vet. et Nov. Phil. c. iv. § 6. Burnet. Arch. l. i. c. 13. Feurlin. Diss. de Modo Probandi Deum ex Consensu Gentium. Fabr. Syll. Scrip. de Ver. Ch. Rel. c. iv. vii. viii. Buddæi Theol. Mor. p. i. c. 2. § 5. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 808. 816. 820. Des Coutures sur le Morale d'Epicure, Par. 1685. La Haye, 1686. Stoll. Hist. Phil. Mor. § cxi. Struian. Bibl. Phil. Auct. a Kahlio. p. l. p. 17, &c. Hein. Comm. Acad. Berolin. 1744. p. 1.



## CHAP. XVI.

## OF THE PYRRHONIC OR SCEPTICAL SECT.

**A**NOTHER branch of the Italic school of philosophy yet remains to be noticed, if, indeed, a sect which professed no tenets could deserve to be ranked among philosophers—the Pyrrhonic, so called from Pyrrho its founder. From the leading character of this sect, which was, that it called in question the truth of every system of opinions adopted by other sects, and held no other settled opinion, but that every thing is uncertain, it has also been called the Sceptical sect.<sup>1</sup> On account of the similarity of the opinions of this sect and those of the Platonic school, in the Middle and New Academy, it happened, that many of the real followers of Pyrrho chose to screen themselves from the reproach of universal Scepticism, by calling themselves Academics; whence the appellation of Pyrrhonists fell into disuse, whilst the doctrine of Pyrrho had still many advocates.<sup>2</sup>

*Pyrrho*<sup>3</sup> was a native of Elea. In his youth he practised the art of painting, but either through disinclination to this art, or because his mind aspired to higher pursuits, he passed over from the school of painting to that of philosophy. He studied and admired the writings of Democritus, and had, as his first preceptor, Bryson, the son of Stilpo, a disciple of Clinomachus. After this he became a disciple of Anaxarchus, who was contemporary with Alexander, and he accompanied his master, in the train of Alexander, into India. Here he conversed with the Brachmans and Gymnosophists, imbibing from their doctrine whatever might seem favourable to his natural disposition toward doubting; a disposition which was cherished by his master, who had formerly been a disciple of a sceptical philosopher, Metrodorus of Chios.

Every advance which Pyrrho made in the study of phi-

<sup>1</sup> Laert. l. i. § 17. 20. l. ix. § 61. 69. Sextus Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 3. 19. A. Gell. l. xi. c. 5. Suidas.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. de Fin. l. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Laert. l. ix. § 61. Suidas. Pausanias Eliac. l. ii. Euseb. Pr. l. xiv. c. 18.

losophy involving him in fresh uncertainty, he left the schools of the Dogmatists (so those philosophers were called, who professed to be possessed of certain knowledge) and established a new school, in which he taught, that every object of human inquiry is involved in uncertainty, so that it is impossible ever to arrive at the knowledge of truth.<sup>4</sup>

It is related of this philosopher,<sup>5</sup> that he acted upon his own principles, and carried his scepticism to such a ridiculous extreme, that his friends were obliged to accompany him wherever he went, that he might not be run over by carriages, or fall down precipices. If this was true, it was not without reason that he was ranked among those whose intellects were disturbed by intense study. But, if we pay any attention to the respect with which he is mentioned by ancient writers, or give any credit to the general history of his life, we must conclude these reports to have been calumnies invented by the Dogmatists, whom he opposed. He spent a great part of his life in solitude; and always preserved a settled composure of countenance, undisturbed by fear, or joy, or grief. He endured bodily pain with great fortitude; and in the midst of dangers discovered no signs of apprehension. In disputation, he was celebrated for the subtlety of his arguments, and the perspicuity of his language. Epicurus, though no friend to Scepticism, was an admirer of Pyrrho, because he recommended and practised that self-command which produces undisturbed tranquillity, the great end, in the judgment of Epicurus, of all physical and moral science. So highly was Pyrrho esteemed by his countrymen, that they honoured him with the office of chief priest, and, out of respect to him, passed a decree by which all philosophers were indulged with immunity from public taxes. He was a great admirer of the poets, particularly of Homer, and frequently repeated passages from his poems. Could such a man be so foolishly enslaved by an absurd system, as to need a guide to keep him out of danger? Pyrrho flourished about the hundred and tenth Olympiad,<sup>6</sup> and died about the ninetyeth year of his age, probably in the hundred and twenty.

<sup>4</sup> Laert. ib. § 58—61.

<sup>5</sup> § 62, &c.

<sup>6</sup> B. C. 340.

third Olympiad.<sup>7</sup> After his death, the Athenians honoured his memory with a statue, and a monument to him was erected in his own country.<sup>8</sup>

From this account of the life of Pyrrho, it is easy to perceive in what manner he fell into Scepticism. It is in a great measure to be ascribed to his early acquaintance with the system of Democritus.<sup>9</sup> Having learned, from this philosopher, to deny the real existence of all qualities in bodies, except those which are essential to primary atoms, and to refer every thing else to the perceptions of the mind produced by external objects, that is, to appearance and opinion, he concluded, that all knowledge depended upon the fallacious report of the senses, and consequently, that there can be no such thing as certainty. He was encouraged in this notion by the general spirit of the Eleatic school, in which he was educated, which was unfavourable to science. But nothing contributed more to confirm him in Scepticism, than the subtleties of the Dialectic schools, in which he was instructed by the son of Stilpo. He saw no method by which he could so effectually overturn the cavils of sophistry, as by having recourse to the doctrine of universal uncertainty. Being strongly inclined, from his natural temper and habits of life, to look upon immoveable tranquillity as the great end of all philosophy; observing, that nothing tended so much to disturb this tranquillity, as the innumerable dissensions which agitated the schools of the Dogmatists; at the same time inferring from their endless disputes, the uncertainty of the questions upon which they debated; he determined to seek elsewhere for that peace of mind, which he despaired of finding in the dogmatic philosophy. In this manner it happened, in the case of Pyrrho, as it has often happened in other instances, that controversy became the parent of Scepticism.

Pyrrho had several disciples; but none whose names are sufficiently celebrated to merit particular notice, except *Timon*,<sup>10</sup> the Phliasian. Timon early visited Megara, to be instructed by Stilpo in dialectics, and afterwards removed to Elea, that he might become a hearer of Pyrrho. He first professed philosophy at Chalcedon, and afterwards

<sup>7</sup> B. C. 288.

<sup>8</sup> Laert. l. ix. § 62—68. 102. Athen. l. x. p. 419.

<sup>9</sup> Laert. § 67.

<sup>10</sup> Laert. l. ix. § 68. 109. Suidas.

at Athens, where he remained till his death. He took so little pains to invite disciples to his school, that it has been said of him,<sup>11</sup> that, as the Scythians shot flying, Timon gained pupils by running from them. This indifference to the profession which he had assumed was probably owing to his love of ease and indulgence; for he was fond of rural retirement, and was so much addicted to wine, that he held a successful contest with several celebrated champions in drinking.<sup>12</sup> It was this disposition, probably, which tempted him to embrace the indolent doctrine of Scepticism. Timon appears to have viewed the opinions and disputes of the philosophers in the same ludicrous point of light, in which Lucian afterwards contemplated them; for, like him, he wrote with sarcastic humour against the whole body. His poem, entitled *Silli*, often quoted by the ancients, was a keen satire, full of bitter invective both against men and doctrines. The remaining fragments of this poem have been industriously collected by Henry Stephens, in his *Poesis Philosophica*. This Timon (who is not to be confounded with Timon the misanthrope) lived to the age of ninety years, and flourished in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.<sup>13</sup>

The public succession of professors in the Pyrrhonic school terminated in Timon. Cicero<sup>14</sup> speaks of this school as in his time extinct: and he himself, in contending with the Dogmatic philosophers, makes use of Academic rather than Sceptical weapons. This can only be ascribed to the odium which fell upon the Pyrrhonic sect soon after its institution, partly through the jealousy of the Dogmatists, and partly through the natural disinclination of the human mind to be left in total darkness. The doctrines of this school were, however, professed by the disciples of Timon, and privately embraced by many other persons, who chose to screen their Scepticism under the authority of the Academy; and, after some interval, the school itself was revived by *Ptolemæus*, a Cyrenian, and continued at Alexandria by *Ænesidemus*, a contemporary

<sup>11</sup> Laert. § 112.

<sup>12</sup> Athen. l. x. p. 438.

<sup>13</sup> Laert. Euseb. Pr. l. xiv. c. 18. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 820.

<sup>14</sup> De Fin. l. ii. Conf. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32.

with Cicero: the latter wrote a Treatise "On the Principles of the Pyrrhonic Philosophy," the heads of which are preserved by Photius.<sup>15</sup> From his time it was transmitted, through a series of preceptors little known,<sup>16</sup> to *Sextus Empiricus*, whose summary of the Sceptical doctrine is our principal authority in this part of our work.

The plan which we have laid down to ourselves would now require, that we should exhibit before our readers a connected view of the *Tenets* of the Pyrrhonic sect. But the truth is, that Pyrrho and his followers rather endeavoured to demolish every other philosophical structure, than to erect one of their own.<sup>17</sup> They asserted nothing; but proposed positions merely in the way of enunciation, without attempting to determine on which side, in any disputed question, the truth lay, or even presuming to assert, that one proposition was more probable than another. The definition of Scepticism given by *Ænesidemus* was this: it is the recollection of opinions embraced upon the testimony of the senses, or upon any other evidence, by means of which one dogma is compared with another, and all, upon the comparison, are found to be useless and full of confusion. Seneca, comparing the Megaric and Sceptic philosophers, says:<sup>18</sup> "The former furnish me with unprofitable science, the latter deprive me of all hope of attaining knowledge. I prefer a man who teaches me trifles, to one who teaches me nothing. If the Dialectic philosopher leaves me in the dark, the Sceptic puts out my eyes." The ground of the Sceptical doctrine, if it may deserve the name, and the method of philosophizing which the Pyrrhonists pursued, may be clearly understood from the following brief *Heads of Scepticism*, for which we are chiefly indebted to *Sextus Empiricus*.

It is the office of the Sceptic Philosophy to compare external *phenomena* with mental conceptions, and discover their inconsistency, and the consequent uncertainty of all reasoning from appearances. Its end is, to cure that restlessness which attends the unsuccessful search after truth, and, by means of an universal suspension of judgment, to

<sup>15</sup> Cod. 212. p. 280. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 29. § 349. Adv. Phys. l. i. § 357. l. ii. § 216. Fab. Bib. Gr. vol. ii. p. 818. vol. x. p. 449.

<sup>16</sup> Laert. § 116.

<sup>17</sup> Laert. l. ix. § 74. 78.

<sup>18</sup> Ep. 88.

establish mental tranquillity. Its fundamental principle is, that to every argument, an argument of equal weight may, in all cases, be opposed.<sup>19</sup>

The Sceptic admits no tenets, not because he discredits the immediate testimony of the senses, but because he refuses his assent to those doubtful points, which science undertakes to determine. He does not deny that he can see, hear, or feel; but he maintains, that the inferences which philosophers have drawn from the reports of the senses, are doubtful; and that any general conclusion deduced from appearances may be overturned by reasonings equally plausible with those by which it is supported. Scepticism allows the existence of sensible appearances, because the impressions which external objects make upon the power of perception, or the phantasy, produce an irresistible conviction of their reality; but it demurs upon the positions which are advanced concerning the *phenomena* of nature. As far as concerns the offices of common life, the Sceptic acquiesces in appearances; being necessarily impelled to conform to them by his natural appetites and passions. Hence he listens to the calls of nature, conforms to established customs, and practises useful arts.<sup>20</sup>

The manner in which a Sceptic arrives at an undisturbed state of mind is entirely casual. At his entrance upon the study of philosophy, he hopes to be able to distinguish true from false opinions, and thus to obtain tranquillity; but being held in suspense by contrary reasoning, he despairs of arriving at satisfaction; and concludes, that no certain judgment can be formed concerning good and evil. Hence he is accidentally taught, that there is no reason for eagerly pursuing any apparent good, or avoiding any apparent evil; and his mind, of course, settles into a state of undisturbed tranquillity. So Apelles, when in painting a horse he had succeeded so ill in drawing the foam, that, in vexation, he threw the sponge which he used for taking off colours at the picture, by this accidental action

<sup>19</sup> Sexti Empirici Pyrrhoniæ Hypotyposes (Ed. Lips. 1718) l. i. c. 4. § 8, 9. c. v. § 12. c. xii. § 25. § 202. 232. l. iii. § 235. Adv. Eth. 111. Pyrrh. c. vi. § 12.

<sup>20</sup> Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 6. § 12. c. 7. § 13. c. 8. § 16, 17. c. 11. § 22, 23, 24. Laert. l. ix. § 68. 105, 108. Euseb. Pr. l. xiv. c. 18.

formed the representation which he had so long in vain exerted his utmost skill to produce.<sup>21</sup>

Ten distinct topics of argument were made use of in the school of the Sceptics, with this precaution, that nothing could be positively asserted, concerning either the number or the force of arguments which may be urged in support of the doctrine of uncertainty. 1. That on account of the variety which takes place in the organization of different animal bodies, it is probable that the same external object presents different images to different animals; and man can have no reason for asserting, that his perceptions are more conformable to the real nature of things, than those of inferior animals. 2. That even among men, there is a great diversity both of mind and body, which necessarily occasions a great variety of opinions; every man judging according to his particular apprehension, whilst no one is able to determine the real nature of things. 3. That the different senses give different reports of the same thing; whence bodies may have different properties from those which the senses lead us to suppose. 4. That the same thing appears differently, according to the different dispositions or circumstances of the person who perceives it; whence, it is impossible for any one man to pronounce, that his judgment concerning any object is agreeable to nature. 5. That things assume a different aspect according to their distance, position, or place; and no reason can be assigned why one of these aspects should agree with the real object rather than the rest. 6. That no object offers itself to the senses, which is not so connected and mixed with others, that it cannot be distinctly separated and examined. 7. That objects of sense appear exceedingly different, when viewed in a compound and in a decomposed state; and it is impossible to say, which appearance most truly expresses their real nature. 8. That every object being always viewed in its relation to others, it is impossible to determine what it is simply, in its own nature. 9. That our judgment is liable to uncertainty from the circumstance of frequent or rare occurrence; that which happens every day, appearing to us in a very different light from that, in which the same thing would appear if it were new.

<sup>21</sup> Sext. Emp. Pyr. l. i. c. 12. § 26. 27. c. 13. § 31.

10. That mankind are continually led into different conceptions concerning the same thing, through the influence of custom, law, fabulous tales, and established opinions. On all these accounts, every human judgment is liable to uncertainty, and we can only say, concerning any thing, that it seems to be, not that it is what it seems.<sup>22</sup>

Besides these topics, the latter Sceptics made use of some others. They maintained that every proposition requires some prior proposition to support it, *in infinitum*, or supposes some axiom, which cannot be proved, and is therefore taken for granted without demonstration, that is, may be denied; that in argument, the point assumed, and that which is to be proved, may often be alternately used in each other's place, both being equally uncertain; and lastly, that nothing can be understood, by itself, as appears from the endless disputes of philosophers concerning the nature of things; nor by means of something else, whilst itself remains unknown.<sup>23</sup>

On these and other similar grounds,<sup>24</sup> the Sceptics not only refused their assent to propositions of every kind, but avoided, as much as possible, every form of speech which expresses certainty. When they use the term *is*, or any equivalent mode of assertion, they confess, that the term *seems*, or some other expression of doubt, should be substituted in its stead. Every thing, according to them, being uncertain and incomprehensible, their language, in all cases, was, "What you assert may be true or it may not: I suspend my judgment; I determine nothing." They admitted the existence of appearances, but maintained, that nothing could be affirmed with certainty concerning the nature of things.<sup>25</sup>

Concerning *Logic*, the Sceptics deliberate as follows:

Man can have no certain criterion of truth, because man, the being who judges, is unknown to himself; because he has no faculties by which he can judge, besides those of sense and intellect, of which the former are uncertain and contradictory in their reports, and the latter is doubtful of

<sup>22</sup> Sext. Emp. l. c. l. i. c. x. § 36—163. Laert. l. ix. § 79, &c. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Sext. Emp. l. i. c. 15. § 164, &c.

<sup>24</sup> C. 17. § 180.

<sup>25</sup> Sext. Emp. l. c. § 185, &c. 19, 20, 21, 22. Cic. in Lucull. c. 6. 18.



its own existence and nature, and variable in its operations and conclusions; and because the instrument which he makes use of in judging, namely, the perception produced in his mind by the impression of external objects, or the phantasy, is itself wholly incomprehensible, being a certain affection or state of the rational principle, whose nature is unknown, and which is essentially different from the external object by which it is produced. If the understanding judges from any supposed perception, it judges according to that perception, and not according to the external object; and it is impossible that the understanding should determine, whether the perception produced by an external object be like the object itself. A further cause of logical uncertainty is, that, except in cases where the senses are immediately concerned, as when we infer the presence of fire from smoke, we cannot reason from that which is manifest to that which is concealed.<sup>26</sup>

Syllogisms establish universal from particular propositions by induction, and demonstrate the truth of particular from universal propositions; a kind of circular reasoning which can produce no satisfactory proof. All induction is defective, and may therefore omit particulars which would contradict the propositions intended to be established.<sup>27</sup>

Definitions cannot assist any one in his search after truth; for if he is unacquainted with the nature of the thing to be defined, he cannot define it, and if he is acquainted with its nature, he accommodates the definition to his previous knowledge; nor are they necessary in instruction, for since he who first acquired the knowledge of any thing, gained it without the help of definitions, so he may certainly communicate it without their help. Definitions are also useless, since, before they can be applied, their accuracy must be maintained, which is an occasion of endless dispute.<sup>28</sup> Equally useless are divisions into whole and part, or into genus, species, and accident. For example, genus and species are either merely nominal, or realities.

<sup>26</sup> Sext. Emp. l. c. i. c. 29, &c. l. ii. c. 4. § 18, &c. c. 5. § 37, &c. c. 6. § 48, &c. c. 7. § 70, &c. c. 10. § 97, &c. c. 11, § 104, &c. 113, &c. c. 12, § 134. c. 13. § 149, &c. Laert. l. ix. § 91. l. x. § 33.

<sup>27</sup> Sext. Emp. ib. l. ii. c. 14. § 193, &c. 204.

<sup>28</sup> Ib. c. 16. § 205. 211, 212.

If they are nominal only, they partake of the uncertainty of the mind which conceives them; if they are realities, species cannot be comprehended in *genera*, because they would not then have a distinct subsistence; and if they are not so comprehended, the entire nature of genus and species is lost.<sup>29</sup> The forms of logic for the refutation of sophisms are also useless; for though it be desirable to refute sophistical reasoning, this must be done, not by the artificial arguments of syllogisms, but by acquiring a probable knowledge of the nature of things, and opposing the evidence of the senses, and appearances, to the quibbles of sophistry.

As the Sceptic admits nothing certain in the instrumental part of philosophy, or logic, he conceives that there may be equal room for doubt in all philosophical disquisitions concerning *Nature*.

With respect to the *Deity*, he asks, since the Dogmatists are not determined whether God be corporeal or incorporeal; whether he be endued with a human form or not; whether he be in place or not; or if he be in place, whether he is in the world or beyond it; what can be certainly known concerning a being of whose form, subsistence, and place we are ignorant? That an efficient cause exists, may be inferred with probability from the productions and dissolutions which take place in nature; for how can these changes happen without a cause? On the other side it may be urged, that if any cause be admitted, some cause must be assigned for that cause, and so on *in infinitum*. Each opinion may be supported by probable arguments; whence the question must remain doubtful.<sup>30</sup>

*Material Principles* must also, according to the Sceptics, be pronounced incomprehensible, as is sufficiently manifest from the disagreement among philosophers concerning their nature; for this disagreement shews that there are no common axioms on this subject, in which all are agreed, and which need no proof. The idea of body is incomprehensible; for it is said to consist of length, breadth, thickness, and a power of resistance; but these properties considered in themselves are nothing, and can only exist as qualities

<sup>29</sup> Ib. c. 20. § 219, &c. 22. § 236.

<sup>30</sup> Ib. l. iii. c. 1. § 2—11. 17. 24. Adv. Phys. l. i. § 33. 49. Pyrrh. l. ii. c. 13.

of body; and yet if these be taken away, the whole idea of body is destroyed. Bodies are said to be composed of primary elements, but this must either be by contact, or by mixture. It cannot be by contact; for either the parts of body in contact must touch, or the whole; the whole cannot touch, for then they would no longer touch, but become coincident; nor can the parts touch, for each part is a whole with respect to its own parts; if therefore any parts of bodies touch, wholes would touch, which is absurd. The formation of bodies by contact is therefore inconceivable. And their formation by mixture is equally so. For mixture must be of the entire substance of the primary elements, else the effect would be contiguity, and not mixture; but a small portion of elementary matter cannot be mixed with a larger substance, without becoming equal in magnitude, which is absurd. We can therefore form no conception of the composition of bodies from primary elements.<sup>31</sup>

Upon the question concerning motion, the Sceptics, not being able to refute the arguments which have been urged against its existence, nor to reject the phenomena by which its existence becomes evident, suspend their judgment. On similar grounds, they hesitate concerning the possibility of increase or diminution, transposition or change of any kind; for since a whole, as distinct from all parts, is nothing, adding, taking away, or changing the position of parts, affects nothing. Again, that which is changed must be changed in some time either past, present, or future; but it cannot be changed in any time past or future, for nothing can either act or suffer in a time that does not exist; nor can it be changed in the present time; for the present instant is an indivisible point of duration, in which nothing can be done.<sup>32</sup> Place, or the part of space occupied by body, must be either of one dimension, or of all the three; if the former, it is not commensurate with the body whose place it is; if the latter, body, which consists of three dimensions, is its own place, and the thing containing is the same with the thing contained; both these suppositions are absurd; yet the *phenomena* seem to prove the existence of place, there-

<sup>31</sup> Ib. l. iii. c. 4. § 30, &c. c. 5. § 38, &c. c. 6. § 56, &c.

<sup>32</sup> Ib. l. iii. c. 8. § 64. c. 9, 10. § 82, &c. c. 12. § 98, &c. c. 14. § 106, &c. c. 15. § 115, &c.

fore the Sceptic does not determine this, rather than that, to be true. Time is neither a corporeal nor incorporeal substance; but besides this nothing can be conceived; therefore time seems to be nothing: on the contrary, experience seems to prove its existence; therefore, the Sceptic determines nothing concerning it.<sup>33</sup>

On the subject of *Morals*, the Sceptic sect suspended their judgment concerning the ground of the distinction admitted by the Stoics, and other Dogmatists, between things in their nature good, evil, or indifferent. The arguments on which they insist are such as these:

The different opinions concerning good sufficiently prove, that philosophers are ignorant of its nature. Different men are differently affected by things which are called good, and therefore these things in themselves cannot be good. Desire itself is not good, else we should be contented with it, and not endeavour to obtain its object; nor can the external object of desire be good, because it is external; there appears therefore to be nothing really good, and consequently nothing really evil. Since different men judge and act differently concerning these things, some approving what others condemn, and some avoiding what others pursue, there can be nothing in nature really good, evil, or indifferent. Hence it follows, that ethics can have no foundation in nature. The art of living well is not innate to man; for if it were, all men would be virtuous; nor can it be taught, for that which is to be taught, is doubtful; no one is himself sufficiently instructed to become a teacher; nor are there any means of demonstration or testimony by which it can be taught; or if this art could be taught, it would only prove the occasion of endless perturbation of mind, arising from the eager desire and pursuit of things supposed to be good. Tranquillity is best obtained, by giving up all expectation of arriving at truth, and sitting down in a state of total indifference with respect to opinions.<sup>34</sup>

Besides these, which are the chief grounds of Scepticism, as given by the historian and admirer of the sect, Sextus Empiricus, there are others, neither less subtle, nor more

<sup>33</sup> Ib. c. 16. § 125, &c. c. 17. § 136—144.

<sup>34</sup> Ib. l. iii. c. 18. § 153, &c. c. 21. § 172, &c. c. 23. § 179, &c. c. 24. § 191. 195. 206. 235. c. 25—31. Conf. Laert. l. ix. § 61. 108.

satisfactory, than the idle quibbles of the Dialectic schools. Indeed nothing is more evident, than that the Sceptic sect owed its existence to the disputatious spirit of the Dogmatists; and that the followers of Pyrrho were more desirous to put an end to the frivolous contests of others, than to establish even their own doctrine of incredulity. In order to accomplish their end, they made no scruple to turn back upon their adversaries their own weapons, by making use of specious arguments, distinctions merely verbal, and other artifices of sophistry. It would not be difficult to expose the fallacies of those reasonings, if they deserve the name, by which the ancient Sceptics endeavoured to undermine the foundations of truth, and to overturn every scientific, moral, and religious principle. But the nature and extent of our historical undertaking, will not permit us to enter into this important field of argument. Referring our readers to those able advocates of truth, which modern times have produced, we must therefore content ourselves for the present with briefly remarking, that the Sceptics have advanced nothing upon the important question respecting the Existence and Providence of a Supreme Being, which may not, with the greatest confidence, be referred to mere verbal quibbling, or to the acknowledged imperfection of the human intellect, which, whilst it embraces, on the clear and certain ground of final causes in nature, the doctrine of the existence of a Deity, must always confess itself unequal to the full comprehension of his nature and operations. It must be added, that whilst the Sceptics classed the question concerning the existence of the Deity among those speculations, upon which they thought it impossible to decide with certainty either in the affirmative or negative, they not only joined in the popular worship of the gods, but confessed that there appeared to be, in the human mind, a natural instinctive principle of religion. A concession, which sufficiently invalidates all their futile reasonings on the side of Infidelity.

If the history of the Sceptic sect be compared with that of the Academy, the two sects will be found to be nearly allied. The chief points of difference between them were these:<sup>35</sup> the Academics laid it down as an axiom, that

<sup>35</sup> Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 33. *Ænesid.* apud Phot. Cod. 213.

nothing can be known with certainty; the Pyrrhonists perceived the absurdity of this position, and maintained that even this ought not to be positively asserted. The Academics admitted the real existence of good and evil; the Pyrrhonists suspended their judgment upon this point. The Academics, especially the followers of Carneades, allowed different degrees of probability in opinion; but the Sceptics rejected all speculative conclusions, drawn either from the testimony of the senses, or from reasoning; and contended, that we can have no ground for affirming or denying any proposition, or embracing any one opinion rather than another. Carneades admitted, that, by the impression of external objects upon the senses, we are necessarily inclined to one opinion more than another; Pyrrho, whilst he acknowledged that men are necessarily impelled to action by their feelings, denied that they are capable of forming any judgment. In common life, the Academics followed probability; the Sceptics, law, custom, and the natural impulse of appetite. After all, these two sects differed more in appearance than in reality. Both invaded the strong holds of truth; but the Academics did it covertly and with modesty, whilst the Sceptics assaulted them with open violence, as if they had forsworn all allegiance to reason.

Before we take our leave of this sect, it may be of some importance briefly to remark the gradual progress of Scepticism through the several stages of the Greek philosophy. The confession of ignorance and uncertainty, which so frequently fell from the lips of Socrates, amounted to no more than a general acknowledgment of the imbecility of the human understanding. In this modest acknowledgment he was followed by Plato and others. But, as soon as the Greek philosophers began to employ themselves in constructing systems of philosophy, they admitted a tenet which was favourable to incredulity; namely, that nature is perpetually fluctuating, so that no sensible object remains, for any single moment, perfectly the same. Pythagoras and Plato, Heraclitus, Democritus, and Epicurus, who were amongst the most celebrated Dogmatists, embraced this tenet; but in order to provide some stable foundation for science, the two former devised their world of intelligibles, denominated by Plato, Ideas, and by Pythagoras,

Numbers, and the two latter introduced the doctrine of *Immutable Atoms*. These doctrines, which were rather hypothetical than demonstrable, still left sufficient room for doubt and uncertainty. After this, the Eleatic and Megaric sects, who admitted into their schools the most childish quibbles and absurd cavilling, and the Sophists, who professedly undertook either side in any question, and disputed solely for conquest, without regarding truth, afforded no small advantage to the rising cause of Scepticism. Pyrrho and others, who were more inclined to doubt than to dogmatize, when they saw by what frivolous arguments opinions were, in these schools, supported or confuted, were led to conclude, that the whole philosophy of the Dogmatists rested upon the same precarious ground. Hearing the leaders of different sects traducing each other's systems as false, puerile, absurd, and hostile to truth; and remarking, particularly, the violent contentions which arose among the followers of Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus; it was not without some appearance of reason, that they looked upon the whole mass of Dogmatic philosophy as an ill constructed edifice, raised upon the sand, which must soon fall to the ground. Where the prejudice, which these circumstances would create in favour of Scepticism, was aided by a natural feebleness of judgment and instability of temper, it was no wonder if it produced universal uncertainty. That these were the natural infirmities of those who distinguished themselves as leaders in the Sceptic sect, is sufficiently seen in the weak reasonings and puerile trifles which are piled up in the memoirs of this sect, so industriously collected by Sextus Empiricus. And, whatever may have been urged to the contrary by modern advocates for Scepticism, it cannot be reasonably doubted, that the true causes of the continuance of this sect, through every age, have been, that indolence which is inimical to every mental exertion; that kind of intellectual imbecility which, in various degrees, incapacitates men for discerning the true nature and condition of things; or lastly, that propensity towards subtle refinement, which hinders the most vigorous mind from estimating different degrees of probability, and accurately distinguishing truth from error.

Vitruv. Huet. de la Foiblesse, &c. Journ. Sav. AL. PH. 30. 1713, 4.

We have now completed the First Period of the History of Philosophy—Barbaric and Grecian. The latter we have followed from its infancy, through every stage of its growth, till it was transferred to Rome; and, as far as the numerous difficulties and obscurities which, after every effort to clear them away, still hang over the subject would permit, we have delineated the peculiar features of the several sects, and given a summary of their respective systems. It only remains that we conclude this part of our work with remarking, in a few words, the fate of the Grecian philosophy in countries foreign to Greece, where it was disseminated and professed, excepting among the Romans, among whom the fortune it experienced through a long course of years is so interesting as to require a particular discussion.

The Grecian philosophy was at first confined, as we have seen, within the limits of Greece, and the neighbouring regions, except the Italic school, instituted by Pythagoras in *Magna Græcia*. Several eminent philosophers, it is true, travelled into Egypt; but it was chiefly in the infancy of philosophy, and rather for the purpose of acquiring, than of communicating knowledge. But after Egypt, and almost all Asia, was brought under the Grecian yoke by the conquests of Alexander, the Grecian philosophy passed, as might naturally be expected, from the conquerors to the nations whom they had subdued. Alexander himself, who had been early initiated into philosophical studies, and inspired with respect for philosophers by his master Aristotle, enlarged the boundaries of philosophy,\* by carrying with him, wherever he went, a train of philosophers (among whom were Chilisthenes and Anaxarchus) whom he treated with great respect, and employed in conciliating the affections of the people to their conqueror. Notwithstanding

Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 674. 818. Bayle. Sexti Disp. Anti. Scept. ap. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. xii. p. 617. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 6. Fabr. Syl. Scr. de Ver. c. 23. § 4. Heunisch. Diss. de Phil. Scept. Arnhem. de Sect. Pyrrh. Misc. Lips. t. v. Obs. cxi. p. 240. Le Vayer. Op. t. v. p. 218. Bérting. de Pyrrh. c. i. § 3. Stollii Hist. Mor. p. 198. Gassend. de Vit. Epic. l. v. c. 3. Voss. de Sect. p. 110. Pasch. Introd. in Rom. Lit. Mor. Vet. p. 717. Crousaz Log. p. iii. c. 9. § 12. Budd. de Scepticismo Morali, § 2. Ann. Hist. Ph. p. 210. § 23. p. 238. Ploucquet de Epoch. Pyrrh. Tab. 1758.

\* Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 346. t. v. p. 450. Ammon. in Vit. Arist.



the references which the Orientalists unquestionably entertained for their ancient doctrines, there can be little doubt that, when Alexander, in order to preserve, by the arts of peace, that extensive empire which he had obtained by the force of arms, endeavoured to incorporate the customs of the Greeks with those of the Persian, Indian, and other eastern nations, the opinions as well as the manners of this feeble and obsequious race would, in a great measure, be accommodated to those of their conquerors. This influence of the Grecian upon the Oriental philosophy continued long after the time of Alexander, and was one principal occasion of the confusion of opinions, which we shall find in the subsequent history of the Alexandrian and Christian schools.

It was in Alexandria chiefly, that the Grecian philosophy was ingrafted upon the stock of ancient Oriental wisdom. The Egyptian method of teaching by allegory was peculiarly favourable to such an union. We have already seen, that the philosophy and religion of the Egyptians early underwent a material change of this kind, when Cambyses, in conquering this country, introduced the doctrine and theology of the Persians. Under the government of the Greeks, there were similar innovations; the priests of Egypt endeavouring, as well as they were able, to form a coalition between the ancient religion of their country and the doctrine and philosophy of their conquerors.

Alexander, when he built the city of Alexandria, with a determination to make it the seat of his empire, and peopled it with emigrants from various countries, opened a new mart of philosophy, which emulated the fame of Athens itself. A general indulgence was granted to the promiscuous crowd assembled in this rising city, whether Egyptians, Grecians, Jews, or others, to profess their respective systems of philosophy and religion without molestation. The consequence was, that Egypt was soon filled with religious and philosophical sectaries of every kind; and particularly, that almost every Grecian sect found an advocate and professor in Alexandria.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Plut. l. c. Justin. l. 38. c. 9. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 16. Arrian. l. iii. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 8. Strabo, l. xvii. Adum. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 6. Joseph. contr. Ap. l. ii. De Bell. J. l. i. c. 36. Q. A. 64.

The family of the Ptolemies, who, after Alexander, obtained the government of Egypt, from motives of policy encouraged this new establishment: Ptolemy Lagus, who had obtained the crown of Egypt by usurpation, was particularly careful to secure the interest of the Greeks in his favour; and, with this view, invited people from every part of Greece to settle in Egypt, and removed the schools of Athens to Alexandria. This enlightened prince spared no expense to raise the literary, as well as the civil, military, and commercial credit of his country. In order to provide, in Alexandria, a permanent residence for learning and philosophy, he laid the foundation of a library, which, after his time, became exceedingly famous; granted philosophers of every class immunity from public offices; and encouraged science and literature by royal munificence. Demetrius Phalerus, who was eminent in every kind of learning, especially in philosophy, assisted the liberal designs of the prince, by his judicious advice and active services. Ptolemy Philadelphus adopted, with great ardour, the liberal views of his predecessor, and afforded still further aid to philosophy, by enriching the Alexandrian library with a vast collection of books in every branch of learning, and by instituting a college of learned men, who, that they might have leisure to prosecute their studies, were maintained at the public expense.<sup>29</sup>

Under the patronage, first, of the Egyptian princes, and afterwards of the Roman emperors, Alexandria long continued to enjoy great celebrity as the seat of learning, and to send forth eminent philosophers of every sect to distant countries. It remained a school of learning, as well as a commercial emporium, till it was taken, and plundered of its literary treasures, by the Saracens.

Philosophy, during this period, suffered a grievous corruption from the attempt which was made by philosophers of different sects and countries, Grecian, Egyptian, and Oriental, who were assembled in Alexandria, to frame, from their different tenets, one general system of opinions. The respect which had long been universally paid to the schools

<sup>29</sup> Dio. Sic. l. xlviii. Pausan. in Att. Phot. Cod. 92. *Ælian*, l. iii. c. 17. *Clema Alex. Str.* l. i. p. 341. *Philostr. Vit. Soph.* l. i. c. 22. *Laert.* l. viii. c. 46. *A. Gell.* l. iv. c. 2.

of Greece, and the honours with which they were now adorned by the Egyptian princes, induced other wise men, and even the Egyptian priests and philosophers themselves, to submit to this innovation. Hence arose an heterogeneous mass of opinions, of which we shall afterwards take more particular notice under the name of the Eclectic Philosophy; and which we shall find to have been the foundation of endless confusion, error, and absurdity, not only in the Alexandrian school, but among Jews and Christians; producing among the former that spurious kind of philosophy, which they called *their Cabbala*; and, among the latter, innumerable corruptions of the Christian faith.

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